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Fighting Talk

International Murder Squad

The warped ugliness of South African despotism has created yet another monster. Born in great haste, with no concessions to democratic pretence, the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) is grandiose in conception calculated to satisfy that insatiable lust for power that is the mark of fascist dictatorships.

Vorster and his close crony van den Bergh, chief of the Special Branch, have long exercised total violence in the suppression of freedom in our country. But their machine of oppression was not yet perfect. A nagging though cautious press, and an odd eccentric judge brought them embarrassment, and seemed to limit the power the State had over the people. BOSS will correct this weakness and we can expect the application, with even greater abandon, of torture and brutality in all its perverted forms as the well practised men of BOSS revel in their wholly protected anonymity.

A new dimension has also been added to Special Branch power in the extension of its operations in the field of intelligence including that of the army, navy, air force as well as police. Vorster will thereby gain an immediate hold over these services making his position supreme within the Government, at the same time facilitating the seeking out of information about the African National Congress and its allies in a round the world spying operation involving many agents and penetrating many countries.

Recently the Minister of Police said in Parliament that "it is of the utmost importance for us to know a few weeks in advance what the movements of these people ("terrorists") are possibly going to be." He thereby confirms the disclosures in London that South African agents were attempting to penetrate our organisation and the various solidarity organisations in their search for information. In its new streamlined form, with the added intelligence responsibilities, we can expect BOSS to link up with P.I.D.E., the C.I.A. and other such organisations creating an international network with wide-ranging ramifications.

More than that, if we are to judge by the way the P.I.D.E. operates against FRELIMO, it seems highly likely that, BOSS is likewise intended to be a international murder squad striking down freedom fighters just as the Portuguese murdered Comrade Mondlane.

We do not think we are being alarmist in our assessment. We have seen terror enough to know that BOSS cannot be taken lightly. (Commenting on BOSS recently, the pro-Government newspaper Die Burger said that South Africa could not be judged by the criteria of old and relatively homogeneous civilized states). The evidence of relentless torture in our prisons is a constant reminder that the Special Branch is more actively violent than ever.

But the existence of BOSS is a danger not only to South Africans. It is one more of those sinister subterranean intelligence organs that are eating into liberation movements, democratic organisations and protest groups throughout the world. In this respect it impinges on the freedom of numerous other organisations a long way from Mr. Vorster's immediate power.

The African National Congress has issued a call to all those who are concerned with South Africa to raise an outcry against the activities of BOSS. We are urging a massive mobilization of revolutionary and progressive forces to harness world opinion to protect the political prisoners in South Africa against the savagery of the brutes in BOSS. We want to create a climate in which the agents of BOSS abroad will find themselves restricted in their work, and where all South African Government operators will be stifled in a sea of hostility. In exposing and combating BOSS we are calling on all those who are in the fight against white bossmanship and fascist rule-by-terror for a combined confrontation with what is now an international menace.

Our own major contribution to this campaign lies within South Africa where we shall continue to organise our people and harass the enemy regardless of cost. Victory will be ours.

TEN TARGETS REEL UNDER RAGE OF VISION

by : Barry Feinberg

After years of bruising loads
heaved picks and burning girders,
knotted limbs and bitter knuckles cracking,
a gun lies lightly on the shoulder.
A big gun of many assemblies,
smooth bullets coil tooting at the neck,
grenades hung from hip gently swinging.

Once a volunteer under Gandhi colours,
head bleeding from double bludgeon
for turning cheek to set right thinking.
Then haunted by post-midnight squads,
splintered doors, splattered walls,
kicks and children clinging.
Months of guards beating in bleak years,
conscience brothers thinned and shaking
some, green veined through static charges
another crazy dangled by borrowed belt.
This felt a thousand times repeated:
sons long left to memories yearning
a face loved, fades while reappearing,
home, a mirage of vapoured living.

Now,
memories feed round embered flame,
an Impala, fresh impaled, fat sizzles
burning carbon crust to stave a days march.

Tomorrow,
maybe no game but combat coming.

Then,
that fast drop to knee
fierce burst of fire,
quick dodge and crawl
and back track to cover.

This,
a fine tuned, harsh handled man
hard as nails and head well guided;
no computer type reaction
no lathe like operation,
but thought out, mind planned,
hands trim on hair-taut trigger.
His eyes blaze down dead-still barrel,
ten targets reel under rage of vision.



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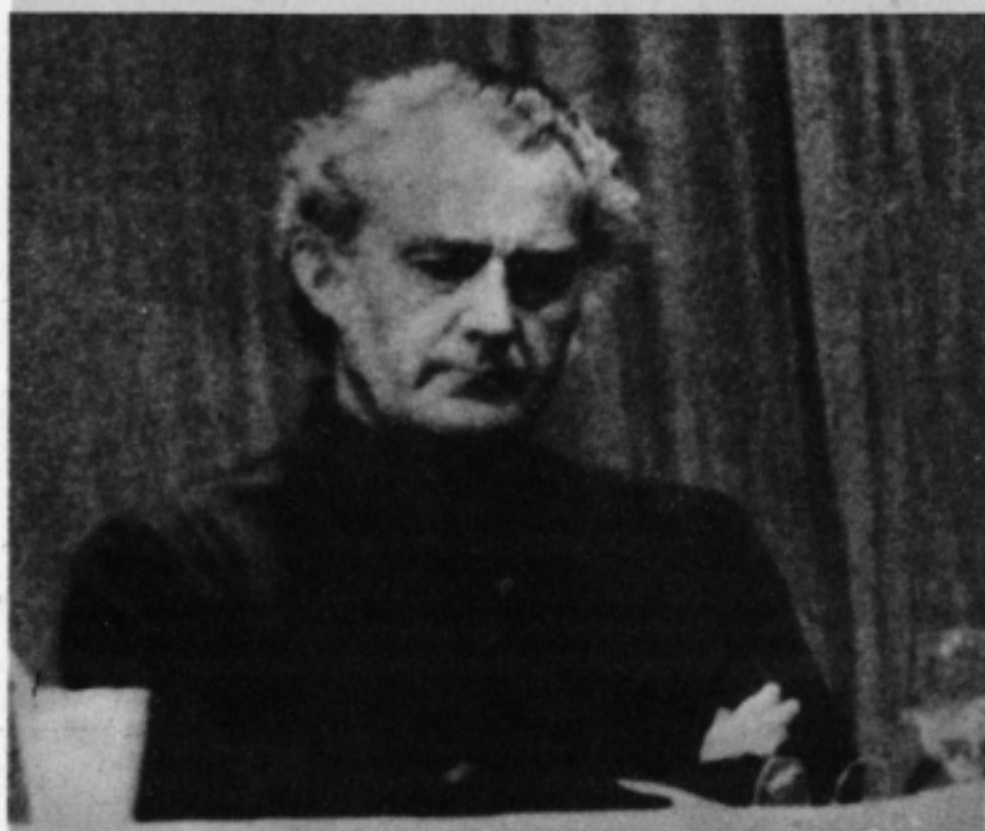
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THE PORTUGUESE IN AFRICA: VORSTER'S CANNON- FODDER

By Basil Davidson



Basil Davidson has made a special study of the "Portuguese African" territories since he visited Angola in 1954 and exposed forced-labour there in his book *THE AFRICAN AWAKENING* (London 1955). He has kept in touch with liberation movements in the "Portuguese territories" since their origins in the late 1950's. In October 1967 he was the guest of the PAIGC inside Guinea-Bissau, and in July 1968 he was the guest of FRELIMO inside Mozambique. Early this year his latest book, *THE LIBERATION OF GUINÉ* was published by Penguin African Library. His writing on South Africa itself goes back to 1951, the date of his first visit there. Two years later the South African government declared him a prohibited immigrant and ordered him to leave the country. In this article he traces the history of Portuguese Colonialism and of the armed struggle now going on in the Portuguese Colonies.

PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM

There is something terribly absurd about Portuguese imperialism in the 1960s. Here is one of the poorest countries in all Europe, nearly half of whose ten million people are poor peasants deprived of all effective education or access to the modern world, insisting on the right to rule African territories nearly twenty times as big as the "mother country". Here is a "civilising mission" operated in the name of people who have themselves been the mere objects of military and fascist dictatorship for the past 42 years. Here are all the highflown words of "European trusteeship" reduced in practice - in Angola, in Guinea-Bissau, in Mozambique - to the squalid misery of forced labour, starvation wages, organised contempt for African humanity, and bitter police and military repression. Here, lastly, is a colonial system which claims to be inspired by "no kind of racial discrimination" - but whose laws, practices, and daily attitudes regard 99.5 per cent of its "African subjects" (and it may even be a higher percentage) as "natives" not fit for "civilization". And this, mind you, after the "blessings" of a hundred years of Portuguese colonial rule and five hundred years of "Portuguese presence."

Yes, absurd: but for twelve million Africans in the clutches of imperial Portugal the joke can have no savour. For them the rule of Portugal stands as a savage barrier not only against any real progress in the modern world, but as a daily degradation of the most simple aspects of life. In a still wider sense, moreover, the action of the Portuguese dictatorship gives powerful and in certain ways decisive support to the whole white-supremacy structure in southern Africa. Today, more clearly than ever, and despite all the patriotic verbiage of Lisbon, the Portuguese in Africa are the mercenaries and cannon-fodder of all those up and down the world, with white South Africa at their head, who mean to "keep things as they are", and "the African in his place".

So it is worth considering how all this came about, and exactly what the Portuguese situation is today.

AN ANCIENT IMPERIALISM

The present rulers of Portugal like to say that their ancestors were the first European imperialists in Africa; and in this, at least they are telling the truth. They came a long



Amílcar Cabral addressing PAIGC combatants

while ago; and they came in ways they have neither forgotten nor forsaken. In 1482 they built a castle on the Gold Coast (in modern Ghana), and burnt down the village-township of the chief who tried to stop them. In 1483 they set foot in the African kingdoms of what afterwards became Angola, and almost at once introduced the slave trade. In 1498 they sailed up the coast of East Africa, and again, almost at once, set about looting and burning the wealthy African cities that they found there; Kilwa, Mombasa, Brava and others like them. Later on, penetrating inland Mozambique along the valley of the Zambezi, they invaded and gradually wrecked other African kingdoms, including the venerable empire of the Monomotapa whose ancestors had ruled at Great Zimbabwe. For a hundred years up to 1950 they warred and ravaged across western Angola. They fastened the slave trade on enormous inland regions. They sent in settlers who seized huge estates. Even their one great service to Africa – their bringing across the Atlantic of vital American food-plants such as maize, cassava and sweet-potatoes – was a mere matter of chance and convenience. Otherwise they brought nothing in exchange for African wealth but medieval superstition, strong alcohol, and even stronger racial prejudice.

SLAVE TRADERS, SOLDIERS, SETTLERS

For nearly four centuries up to the 1880s they were present in Africa only as a few thousand predatory soldiers and settlers, slave-traders and administrators whose settlements and garrisons were nearly all upon the coasts of Angola and Mozambique. Many of these lived wretched lives of greed and violent competition for the spoils of "empire". By 1800 their "centres of government" had sunk so far in decay as to have become the object of pity or contempt for all other Europeans who saw them. In 1812, for example, a British naval surgeon called James Prior landed on Mozambique Island, then the "capital" of the Portuguese in Mozambique. He found a governor who rejoiced in the reverberating name of Dom Antonia Manuel de Mello Castro e Mendoza. But this gentleman's

official residence looked "more like an old storehouse" than the mansion of the first personage of the settlement. We were led to it, Prior wrote in his memoirs, "by the clashing of billiard balls and the confused clamour of contending voices, so that we at first took it to be a tavern or gambling house." All the same, Dom Antonio was said to have stowed away a fortune of some £80,000 from the profits of his job. The "empire", in short, had nothing to do with "civilisation", "trusteeship", or any other "great imperial mission": it had long since become a mere system of organised piracy for a few privileged officials, traders and settlers.

"BRITAIN'S OLDEST ALLY"

But things began to be different when the wild frenzies of nineteenth century imperialism spread through Western Europe in the 1880s. That was the time, as everyone knows, when Britain, France, Germany and Belgium's King Leopold led the drive for European possession of practically the whole of Africa; when missionaries and traders and explorers went into Africa to obtain "treaties of protection" from chiefs who seldom had the least idea of what they were agreeing to; when these "treaties of protection" were used by European Powers to prove "effective occupation"; and when, having thus carved up the map, the soldiers followed with their Maxim guns. Now in all this the Portuguese were badly placed. Not only were they an industrially backward people, an outstandingly poor people, their middle-class scarcely formed and their aristocracy effete; they had also failed during the previous four centuries to secure "effective occupation" of much more than the seaboard of the vast territories they now set about claiming. Left without a powerful friend at that jackal's feast of 1884-5, when the imperialist Powers met in Berlin to "agree upon boundaries in Africa", the Portuguese would have lost practically everything they claimed. The British in South Africa would have taken most of Mozambique the Germans and the Belgians would have shared Angola; and the French would undoubtedly have seized Guinea-Bissau.

But the Portuguese rulers, happily for them, had a powerful friend at court. Ever since the fourteenth century they had had an alliance with Britain; and now Britain, seeing in the Portuguese positions in Africa a useful means of outmanoeuvring the French, the Germans and the Belgians, proceeded to protect the Portuguese. They took "little Portugal" under their wing, and, with it, the Portuguese claims in Africa. Thanks to British support, the Portuguese secured the "right" to be regarded as the possessors of the territories they are still fighting to keep. Today, of course, things are somewhat different again. Today Portugal has other and still more powerful backers. In a military sense she is part of the structure of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and leases to the Americans important bases on the Atlantic islands of the Azores, as well as providing the West German army with areas in Portugal for "action training" (in partial return for which Western Germany provides hospital beds for Portuguese soldiers wounded in Portugal's colonial wars in Africa, as well as a great deal of military hardware such as jet-bombers). In a political sense Portugal is often regarded by her allies and partners as a valuable "bastion against communism". In a commercial sense she has likewise become a profitable field for private capital investment by British, American, German, French, Swedish and other industrialists. She is no longer "alone in Africa".

But there is another and still more important sense in which Portugal is no longer "alone". She has become an integral and even decisive part of white South African ambitions, plans, and longterm policies. Both as a source of industrial wealth – and as "flank defences" of the South African system of racial exploitation, Angola and Mozambique have today acquired an imperialist significance they never possessed in the past. It is no longer possible to regard these vast colonies as in any way "separate" from the whole problem and development of Southern Africa. Whatever happens now in Angola and Mozambique – and so, by extension, in West African Guinea-Bissau – must be a matter of the greatest possible interest to all the peoples of the sub-continent; indeed, to all the peoples of Africa as well as to everyone, outside Africa, who stands against imperialism anywhere. The men and women who are fighting colonialism with arms in hand in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique stand in the forefront of Africa's whole movement of national emancipation and struggle for equality in the modern world.

School in liberated area of Angola



SURRENDER OR FIGHT?

If the Africans of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique had many disadvantages in launching their movements for national emancipation – their great isolation behind the ramparts of Portuguese repression, their hard struggle for political clarity in territories where any modern ideas had still to win a foothold – they will be seen by history to have possessed at least one advantage over Africans governed by less backward powers. Since 1926, when the occasionally liberal-minded Portuguese Republic was overthrown (because it was occasionally liberal-minded) by a junta of generals who soon elected Salazar as their mentor and dictator, there has been no question of genuine reform or reformism in the Portuguese colonies. Here there could never be any illusions on the subject of an "imperial trustee" who would peacefully relinquish its political hold. Those few Africans to whom the Portuguese gave higher education had to stop being Africans, and become Portuguese. The road to reform by the promotion of "an African governing elite" was entirely barred. And so it may be said that the Portuguese colonies have at any rate been spared the waste and frustration of the kind of "stooge elite" regimes promoted in some other parts of the continent.

In this situation the pioneers of emancipation in the Portuguese colonies were faced from the very start with a clear choice between two harsh alternatives. They could surrender, give up the difficult struggle, accept pleasant jobs in Lisbon (which almost all of them were offered) and abandon their people. Or they could take the only other road left open to them, that of armed resistance. Nearly all of them chose the second, and this in itself is a measure of their quality as leaders of men.

They tried, of course, a third way. Before calling for the sacrifices that were bound to be imposed by armed resistance to the organised violence of the Portuguese, they had to be absolutely sure that nothing could be gained by appeals for peaceful change. They appealed to the Salazar regime for genuine reform, for step-by-step introduction of the means of African self-rule, for justice and reason, even for sensible debate. But the Salazar regime had no reply except to call out the colonial police, and, when the colonial police could not cope with the mounting tide of African resurgence, to send out from Portugal the cohorts of the PIDE, Salazar's Gestapo, and then,



The Late Mondlane: FRELIMO



Neto: MPLA



Cabral: PAIGC

when even the PIDE failed to still the clamour of ordinary men and women seeking ordinary decency and justice, to send out the Portuguese army. And now, for years, the Portuguese army has bombed and burnt and shot and terrorised its way through all these countries.

THE PEOPLE FIGHT BACK

But the Portuguese army has not won and is not winning its dire colonial wars. Portugal is bled to the brink of national collapse by this new imperialist effort. Forty per cent of the national budget is swallowed by its repressive forces in Africa. With a conscription period of four years, and applicable to all fit males between the ages of 18 and 45, an already impoverished Portuguese population has had to provide a colonial army which numbers today about 120,000 men from the home country. To grasp the scale of this military effort it is necessary only to compare it with the American effort in Vietnam. The United States has about twenty times the population of Portugal. A Portuguese army of 120,000 would be the equivalent of about 2½ million Americans in Vietnam, or five times the number who are actually serving there.

Nor is this all. Portugal is a semi-industrialised country which makes no aeroplanes even as toys for children. But her forces in Africa are lavishly supplied with the most modern and expensive equipment by her American and European allies: with jet-bombers, military helicopters, napalm in abundant supply, frigates and other naval vessels, fast-firing cannon with all the ammunition that they need. All this they have poured on Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique in holocausts of fire and death.

And still it is not enough.

Having reluctantly chosen to fight, the Africans of these colonies have spared nothing of themselves. With an admirable heroism they have renewed the old resistances of early colonial times. They have not been discouraged. They have not given in. They have not been defeated.

As things stand today, the military position (as I have partly verified for myself, and on the spot) is roughly as follows.

GUINEA-BISSAU

PAIGC controls two thirds

In Guinea-Bissau the PAIGC (African Independence Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands) now controls about two-thirds of

all the rural areas of that country. They have pinned down the Portuguese to about fifty fortified camps and towns, often isolating these from all Portuguese contact on the ground for weeks and even months. In May this year General Arnaldo Schultz, who had boasted that he would soon "put things in order" retired after five years of failure to do anything of the kind. He was succeeded in command by another veteran of colonial warfare, Brigadier Spinola. In June-August Brigadier Spinola ordered the evacuation of nine fortified camps and towns because they could no longer hold out against PAIGC assault. In February this year a PAIGC commando even made its way into the "capital fortress" of Bissau itself, and heavily mortared the Portuguese chief military airbase. In Guinea-Bissau, in short, the Portuguese can no longer hold their ground. The PAIGC have not yet won this war; they are undoubtedly in the course of doing so.

ANGOLA

Seven years of fighting by MPLA

In Angola the Portuguese likewise have about 40,000 troops from the home country, as well as some local African mercenaries, and are likewise heavily embattled. Seven years after armed resistance first began it is clear that the movement for Angolan emancipation is stronger than ever. A decisive moment came in 1966 when the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) were able to open a wide new front of armed resistance in the great inland provinces of Moxico and Cuando Cubango. Since then they have further extended their actions into the central provinces of Bie and Malange. Here they have established strong inland bases for mobile guerrilla warfare. The cost of all this remains a bitter one, and many die, leaders as well as rank-and-file (among the leaders for example, army commander Jose Montes at the head of assault troops last spring, and chief surgeon Americo Boavida under Portuguese bombing last September). Yet all the evidence – whether in the communiques of the MPLA, in those of the Portuguese army command, or in reports by pro-Portuguese journalists from South Africa – agrees that resistance continues to grow more powerful and determined. It seems that the brave spirit of the pioneers and the leaders has spread right down the line to the people of the villages and the history of the guerrilla wars of resistance shows that once the people in the villages become convinced of the need for war, they can no longer be defeated.

MOZAMBIQUE

FRELIMO fights on

In Mozambique, meanwhile, there is much the same story to be told. Formed to unify several little exile nationalist parties in 1962, FRELIMO (Front of Liberation of Mozambique) was able to grow by its own efforts, and with the good support of African allies, into a strong "inside" movement by 1964. Declaring armed resistance in September of that year, its early fighting units passed to the attack in five out of nine provinces – Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Tete, Zambesia and Mozambique – failed through lack of adequate preparation in the last three, but made good their hold in Cabo Delgado and Niassa. Since then FRELIMO has extended its political work throughout the country, and as far south as Lourenco Marques; established large liberated zones in Cabo Delgado and Niassa where its political workers have begun to build a new African administration and economy; and strengthened its military organisation to include thousands of battle-trained fighters.

In April of this year FRELIMO went over to the attack again in the strategically delicate Tete province (site of the great projected Portuguese-South African dam and ancillary works at Cabora Bassa on the Zambesi), and was so active there in the summer of 1968 that the Portuguese army commander in Mozambique, according to a South African newspaper report, had transferred his own headquarters to Tete town itself. In July, again making good its claims, FRELIMO was able to hold a full-scale congress of more than 150 delegates in liberated territory inside Mozambique. I attended that congress myself, and met FRELIMO delegates who had come from the far south as well as from the provinces in the centre and north and west. Here, too, the Portuguese have some 40,000 troops from the home country, as well as local African mercenaries; but here, too, they are not winning their war.

FRELIMO Guerillas in action



"The hardest task"

Yet the inside story of these struggles against Portuguese imperialism reveals a thing that may sound hard to believe. The hardest task in building strong fighting fronts against the Portuguese was not the military effort itself. All the leaders of these movements – men such as Amilcar Cabral in Guinea-Bissau, Agostinho Neto in Angola and the late Eduardo Mondlane in Mozambique – have said that the hardest task lay in the long and difficult work of political preparation. Long years of painstaking political work were required before any real military effort could be assured, or even embarked upon.

How to convince the people in the villages? How to get them even to listen to you, much less to shelter and support you? How to show them the way ahead? How to conquer their doubts and disbelief? All this needed endless talk and endless patience. All this needed a political skill and commitment that nothing could discourage. "But without that," in some words of Cabral's, "nothing of lasting value can be done. The political preparation is the toughest, most daunting, but most important aspect of the whole campaign for national liberation."

What sort of talk and persuasion? Not, they found, about the "big things": about independence, liberation, freedom – all that would come later. But talk about "small things" – about purely local grievances, about immediate taxes, about yesterday's miseries, about today's injustices: these, they found, were the sort of things the peasants would listen to. "For the people are not fighting," again in some words of Cabral's "for the ideas in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to have a better life, to improve the outlook for their children."

Talking about the "small things", and then going on, afterwards, to talk about the "big things", the pioneers of national emancipation in the Portuguese colonies were able gradually to build their movements to the strength and fighting power they have today.

On any terms of measurement this has been, this is, a most remarkable achievement.

STARVATION IN THE TRANSKEI

"A less dramatic death but . . ."

Miss Mary McAnally, representing the United Presbyterian Church of the United States recently gave evidence to the U.N. Human Rights Commission on a visit to South Africa. Her statement included the following impression of the "Bantustans" in the Transkei and Ciskei.

The Transkei can be characterized as an area of rolling hills and grasslands, which, after suffering several years of severe drought, is dry, barren and poor. Most of the men who are able to work have left the "homeland" to work in the mines. Some of them send small pittances back to their families, but for the most part the aged, the women and children and the infirm left in the Transkei must farm in order to subsist. The landscape is dotted with small round huts, and the paths from those huts lead invariably to dried-up waterholes. I saw only a handful of cattle or goats here and there, and never the full herds that one might have seen five to ten years ago.

At a small mission medical station in Tsolo, Transkei, I spoke with a doctor, who mentioned that tuberculosis is of epidemic proportions in the Transkei; approximately one out of every five people is affected. There is not enough land to feed those who are now living there, much less those who are being pressured to move there by the South African Government; there would not be enough land to support the population even with no drought and even with the possibility of all new agricultural methods and implements somehow miraculously appearing. I saw dozens of children dying of malnutrition in the Tsolo mission hospital, and endless lines of mothers who had walked for long miles, carrying starving children. Kwashiorkor the African name for the disease of malnutrition, claimed 40,000 infant deaths in South Africa in 1967, but there are no official figures.

The Ciskei, comprising part of Eastern Cape and Natal appears to be a little better off. It is nearer the coast, and is rich with sugar land. However, it is covered by "white spots" - farms owned by White owners - and the wealth is concentrated in the sugar produced on those "white spots" whereas the chief African employment is as farm help on those same farms. There seems to be no effort on the part of the South African Government to incorporate such "white spots" into the African homelands, as there is to remove all "black spots" from "white areas." Even in an African "homeland", as soon as an African farmer begins to prosper, he begins to fear the common eventuality that his prosperous land will be declared a "white spot". Needless to say, the coastal area is totally "white".

Grahamstown Location: Reputed to be the worst of all locations, this one exists on the outskirts of this small college town where there is no industry whatsoever to employ people. Africans are relegated to menial and domestic chores in White homes, churches and schools, except for the small handful of African teachers and nurses. A recent survey conducted by students at Rhodes University indicated that the daily *per capita* income is six cents. Little wonder that a common occupation of all children and unemployed adults is begging or stealing. In 1968, however, the Grahamstown City Council made begging illegal. Africans in the location begin to queue at 6 p.m. on Sunday for the big 6. a.m. Monday garbage dump. It is this White trash heap that keeps the African location subsisting. Many times during the year the water pipes to the location are opened for two hours in the morning and two hours in the evening only. Queues for water are always long, and one cold-water tap exists for each ten to twelve homes. Homes for families of six or eight may consist merely of a few flattened garbage-can walls, held together by rusted barbed wire and gum.

In the King Williams Town African location, the single road leading into it is deeply rutted and impossible to travel on during rains. All locations have only one entrance, well guarded by policemen who demand the "pass" each visitor must secure before entrance; often they even demand to escort the visitor on his brief trip. I was allowed at the most one-and-a-half hours to visit the township. The small cement-block houses here stand in a dry barren area, with no church, school or playground save the corner empty lot.

New Brighton African location, near Port Elizabeth, is an older township and has a number of relatively nice homes. An African pastor whom I visited spoke of the endless problems of unemployment, crime and prostitution. Even in a relatively comfortable African location one is struck by the level of agony and frustration at which the people's lives are daily lived.

Chatsworth Asian location, outside Durban, is a huge area of endless rows on rows of square two-family cement-block homes. The impersonality and inhumanness of the well-planned and patrolled community reminds one of army barracks or even of a prison. A typical address here: House 226, Road 101, Unit 1. The economic conditions of the Asian locations, as of the Coloured locations, are unquestionably better, but the oppressive nature of the enforced placement of people in makeshift, temporary, impersonal boxes, with no title, ownership or personal security, is obvious everywhere.

Again allow me to point out that the real shame of the poverty, illiteracy, crime and disease that abound in the African areas in South Africa is that it is not necessary but appears to be a status purposely maintained by the affluent Whites in power - and not only maintained but rationalized and justified. The disparity between the life style of the affluent Whites and that of their non - White servants is shocking. **It is this disparity within South Africa's borders which is her crime and which should be her shame.**

In Summary, my general impression is graphically illustrated by the memory of countless dried-up waterholes and emaciated livestock in the Transkei, of people dying silently of tuberculosis and malnutrition - a much less dramatic death than the nazi ovens of Germany but every bit as tragic and violent.

IMPERIALIST OFFENSE

There has been a spate of articles in the Western Press attacking the ANC and calling us "the tool of Moscow". Here TENNISON MAKIWANE, Deputy Director of International Affairs deals with one such attack by Patrick Keatley of the Guardian (London).

A new hostile offensive, a well-orchestrated campaign of vilification has been launched against the African National Congress by the Imperialists. A verbal barrage has been let loose in the columns of the press and countless intrigues are in progress all calculated to undermine our organisation. A significant series of articles entitled "The Battle for Africa" appeared in the newspaper "The Guardian" (16/7/69). The author is Patrick Keatley who up to now has been, especially in African circles, a somewhat respected gentleman.

In The Guardian articles as in several articles appearing in different newspapers, one point is being rammed home - that the A.N.C. is a servant of Moscow.

I am not worried about the allegation that the A.N.C. is "Communist dominated". We have lived with that one for decades, more so during the last twelve years.

It was the South African fascist, the late Oswald Pirow who tried to do us in with the red-hot brand of communism. That was the Summer of 1957. The scene was the Drill Hall, Johannesburg, where some 156 leaders of the A.N.C. and allied organisations stood trial for high treason. Pirow, a close buddy of the British fascist, Oswald Mosley, spoke with an agitated, shrill voice. It was a day of drama. For months previously, incompetent government prosecutors had doodled the days away adducing evidence from special branch witnesses who seemed not to understand what the whole thing was all about. The star witness of the crown, a Professor Murray, had carefully diagnosed a passage read out from a book by our defence lawyer. His verdict had been final. "That is communism straight from the shoulder", he affirmed. It turned out that the passage was extracted from a book written by Prof. Murry several years earlier!

Now Pirow stood there, delivering the crown's closing speech with a sense of urgency that sounded as if the world was almost coming to end. But Gabriel, the Angel, did not descend that afternoon. It was a weary Pirow who sat down having for a couple of hours painted, according to one newspaper, a "sordid picture of the A.N.C. conspiracy to bring about a communist dictatorship of the proletariat in South Africa". As he sat down, Pirow added, "And, my lord, THAT IS HIGH TREASON".

We, the accused, left the specially improvised dock tight-lipped. Many of us could clearly see the vision of the hangman's rope ahead. Several months afterwards Pirow was dead. The African National Congress marches on!

Some months ago I met Patrick Keatley of the Guardian in Central Africa. He was out sniffing for news of the guerilla battles which ZAPU and the ANC had unleashed suddenly and without warning in various parts of Rhodesia. I brought him face to face with a tough guerilla, one

of our militants who had seen action in the Eastern Front in Zimbabwe. The privilege I accorded him is one we usually reserve for our closest friends. I considered Patrick Keatley, in spite of some opposition from my colleagues, to be a friend who would not resort to delivering punches below the belt. All the same I kept my fingers crossed and on that occasion his dispatches gave us no reason for regret.

He went back to Africa recently. He has come back a changed man. What has made him change his mind, we do not know. But he has come back hysterical. Like Oswald Pirow, he talks with a sense of urgency professing the coming of doomsday. The treasonable act is about to come, he says. The day is approaching "when Eloff Street in Johannesburg has been renamed in honour of Chairman Mao, and Cecil Square in Salisbury has become the Taiping People's Gardens . . ." I should say AMEN to that!

Down Right Racism

But to be serious, let us examine what has caused the Imperialists and their new missionaries, the gentlemen of the Western press, to squirm and croak as they are now doing?

The incredible truth is that the grand design of Imperialism is the same today as it has always been. As yesterday, Imperialism wants today to retain Africa, with its fabulous riches, for its own selfish ends.

The suggestion that Africa is about to be taken over by the Russian or Chinese Communists smacks of down right racism. Patrick Keatley suggests that the Africans are paying the supreme sacrifice in the current armed struggle in Southern Africa not for themselves and the future of their children but for someone else. What utter nonsense!

Imperialism's vast world-wide empire has been shrinking dramatically since the end of the First World War. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 snatched away the vast territory of Russia from Imperialism's sphere of influence.

The end of the Second World War brought with it the victory of the Chinese Revolution. Huge chunks of Asia including India, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon etc. gained their independence. In this period, Africa except for Ethiopia and Liberia, remained in colonial bondage.

But Western Imperialism was in a spot.

The African captives could not be completely prevented from getting wind of what had happened in Asia, in Russia and China. But Imperialism tried hard to shut out the truth. Books were banned and heavy fines handed down to those dabbling in "illicit communist literature". Africans were prevented from travelling to communist countries.

In South Africa a wave of horror stories were published against us. All had one theme: The ANC is Communist dominated, they screamed. So to the Nationalist Party slogan of "Swart Gevaar" (Black Menace) was added the slogan "Rooi Gevaar" (Red Menace), culminating in 1956 with the Treason Trial referred to earlier. Today the

SIVE AGAINST ANC

South African regime proudly proclaims that it is the bastion of Western "Civilization" in Africa; the only "dependable" anti-Communist stronghold in the Continent. Our so-called white friends in the South African Liberal Party, like Mr. Keatley now, howled: "Communism is worse than Apartheid".

In pre-independence Ghana, during a search of Dr. Nkrumah's house, the British police found in his possession a membership card of the British Communist Party. British colonialism uneasily laughed off the fact that the card was in Nkrumah's name. But they made the coming of independence to Ghana hard. There was a laborious process of negotiations and re-negotiations. And when the day of independence ultimately arrived the imperialist prophets of doom, predicted failure. They were thoroughly angered by Nkrumah's statement: "Ghana's independence is meaningless as long as the rest of Africa is not free."

The accession of Ghana to independence meant one thing for the Black millions in Africa. The myth that the Black Man could not determine his destiny was exploded for ever.

But imperialism had only made a tactical retreat. When the First All-African People's Conference assembled in Accra in December 1958, we learn that there were present in that city as many imperialist agents as delegates themselves. Their sole aim was to determine which of the African leaders could be relied upon by the imperialists to safeguard their interests. At that time the "villain of villains" in Africa was Colonel Nasser who had just nationalised the Suez canal and bought arms from Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. He was described as a vile communist.

The tide of Independence swept through Africa, coming to a stop on the Zambezi. But the din of the African celebration was not yet over when imperialism perceived signs of "indiscipline" in the Congo. And without batting an eyelid, imperialism pulled out a dagger and drove it into the back of Patrice Lumumba. Gone was the pretence. One after another patriotic African leaders were harassed, subjected to conspiracies and evil machinations. Many were overthrown.

Battle Joined

But the battle for Africa has been joined with fresh vigour. The authentic freedom movements in Southern Africa, the African National Congress (ANC), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and SWAPO of Namibia having realised that the vast imperialist interests in Southern Africa were not going to surrender power to the African people until they were hit, have launched armed struggle for their independence.

The ANC had for half a century pleaded for redress of the grievances of the African people. The ANC brought about political and peaceful pressure on the powers that be. The whole world realised the peaceful intentions of

our struggle and we were filled with pride when the ANC President-General, Chief A. J. Luthuli, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The ANC had done all in its power to bring about freedom for our people by peaceful means. The ANC had exhausted all the peaceful methods of struggle which had succeeded in bringing political independence to large areas of Africa before entering the present armed stage of our struggle.

The betrayal by Britain of the Africans of Rhodesia is too fresh to merit any analysis here. Indeed, the Africans of South Africa and Rhodesia have been betrayed by Britain. The regimes of Salisbury, Pretoria and Lisbon have concluded secret treaties designed to entrench their evil domination of the Africans for ever. And to add insult to injury, the principal Western Governments, Great Britain, United States, France, West Germany, and other Nato powers, have openly allied themselves to the racist-fascist regimes in Southern Africa.

What were the African people to do in this situation? The answer was clear: ARMED STRUGGLE! We knew we would get no sympathy from the imperialists for fighting to bring about their downfall. We were not going to fight the enemy with spears and knobkerries like our forefathers. And we knew we would not obtain a single weapon from Whitehall or from the White House. We needed arms. And we knew we would have to get them where we could.

Splits Engineered

True to form, imperialism resorted to its old faithful weapons in its offensive against us. They tried to sow seeds of discord among the freedom organisations. A split was engineered within the ANC and within ZAPU. Thus emerged the so-called Pan Africanist Congress and the Zimbabwe African National Union. These splinter bodies failed to win the support of the people.

Shortly after the PAC split from the ANC we witnessed a very peculiar thing in the pages of the reactionary press. In one paragraph the ANC would be depicted as a moderate and conservative organisation whilst the PAC was described as a militant and fiery organisation. Then, in the next paragraph, the ANC would be described as Communist dominated.

Of late Imperialism has attempted to reconcile the contradiction between a moderate and communist dominated organisation by dividing up the communist world between moderates and revolutionaries. Sometimes you hear of liberals and conservatives among the communists. By alleging that the ANC is a tool of Moscow, imperialism has simply put the old rubbish into new garbage cans. The ANC is a tool of Moscow and PAC is a tool of Peking, they claim. The whole idea is to discredit the ANC in the so-called 'free world' and at the same time to discredit it among those who believe in the Thoughts of Mao-tse Tung. This is the same old tactic of labelling the ANC at once a moderate and a communist organisation.

We have noticed another strange phenomenon. From all sides the ANC, ZAPU, FRELIMO, MPLA are being urged to form a united front with the splinter organisations. True, some of these appeals come from some of the independent African States. And we view these appeals for unity coming from Africa as genuine expressions of concern for our struggle. We ourselves believe in UNITY. But we have found it most strange to find a mixed bag of gentlemen; Western Embassy officials, hostile pressmen, and Harold Wilson calling for a united front of the freedom fighters. Shortly after U.D.I., Wilson, who has acted with such bad faith towards the African people of Zimbabwe, visited Rhodesia and inter alia urged the ZAPU leader Nkomo to unite with ZANU.

In his series, Patrick Keatley virtually lets the cat out of the bag on the hysterical calls for unity coming from Imperialism.

In part two of the series Keatley writes:

"Sithole's subsequent arrest added to the stature of Zanu, and its leaders such as Herbert Chitepo in Lusaka and Lovemore Chihota in Dar command respect for their intellectual calibre . . ."

Patrick Keatley, conveniently leaves out the fact that recently Sithole during his trial on charges of plotting to assassinate Smith and two of his Cabinet Ministers, went out of his way to denounce violence. He entered the witness box and proclaimed that in word, thought and deed he condemned violence. How sharply contrasting to the brave words of ANC's Nelson Mandela who under similar circumstances defending himself as leader of Umkhonto We Sizwe proclaimed: "If needs be I am ready to die."

No doubt Patrick Keatley would have gone on to talk about the men of intellectual calibre within the PAC had it not been for the fact that recently Potlako Leballo, the PAC Acting President, using a "presidential decree" expelled from that organisation seven foundation leaders of the PAC, six of whom hold university degrees.

We should treat with the contempt it deserves Keatley's wild tale allegations that there is a crisis within the ANC caused by a pro-Peking group which seeks complete alignment with Peking so that there can be unity between PAC and ANC. This is a lie!

Can these racists never be made to understand that if the Africans want to forge unity they will do so without going via Peking or Moscow or on the say-so of Keatley?

Quite frankly we should be excused for suspecting that the whole noise about unity coming from imperialist sources is simply aimed at saddling us with those pseudorevolutionaries who "command respect for their intellectual calibre."

Patrick Keatley, it seems, has wittingly or unwittingly provided support for the plot, long hatched up by Imperialism. He scandalously calls for intervention in Southern Africa by the West saying:

"There may be responsible leaders in Black Africa to the North of the Zambezi who will say we stood at the gate of Southern Africa and gave the key to communism. And they will be right."

But the key, Mr. Keatley, is firmly in the hands of the African revolution in Southern Africa. It will remain there until Southern Africa is freed from the fascists now in power.

The African National Congress has a clear-cut policy as enshrined in our Freedom Charter. We have proclaimed it publicly, to the whole world. If this programme is communist - then, Sir, we plead guilty: We are Communists.

WE MUST NOT FORGET LIMEHILL

A South African correspondent describes a recent visit in these words: 'I passed a borehole which was surrounded by a group of people with buckets. They waited in vain, for the water had given out . . .'

There are still many people living in tents. Their feelings are sometimes of despair, because they feel that they cannot fight the system and to protest is to be a marked man, an agitator. I spoke to a man who had been threatened with expulsion from his job if he did not silence his criticism; to another whose resignation had turned to bitterness because two of his children had died. But I have talked to others also, whose anger is growing because of the treatment they have received, and from that anger a determination that this cannot go on for ever . . .'

In previous issues of *Sechaba* we have told the shocking story of Limehill. The removal of a peaceful people from their ancestral lands. The callous dumping of them in a stretch of barren veld, without homes, without sanitary facilities, without place to graze their cattle. And then the hunger, and then the typhoid epidemic and the deaths of sixty-nine people. And the prevalence of other diseases; gastro-enteritis, pellagra, kwashiorkor, scurvy and rickets.

Limehill still goes on. Its people are still forbidden to raise crops or cattle. And the vaunted 'Border Industries' which were falsely said to be going to employ them do not materialize.

And there is hopelessness and hunger. But there is also anger, which is growing. And this anger is not only growing at Limehill. For Limehill is only one case among so many cases of these brutal, murderous removals. Limehill came to public attention because few crusading churchmen came to hear of it. But there are many other Limehills which the authorities have succeeded in concealing. And they intend to create more. **They have said so themselves.**

The 'Black Spot' Policy

- A 'black spot' is land owned and occupied by Africans in an area which the Government has declared to be 'white'.
- The land was bought legally when Africans could still buy land. Some 'black spots' have existed for a hundred years.
- The population of 'black spots' depends for its livelihood on cultivation of the soil and grazing of cattle.
- The Nationalist regime is determined to remove all 'black spots' at the earliest opportunity - and whatever the cost in human suffering, and in human life.

'Implementing' a 'Policy'

Implementing a policy in this case means destroying people. By 1965, more than 70,000 Africans had been removed from 'black spots' and 127,900 morgen of their land had been handed



This is Limehill

over to Whites. But the Government decided things weren't moving fast enough (i.e. people weren't being moved fast enough). In 1966, the Minister of Bantu Administration and 'Development' told the House of Assembly that there were still 105,974 morgen of 'black spots' to be cleared. Apart from the Africans in these areas, he said that there were also almost 70,000 'squatter' families living on White land. They had to be moved also.

Homelands

Where are all these people to be moved? The authorities answer: 'to the Homelands'.

The area which constitutes the 'Homelands' – and which is all the land which the Nats envisage Africans occupying, ever – comprises only 13 % of the land of the country. And 1½ million morgen of this still belongs to Whites, whom the Government is in no hurry to shift.

The land of which the 'Homelands' are composed is also, largely, of the poorest quality in the country.

More than 4 million Africans live in these areas already. By the year 2,000, with the Government carrying out its policy of returning 5 % of Africans living in 'White' areas to these lands each year and allowing for natural population increase, 12 million people will have to be housed, fed and employed in the homelands.

The only consoling thought is that this Government will no longer be in power at that date. For, if it were in power and still forcing through its inhuman blueprints, millions of people would be starving to death. Already the 'Homelands' cannot support the people who are living in them.

No facilities – no life

In the 'black spots', Africans had their plots. They could keep stock. But in the 'Homelands', no African who owned less than 20 morgen in the 'black spot' (and the vast majority owned nothing like this amount) is entitled to equal land in the 'Homeland'. Most of those moved are not entitled to land at all; only to a township plot.

What facilities will they have on such plots? The Deputy-Minister of Bantu Administration and Development gave an accurate description of them when he described the facilities at Limehill in the House of Assembly (13. 2. 68). He said:

1. Africans were to construct their own homes and latrines,
2. No sanitary provision was made before the first people were moved in.
3. The Department had made no arrangement for the provision

of meat, bread, milk and vegetables to be bought at Limehill at the time the first people were moved there.

4. No clinic was, or is yet available.

In other words, there was no shelter of any kind, no sanitation, no school, no store, no medical facilities and no work.

As the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for Natal admitted: There just isn't enough room in the 'Homelands' for most Africans to be accommodated' on an agricultural basis.

As the Deputy-Minister of Bantu Affairs and 'Development' admitted (see above): there are no facilities of any kind for living – and by living we mean keeping body and soul together. So what about work opportunities? The Tomlinson Report advised that 50,000 new jobs would have to be created in the Bantustans each year to provide for the natural increase in the present population (taking no account of removals).

In the past 7 years, only 44,600 Africans have been given work in border industries.

In the 'Homelands' themselves, only 945 new jobs have been created in 6 years.

The Road to Genocide

What does the Government think it's doing? What it thinks it's doing is to create a migrant slave labour force with all its dependents crammed into the 'Homelands'. This labour force, it believes, completely at the mercy of direction (under statutory powers) to any part of the country, and unable to find work except through Government administrative channels, will submit in order to survive, in order that men themselves – and their wives and children – won't starve.

The Government is wrong. For anger is growing. Not only at Limehill but in all the other Limehills. The anger is the anger of men whose children have died of typhoid, of mothers whose children have died of malnutrition. Of people who every day feel the pains of hunger. What the Government is doing is building a revolution which will bring about its overthrow and charge its members with a policy of genocide.

For how else can be described a policy of herding millions of people into areas where they cannot grow food, have not got houses and cannot get work?

And we say to those countries who support the South African Government, who build trading ties with it, and profit from its 'cheap labour' and our sweat and blood, and even long to supply arms for it to shoot down our people, we say: **you too are conspiring towards genocide**, and we shall remember you too when we remember Limehill, and when you are smoothly seeking for our friendship after our victory.

DR. BARNARD - DIPLOMAT



It is strange that a small country like South Africa took the lead in a field where many others have long been frustrated. This article discusses Dr. Barnard's activities and shows how his medical work is being used to break down South Africa's isolation.

Since Dr. Barnard's first transplant, over ninety such operations have taken place in different parts of the world. This would tend to confirm the view that the physical engineering of the operation is not the most difficult part. What seems to restrain other heart surgeons from taking the initiative is the need for a minimal delay in transferring the heart, followed by the constant danger of rejection by the recipient. The record of survivals from the early heart transplant shows their doubts are well founded. The details of Dr. Barnard's operations, as given in the extensive press coverage accorded them, confirm the impression that the restraints and controls which operate in most countries when human life is at stake, were not applied. One is led to the conclusion that it was Dr. Barnard's preparedness to experiment with, and where necessary to lose, human lives which led to his success. The fate of Dr. Blaiberg must confirm this view.

The refusal of the authorities to accept that the public has any grounds for concern is one of the most disquieting aspects of heart transplants. Instead of being a medical advance in the interests of mankind, it would seem that it has come to be regarded as justification for South Africa's policies. Heart surgery in South Africa has entered the political arena.

The purpose of this article, however, is not to deal in depth with the merits or demerits of heart transplants. It is intended to show the more sinister role that Dr. Barnard is playing in the so-called outward-looking policy of the South African Government.

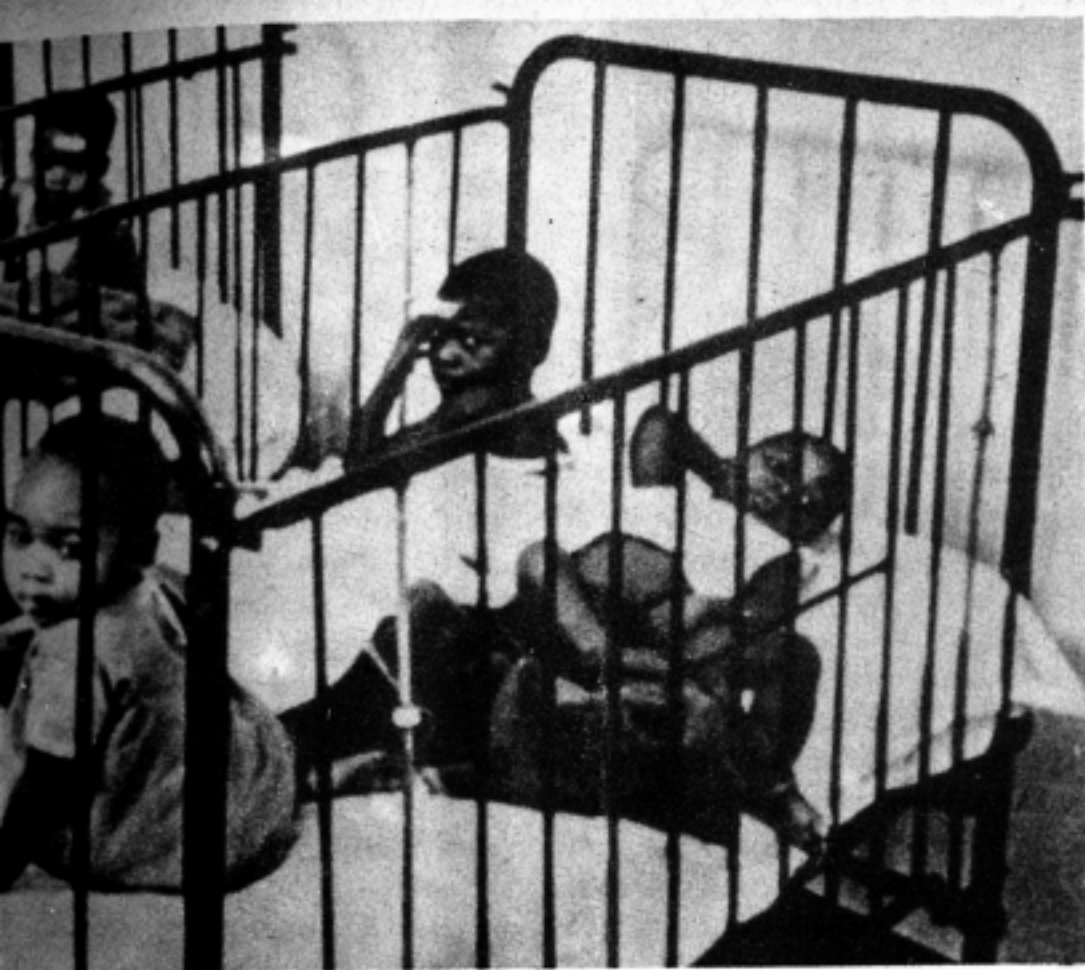
The First Heart Transplant

At the time of his operation on Mr. Washkansky South African newspapers reported that the donor had "died" in a car crash. A fortnight afterwards the following information was published: "It was revealed this week that the operation on Mr. Louis Washkansky . . . was begun while the donor, Miss Denise Ann Darvall, was still alive. When Washkansky was ready for the transplant, the artificial respiration which Miss Darvall was receiving was

discontinued . . ." (Stanley Uys. The Observer. 7. 1. 68) To counteract tissue rejection, Mr. Washkansky was heavily dosed with immuno-suppressive drugs, to the extent that his resistance to infection was lowered drastically. But it appears that he was not isolated in a sterile ward, even press and television interviewers were allowed in to see him. 18 days after the operation he died of pneumonia, casting doubt on his post-operative treatment. In fact in subsequent transplants patients were very carefully guarded in sterile wards for many weeks afterwards.

The Second Operation

Dr. Barnard's second patient, the late Dr. Blaiberg, belonged to a rare blood group, more commonly found among non-whites. Anticipating the likelihood of putting a black heart into a white body, Dr. Barnard issued a statement that his team would not refuse to transplant a heart because of the colour of a man's skin. The irony of this assurance may not be fully understood outside South Africa, but in a country where separation of the races is enforced in buses and trains, shops, public toilets, ambulances and even in the blood bank, where a white man may not receive non-white blood, it is cold comfort to know that hearts at least are equal. It is worth noting at this point that in the six heart transplant operations Dr. Chris Barnard has become South Africa's number one hero - right up to the present time the South African newspapers carry regular reports about his opinions, his travels and his domestic life. Nothing about Dr. Barnard is too trivial to report. And most of the time Dr. Barnard appears to revel in the publicity. After his first transplant operation he flew to the United States where he "appeared on several national television programmes" (SA Digest 5. 1. 68) and visited President Johnson on his Texas ranch. Thereafter it was a continuous programme of overseas triumphal tours. By November 1968 he had travelled 300,000 miles (and was hospitalized with a gastro dueodenal haemorrhage as a result).



While Barnard spends millions on heart transplants, scandalous conditions such as this continue in non-White hospitals. Photo from Ernst Cole's "House of Bondage"

South Africa's Blue Eyed Boy

For Dr. Barnard's tours are much more than fact-finding and information giving missions. Dr. Barnard's main task is that of diplomat and ambassador for his government. It is his job to paint a healing humanity-loving image which will melt the hearts of his country's critics. This is why he went to dinner with the South African Prime Minister after his success, why medallions have been minted in his honour and stamps issued with his image upon them. Why else would a medical surgeon find it necessary to visit and be photographed with President Johnson, President Saragat of Italy, the UN Secretary General U Thant, the Australian Minister of External Affairs and even Prince Rainier and Princess Grace of Monaco.

It is Dr. Barnard's desire to help his Government coupled with his insatiable vanity which sends him to the luxury hotels and night clubs of every major city, has him flying to Italy to answer the 'pleas' of Sophia Loren and asking Carlo Ponti to make a film of his life. It is this which makes him purposely prolong press conferences even after the journalists are tired, and tell a photographer that he was lasting longer in the headlines than Bobby Kennedy. (Private Eye special issue on Hearts).

Barnard The Politician

Many people who should know better have fallen under his spell. Prof. P. K. Sen of Bombay was among a number of heart specialists from all over the world who attended a prestigious cardiology symposium held in Johannesburg last August. According to press reports Dr. Barnard has accepted an invitation to visit India this year. If this is so we wonder how this will square with India's policy of isolating South Africa in terms of a U.N. resolution on the subject.

Let us, before going more fully into this matter, deal with just one of Dr. Barnard's international forays on behalf of his Government. In April this year Dr. Barnard made his first visit to an African State - Gabon. Less than six months later a delegation from Gabon visited South

Africa. No details are available of the visit but it can be assumed it was a prelude to other delegations to "investigate" trade and other political links between South Africa and Gabon. What did Dr. Barnard do in Gabon which has much greater health problems to deal with immediately than entering the field of heart transplants. The pro-South African, vested interests lobby in India is small at present. Insidiously this group continues to undermine the progressive role first played by the Nehru government and as ably continued by the Indira Gandhi government on the question of Apartheid. Without realising it perhaps, someone has given this group an added incentive by inviting Dr. Barnard who does not, as we have already pointed out, restrict himself to medical questions.

Barnard in Trouble

However, Barnard has not had it all his own way in South Africa. At about the time of his visit to Gabon non-White doctors in two Natal hospitals were threatening to resign unless their wage standards were increased to equal that of their white counterparts (See Sediba, Vol. 3, No. 6). Confronted by a statement by the Minister of Health, Carel de Wet saying that discrimination in salaries would stay for ever Dr. Barnard found himself making a handwritten statement urging the Government to narrow the salary gap and the non-white doctors to withdraw their resignations. Explaining this "unprecedented act" (in the South African context) on his return he said he found it embarrassing to be confronted with such criticisms while accepting a country's hospitality. "Although I am aware of the difficulties confronting the Government in this matter it is my personal view that it is wrong to pay doctors less because they are not white."

Some may be tempted to see in this a change of heart. But for a South African of Dr. Barnard's persuasion such inconsistencies have become fashionable.

According to a Sapa Reuter report of an interview over Danish television, Dr. Barnard said Apartheid was not the right answer to South Africa's problem - but nobody had

come up with a better solution. "We don't know the solution - but I don't think you know it either," he said. Echoing the diatribe that Vorster and his reactionary press often make about independent African states, Dr. Barnard in this interview added: "In other African states where all had been given the vote there was less freedom now than before. Leaders had removed all opposition and had become dictators." Like most South African "diplomats" on visits outside South Africa, he mildly criticises Apartheid and at the same time defends it most vehemently. This is in keeping with the so-called outward-looking policy that Vorster is plugging so assiduously.

His Government has realized that to survive it must expand - which means winning friends to the north. To do this a new image is needed. White supremacy will be played down and a fatherly helping hand extended. Dr. Barnard's gentle criticism is quite in line with this new image. At the recent Medical Congress (SA Digest 18. 7. 69) Dr. Carel De Wet went to great lengths to inform delegates of plans for creating a co-ordinating body to study the medical needs of neighbouring states in order that his Government could provide assistance where necessary. But assistance will only be the first step - as in the former protectorates and Rhodesia it will be followed by influence and then neo-colonialist penetration.

Who Benefits from the Transplants

Soon after the first heart transplant eight mining companies in South Africa announced that they were donating R 1,000,000 for heart research. The Chris Barnard Fund was started. The heart transplant operation is an extremely costly one, can it be that South Africa's medical services are so well developed in every other sphere that she can now afford to enter this one? Or is heart disease a priority? Photographs published with this article prove otherwise. "The paramount importance of research on heart diseases in South Africa is underlined by the fact that they are still the most important cause of death among South Africa's whites", wrote the SA Digest on 19. 4. 69. But only one out of every five people in South Africa is white. The other four do not suffer from heart diseases (Dr. Barnard says he has only seen one case of an African with proven heart disease - Star 2. 8. 69). Their pattern of disease is very different - vital statistics for Africans are not available because of incomplete civil registration, but doctors estimate that in the rural areas the infant mortality rate is as high as 400 per 1,000. 1967 was the last year when kwashiorkor was a notifiable disease - 9,965 cases were reported among Africans. There were 55,655 cases of tuberculosis among Africans in 1966, and the figure rose to 58,751 in 1967. These are the diseases of poverty. Non-White South Africa is very poor, it suffers from the diseases of the poor and the medical services it gets are inadequate and grossly understaffed.

"There is no difference in routine procedure and treatment between any of the races," Dr. Munnik declared proudly to the Sunday Times, justifying one aspect of the heart transplant. But in South Africa nobody would have believed him.

Apartheid is rigidly practised in hospitals, as else-where in the country - except in the factories where non-white labour is needed, or now in heart surgery. Groote Schuur is one of the "mixed" hospitals with segregated wards providing roughly equal numbers of beds for whites and non-whites, despite the preponderance of the latter in the population. The inefficiency is obvious. Vacant beds may be seen in a white ward, while non-White wards are crowded. In the outpatients departments, doctors have to

waste time commuting from white to non-white consulting rooms. As there is a greater incidence of illness among the poorer, non-white section of the population, overcrowding is everywhere evident. At the Red Cross Children Hospital in Cape Town which is also "mixed" an official notice instructed over-worked doctors to attend to white patients first.

As in every other field in South Africa, there is the grossest inequality in medical services. In a country where services for the largest section of the population are so inadequate and where the incidence of relatively easily preventable disease is so high, it is a scandal when large sums of money are spent on research which can only benefit a small number of people.

While recognizing the skill of the surgeons, a prestige project of this type which is pursued with flagrant disregard for ethical and moral standards and contrary to the pressing needs of the population, should be viewed with grave misgiving. Medical advances were made in Nazi Germany too, but at what price?

What should have been done to the Nazis in the late 30's should be done now to all racists: - ISOLATE THEM! To hob-nob with them is to condone their conduct. In South Africa every aspect of life, not least the health of the people, is inextricably linked with South Africa's racist policy. And any action such as the proposed visit of Dr. Barnard to India serves to undermine its total isolation.

BLAIBERG'S DEATH A SIGNAL FOR SURGEONS TO TAKE STOCK - Says The London Times

'Dr. Philip Blaiberg will go down in history as the greatest human guinea pig of his day. Through no fault of his own he became involved in an episode in medical history which has caused a great deal of public and professional controversy. By no means a suitable candidate for a major surgical operation of practically unknown risks, he agreed to allow a then relatively unknown but ambitious heart surgeon to carry out a heart transplant on him.

'Against the medical factors is to be weighed the fact that technically the actual operation was not a particularly difficult one by modern surgical standards. Indeed in some ways it was an easier procedure than some of those already being performed by heart surgeons throughout the western world.

'The main risk that frightened every heart surgeon worth his salt and striving to maintain the standards of the medical profession was the risk of the transplanted heart being rejected by the recipients body. Was any surgeon justified in even asking the patient to submit to this dreadful possibly fatal hazard?

'What is certain, however, is that Dr. Blaiberg must not be allowed to have died in vain. The heart surgeons of the world must show their respect for this gallant soul by vowing to carry out no more heart transplants until the full lessons of those already done have been absorbed. At the same time increasing attention must go to research into the problems of rejection of transplanted organs and no further heart transplants must be carried out until the chances of rejection can be made much lower than they are at the moment.'

In the Gandar Prisons Case evidence of torture by electric shocks was so overwhelming that it could not be disputed by the court. This article deals with the background to the case and the judge's findings. Harold Strachan's original exposure is confirmed.

THE GENTLE ART OF PERSUASION

"It is possible," said the learned judge, "that the gentle art of persuasion might not be very successful in prison." The occasion for this piece of profundity was judgement day in the notorious Gandar trial when this gallant editor and his assistant Benjamin Pogrud were found guilty of publishing "unverified" information about prisons. It is likely that the judge came to his conclusion about the art of persuasion after months and months of evidence by warders of all-ranks who one and all informed him of the fractiousness of their prisoners.

This condition seems to have been particularly pronounced at Cinderella Prison where even the prison doctor found it necessary to resort to unusually severe means of persuasion. "Regrettably," the judge said, the doctor had prescribed electric treatment for 'malingerers' who, it appeared, required some extra incentive to perform their tasks. Even more "regrettably" this fact was brought before the court so persistently that it could not be disputed. The judge was obliged to admit "electrical treatment was prescribed for a great variety of complaints, many of which even the layman would recognise as not the type of complaint which could be treated with electric therapy."

SWALLOWED SOAP

"Examples of this", he added, "had been that the treatment was prescribed for prisoners who had swallowed soap, who had a sore tooth, or who complained of haemorrhoids." He was therefore forced to the conclusion that, "by allowing the hospital staff to use this in teaching malingers a lesson, the door was possibly opened for irresponsible, irregular and illegal purposes - PURPOSES WHICH MAY HAVE HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THE HEALTH OF THE PRISONERS."

In coming to this conclusion, the judge was forced onto the right track. Electric shocks have in fact been used for illegal purposes for a long time. This was brought out in the Bultfontein case some years ago. When confronted with evidence of his complicity in electric torture a policeman said "I don't think there is a police station in the country that does not use violence during questioning."

PACK OF LIES

Since then a vast quantity of evidence has been given in numerous court cases on electric torture, culminating in the recent exposure in the James Lenkoe inquest that the victim had been subjected to sufficient electric current to cause his electrocution. (Dr. Moritz an American authority on burn injuries later told a U. N. panel that Lenkoe had probably been electrocuted). Shock treatment has become the main weapon in the art of persuasion as practiced on prisoners, a technique in which warders, doctors and above all the Special Branch have become highly proficient.

It is worth recalling that the judge's admission flagrantly contradict what the courts have been saying for the past three years. They have ruled in one case after another, that all the talk of electric torture was a pack of lies. Pursuant on these findings, the prisons department and the police hounded all those who brought to light the wicked practices of the authorities at Cinderella Prison and ensured that they were put behind bars. Even more, they persecuted Harold Strachan, the man who first broke through the conspiracy of silence with his courageous and defiant disclosures of the horrors of prison life, and whose

detailed statement could not be refuted even by the horde of warders who gave perjured evidence in the Gandar case.

DEADLY VENDETTA

Harold Strachan, we remember, first served three years imprisonment for sabotage during which he was held in solitary confinement, and then, after his conviction in the prisons case, he was driven back to jail to sit once again alone in a cell, hated by his mentors, for a further period of over-a year. Continuing their deadly vendetta, they now keep him under house arrest, unable to obtain work, a constant reminder of what happens to those who dare to reveal the truth in South Africa.

Yet even now the Government is not satisfied. Ever fearful of further disclosures by the press and embarrassing admissions forced out of reluctant judges, they have brought forward the final answer to press exposures in the form of the new General Laws Amendment Act, 1969. Under Clause 10, it is an offence to publish or disclose anything relating to BOSS, the new Bureau of State Security, so that information about detentions, or torture, or even evidence at an inquest may be suppressed. Furthermore, the courts may be prohibited from even hearing this evidence, if, in the opinion of the head of BOSS, it is, "prejudicial to the interests of the State or public security."

No longer will widows be able to ascertain how their husbands died, no more will the courts be able to probe the conduct of the Special Branch. The silence of the grave will shroud the activities of men like Swanepol, the Beast of Compol, whose duty it is to practice his own version of the "gentle art of persuasion."

BEYOND THE NADIR

The situation in South Africa continues to deteriorate even beyond the nadir we thought we had reached. The detention swoops continue. And whereas previously relatives were able to send in some food and clothing to detainees, this has now been stopped. Even their whereabouts are kept secret. From time to time there is a prosecution, but for the rest there is just detention: without trial, without access, without end.

This savagery must not be allowed to continue. Surely the detainees are asking - how much horror is needed before world opinion is stirred into action? And their question must needs be answered by the conscience of mankind - NO MORE FASCISM: DESTROY VORSTER'S MONSTERS!

Gandar



Strachan



THEY DIED IN DETENTION

Since 1963, 11 people are known to have died in South African prisons while being detained by the security police. Some facts about these deaths have become known through testimony given at court inquests. But not all the facts are known.

Particularly since the security police were first given powers of indefinite detention without trial (the 90-day law, the 180-day law, and now the Terrorism Act), persistent reports about their methods of extracting information from detainees have emerged during court hearings.

These have included allegations of electric shock treatment and brutal beatings.

Now, with the promulgation of Section 29 of the General Law Amendment Act, – the Law establishing the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) – it will be possible for the Prime Minister, or his "nominee", or any other Cabinet Minister to prohibit the giving of such evidence if it is prejudicial to the "safety or interests" of the State.

The enactment of this section has provoked two sitting Supreme Court judges, and several ex-judges, to take the almost unprecedented step of publicly criticising the legislation they are required to enforce. Virtually the entire legal profession in the country has supported their protest.

The Government-supporting newspaper, "Dagbreek", has suggested that the first use of Section 29 may be made when the widow of James Lenkoe, an African, who died while in political detention recently, brings an action for £ 5,000 damages shortly against the Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice, and a security police officer, Major T. J. Swanepoel.

"Dagbreek" quotes an unnamed judge as saying that if this were to happen in his court, he would suspend the hearing and resign from the Bench.

11 DEAD MEN

The following are the details of the 11 men who have died while in detention –with the verdicts in each case – as compiled by the "Rand Daily Mail".

"LOOKSMART" SOLWANDLE NGUDLE. Detained August 19, 1963, died September 5, 1963. Verdict: Suicide by hanging.

SULIMAN SALOJEE. Detained July 6, 1964, died September 9, 1964. Verdict: Suicide or attempted escape – fell from seventh floor of security headquarters in Johannesburg.

JAMES HAMA KWAYO. Detained August 26, 1966, date of death unknown. Verdict: Suicide by hanging – according to evidence at the terrorism trial.

LEON YUM PIN. Detained November 16, 1966. Verdict: Suicide by hanging.

IDENTITY, date of detention and death unknown. Death disclosed without detail in Parliament.

AH YAN. Detained about November-December, 1966, died January 5, 1967. Verdict: Suicide by hanging.

J. B. TUBAKWE. Detained September 10, 1968, died September 11. Verdict: Suicide by hanging.

NICODIMUS KGOATHE. Detained November 7, 1968, died February 1969. Verdict: Inquest magistrate unable, on evidence before him, to conclude that any person to blame.

SOLOMON MODIPANE. Detained February 2, 1969, died about February 28. Verdict: No inquest – magistrate endorsed postmortem report that death was due to natural causes.

JAMES LENKOE. Detained March 5, 1969, died March 10. Verdict: Suicide by hanging.

CALEB MAYEKISO. Detained May 13, 1969, died June. Verdict: Unknown. Natural causes according to statement by Brigadier Venter, head of security police.

These are known cases. We have no doubt that many others have died in detention and that details of such deaths have been suppressed. For instance on 28th January, 1967, the death of an unknown person was disclosed in Parliament in reply to a question and is not included in the above list.

THE NGUDLE CASE

We have dealt with the more recent deaths in detention in our August issue (Vol. 3 No. 8).

Let us look briefly at the case of "Looksmart" Solwandle Ngudle.

Information of his death was given to his widow 10 days after the date on which he was said to have died. He was buried without any members of his family being present. A prisoner awaiting trial was quoted by defence counsel as saying he was quite definite Ngudle had died as a result of torture, and not of suicidal hanging.

When Ngudle was banned (after the first inquest hearing, the first person to be banned posthumously) defence counsel withdrew from the proceedings, saying that the banning order made it impossible for any statement made by Ngudle during his life to be published.

A second defence counsel, at a later hearing, argued that it was necessary, in the interests of justice, to call certain witnesses whose evidence, if true, would establish a "system, a technique of torture, used by certain members of the security branch to extract information . . ." When the magistrate ruled this irrelevant, this counsel, too, withdrew.

After this second withdrawal, a Pretoria magistrate who had visited Ngudle three times, told the court that on the third time Ngudle complained of having been assaulted and of having coughed up blood. The magistrate did not see any marks on Ngudle. He reported the complaint to the police, and the next morning heard of Ngudle's death.

The finding: That Ngudle had hanged himself and that his death was not the result of any act of omission amounting to an offence on the part of any person.

AN EYE FOR AN EYE

Cases such as this one will no longer come before public scrutiny as the new BOSS Law ensures that evidence before a court of law may be prohibited by the Prime Minister or his nominee or any Cabinet Minister.

The rape of the rule of law as we say in our editorial – Fighting Talk – must arouse the most widespread indignation the world over. We shall settle our score with the racist madmen in the battles to come.



THIS IS THE BOSS

He is Lieutenant-General H. J. van den Bergh, who will head the new Bureau of State Security and whose powers in some instances will theoretically exceed even those of the Prime Minister.

General van den Bergh will not be answerable to Parliament or even to the Cabinet, only to the Prime Minister himself, a close personal friend since they were interned together at Koffiefontein during the Second World War for supporting Nazi Germany. It is hardly surprising therefore that Vorster's rise to power was accompanied by the advancement of this policeman who joined the Ossewa Brandwag with him.

General van den Bergh was born in the Free State, educated at Vredefort, joined the police as a constable on the beat in Johannesburg 25 years ago, and after 50 years of comparative obscurity had the most spectacular rise in the history of the force.

It was only in 1950 that he was commissioned, and it was 1959 before he became a captain. His promotion was more rapid thereafter and he rose to Lieutenant-Colonel in 1962, and full Colonel in 1963 when he took over as

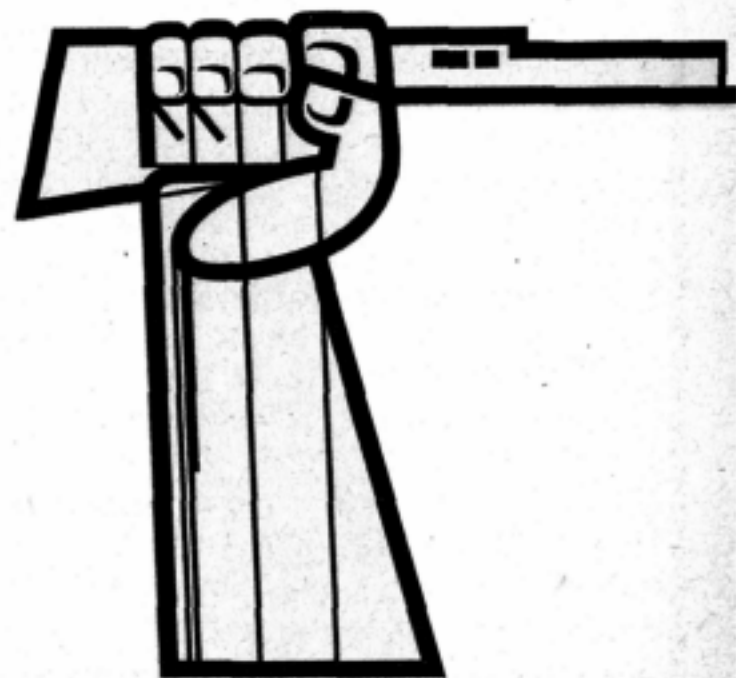
head of the Special Branch. Still following in Vorster's wake, he became Inspector General of the Police, then Deputy Commissioner of Police. Early last year Mr. Vorster announced that General van den Bergh would succeed Lieutenant-General J. P. Gouws as Commissioner of Police when the latter retired. But in October the Prime Minister changed his plans and appointed General van den Bergh his personal security adviser. This was when the idea for the creation of BOSS was formulated.

In recent years General van den Bergh has become increasingly outspoken on political affairs. He has appeared on public platforms in company with political leaders, spoken hysterically on the danger of communism at a symposium organised by the controversial Antikom organisation, and was photographed giving the Ossewa-brandwag fascist salute at the funeral of the former O. B. leader Dr. Hans van Rensburg.

General van den Bergh has condemned the "sickly sentimentalism" of liberals and democrats as furthering the aims of "communism". He has also said that "certain student organisations, newspaper reporters, churchmen and

other intellectuals" are under communist influence. Fighting "communism" has become his mission.

This is the man who holds tremendous power in South Africa. He is the boss of BOSS, South Africa's latest murder squad.



THE AXE FALLS AGAIN

In the short period of the first 6 months of this year 50 people were banned in South Africa according to a memorandum published by the United Nations Unit of Apartheid, New York. The total number of banned persons now tops the 600 mark.

Under the so-called Suppression of Communism Act, the Minister of Justice has very wide and arbitrary powers to prohibit a person:

- from entering or being in a certain place (e.g., any African location or trade union office or factory or printing works or publishing house)
- from going outside a particular area or place (e.g., a magisterial district or African reserve or even a flat)
- from communicating with any other person (usually another banned person)
- from receiving any visitors (except an advocate or attorney managing his affairs)
- from attending any gatherings
- from doing specific acts (e.g., teaching, writing for publication).

The definition of "communism" under the Act is so wide and arbitrary that the repressive measures have been applied to active opponents of apartheid irrespective of their attitude towards communism.

Those banned during this period are:

ALEXANDER Dorothy Hazel
High school teacher and sister of Dr. Neville Alexander. Sentenced to five years' imprisonment in 1964 under "Sabotage Act". Banned after release.

ASVAT Dr. Zainap
Former President of the Indian Women's Association. On Human Rights Day, 1963, she led a group of women who tried to present a petition to the Prime Minister

protesting the Group Areas Act. The next day she was served with banning orders.

BALFOUR Mabel
Was banned in 1964

BHUGWAN Sonnie
Former secretary of Natal Indian Youth Congress. Banned since 1964

BUSAKWE Jackson
Had earlier been imprisoned for participation in the activities of the African National Congress.

CACHALIA Amina
Wife of Mr. Yusuf Cachalia. Banned since 1963.

CACHALIA Yusuf Ahmed
A prominent leader of the South African Indian Congress. Banned since 1963.

CAJEE Dawood Ismail
About 71 years old. Businessman Detained in 1960 and 1963. Banned in 1964.

DUNCAN Florence Lucella
Physiotherapist. Served a sentence of imprisonment under Suppression of Communism Act.

ERNST David
Formerly lecturer at Natal University. Served sentence of imprisonment under Suppression of Communism Act. Banned after release.

ESSACK Abdool Kader Hoosen
Banned in 1964.

GONIWE George

GUMEDE Constance
Formerly leader of the South African Women's Federation. Mother of three children. Banned since 1964.

HLATSWAYO Joseph
Banned since 1963

ISAACS Emmanuel
Trade union leader. Detained in 1963. Banned since 1964.

JACQUESSON Alphonse Joseph
Businessman. Banned since 1964.

JASSAT Essop Essack
Former executive member of the Transvaal Indian Congress. Banned since 1964. Medical Practitioner

KHALA James

KAZI Dr. Azizullakhar Bahlolckham

LUPONDWANA Rex Dinga
Detained in July 1964. Later charged under the "Sabotage Act", but acquitted in November 1964.

MAFANYA Welcome Zolile

MALEK Rasool
Former executive member of Transvaal Indian Congress. Detained in 1963. Banned in 1964 and placed under "house arrest" during nights and weekends.

MALELE Elman
Banned in 1964.

MANZI Gladys
Banned in 1964.

MAPONYA Selborne

MATSHABA Charles

MAYEDO Mbebe Henry

MAYOLI Josiah

MKUMBAZI Julius
Banned in 1964. Charged under "Sabotage Act" in 1964, but acquitted.

MOLEFE Selina
Banned in 1964.

MOOSA Ismail
A Molvi (priest) and merchant. President

of Transvaal Indian Congress for five years. Banned in 1964.

MXENGE Mlungiso Griffiths

NAIDOO Shantivathie
Former employee of South African Congress of Trade Unions. Banned in 1964. Detained under Terrorism Act in May 1969.

NDEVU Anderson Mketi

NGENDANE Selby Temba

NKINTI Edward Mawetu

NJONGWE Dr. James Lowell Zwelinzima
Banned in 1964.

NTSANGANI Milner Bonakele
Sentenced in 1964 to five years' imprisonment for participation in activities of African National Congress.

PILLAY Barathanathan
Banned in 1964.

PINDANI Nelson
Sentenced to imprisonment in 1966 for participation in the activities of the African National Congress. Banned after release.

SCHERMBRUCKER Leslie Erica
Sentenced to 300 days' imprisonment in 1966 for refusing to give evidence in the trial of Mr. Abram Fischer. Sentenced again in 1966 to two years imprisonment on the charge of helping Mr. Fischer when he was in hiding. Her husband, Ivan Frederick, has been in prison since 1964.

SEPTEMBER Dulcie Evon
Teacher. Sentenced to five years' imprisonment in 1964 under the "Sabotage Act". Banned after release.

SULUBA Phillemon
Sentenced to imprisonment in 1964 and 1966, for participation in activities of African National Congress. Banned after release.

TOLE Alex Fuzile

TSHABANGU Elliot Goldberg

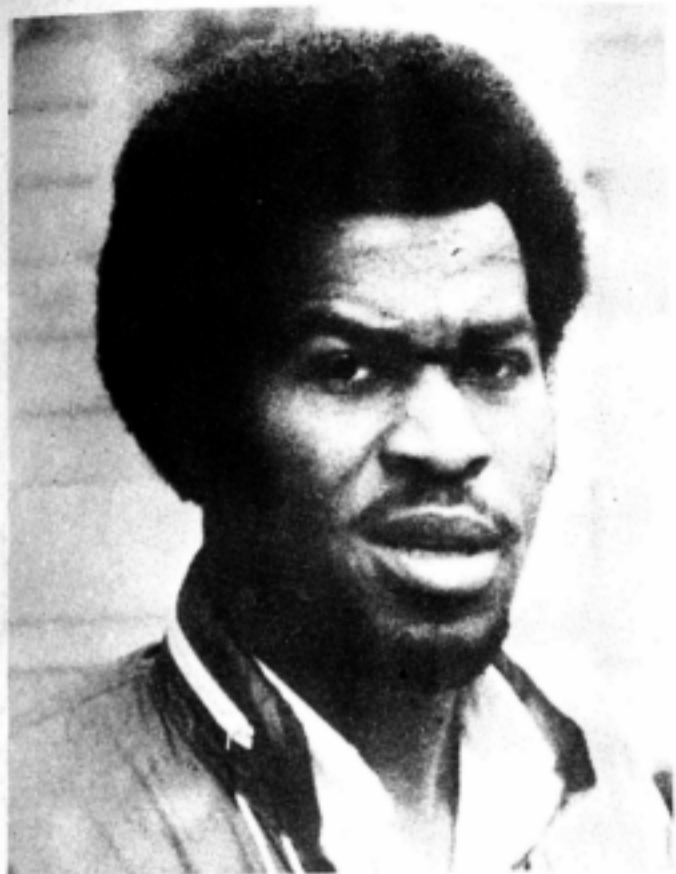
TSHIKILA Zifozonke Walter

VAN DER HEYDEN Doris
Library assistant sentenced to five years' imprisonment in 1964 under "Sabotage Act." Banned after release. Sister of Ian Leslie van der Heyden.

VAN DER HEYDEN Ian Leslie
Teacher. Sentenced to five years' imprisonment in 1964 under the "Sabotage Act." Banned after release. Brother of Doris van der Heyden. Another sister, Elizabeth, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and is still in prison.

WEINBERG Violet May
Former national vice-president of the Federation of South African women. Banned in 1962. Detained in 1965. Sentenced to three months in 1966 for refusing to give evidence for the State in the trial of Mr. Heyman and Mr. Dingake, and to two years for taking part in the activities of the banned Communist Party. Her husband, Eli, a trade union leader, is serving a five-year sentence. Her daughter, Sheila, was detained in 1964 while a student, and served a prison sentence in 1965 for participation in activities of the African National Congress.

WILCOX Edna Dorothy



LEE EVANS

A champion among men

A portrait by Dennis Brutus

Lee Evans is a champion. More significantly, he is a **black** champion. Holder of the world record for the 400 metres and winner of two gold medals at the Mexico Olympics in October 1968, he is one of that small band of absolute champions. Michael Parkinson, in his profile in the "Sunday Times", called him "indisputably one of the greatest athletes that has ever been." He is one of that select band who are linked in the minds of the more than 500 million who watched last years Olympics – the black men who won the explosive short distance events at Mexico and then went on to the "Black power" protests.

All this makes Lee a champion – a **black** champion. He is also the champion of black people; – within fifteen minutes of meeting he was reminding me "Tommie and John and me, when we ran in Mexico, we were doing it for the black people – not for America." And his concern now is to do what he can, from his position of fame, to help the cause of the blacks.

"JUST A FAST NIGGER"

Partly it is because of his own experience as a black in an American ghetto, and the knowledge that "I got an education because I could run fast" (he is completing a B. A. degree this year); but partly it is because of his experiences of racial discrimination even **after** he became a great athlete – the knowledge that however fast you might be you could remain "just a fast nigger". He knows how many blacks have been used as muscle-power to win recognition for an institution and have then been discarded – uneducated – when their usefulness was exhausted. He knows what glowing promises were made, if only he would win a gold at Mexico, and how they have gone unfulfilled. But he does not talk much of this.

He talks more of himself. Of his thoughts and feelings. Talks easily and vividly, but with a kind of emotional veering which indicates that much is still being sorted out, that there are many issues on which he has not yet defined his position. How things are to be resolved in the U. S. – both in sport and in the larger racial problem; how the athlete can contribute to the struggle to free the black American – and make his contribution to the struggle elsewhere; what his personal role will be.

Strange things for an athlete to be concerned about, when one is so used to athletes concentrating only on their performance and training, oblivious of social problems. But Lee Evans is the new breed of Afro-American athlete – and not Afro-American only – who sees himself above all as a human being with an obligation to his fellow men.

"That little girl" – he nods towards a black girl, the youngest in the team – "she's getting an education because she can run fast."

"That Arthur Ashe: we all knew they wouldn't let him into South Africa; and if they had come to play tennis in the U. S. they sure would have got it in the ass."

"You can't just think about sport: when Welks shouted 'Hit the ball Billy' to Billy Mays they were laughing at him because he didn't want to think about anything else except hitting that ball."

"I didn't want to run here in Britain; I just don't feel like it. We know what they're doing. We know what Australia and New Zealand are doing too. We knew about that mini-Olympics."

On some things he is very clear. On his deadly opposition to racialism and his willingness to fight it where he can best – in the sports arena. Whatever the cost, Lee Evans knows that he will stand up against racialism in sport. This is why he is so sure that he would not have been at Mexico if the South African racist body had been there.

DEADLY MEANING

In America too he is convinced that it will be necessary to challenge and confront the forces of racialism in sport and everywhere else. And he does not shrink from the knowledge that the campus greeting "Have you got your gun" is not mere empty bravado, but may have a deadly meaning.

On much he is still unsure. He has spent time trying to find an explanation why a group of black athletes swept the medals at Mexico in the track events and has some tentative theories of how the selective breeding of slaves by plantation owners, and the survival of the fittest on the slave-ships may have produced a strain of muscularly powerful blacks.

Thoughts of his slave ancestry constantly enter his conversation. And out of this comes his concern with the struggle for freedom in Africa. "We are anxious to know what is happening to our black brothers. We want to know how we can help." He confesses to a feeling of total alienation which makes it impossible for him to feel he is running for the United States and speaks enviously of the Africans he met in Mexico and the pride with which they spoke of their country. He is hoping to get a coaching job in Africa, possibly Kenya, so that he can help produce great athletes – he is convinced that Africa will collect a great crop at the Munich Olympics in 1972.

But right now he is anxious to do his bit for those who are fighting racialism in sport. It is for this reason that he wore black socks at the White City Stadium in London in August, when he won the 400 metres – "To protest against the support which Britain gave to South African sport at the apartheid mini-Olympics in Bloemfontein" It is for this reason that he is prepared to campaign among athletes in America, both black and white, that they should boycott the sports events of countries which give support to South African racialism in sport (a grave warning here to Britain, Australia and New Zealand). It is all a sign of the changing times: it is Lee Evans' implacable opposition to racialism that makes him a great black champion.

Students in Action!

Recent S. A. Student Protests

Despite ever more repressive action on the part of the authorities, student protest and resistance have been at a high level during the past year. It is, of course, in the 'bush' colleges, the so-called 'tribal universities', that these protests have had most meaning.

In these rigidly authoritarian institutions for Africans, administered and staffed by the most backward products of Afrikaans universities (where Evolution is considered a heresy and modern psychology is condemned as immoral), student political activity has a heroic significance.

For, unlike those of their white counterparts at the English-speaking universities, these students' protests are dealt with by immediate savage repression.

Detentions and Expulsions

This was shown by the response to the Fort Hare demonstrations (described in SECHABA last year). After massive slogan-painting and a sit-in dispersed by police with tear-gas, the authorities really cracked down. 21 students were expelled. Another seven were detained for three weeks, brutally interrogated by police and then charged with damaging property (i. e. slogan-painting).

This year, new techniques are being used against Fort Hare students. Militant students invariably fail their exams (and the greatly increased number of informers who have been infiltrated into the campus invariably pass theirs).

Student March

Meanwhile, at the 'University College of the North' (at Turfloop in the Transvaal), students recently held a march and presented a list of grievances to the Rector. And despite the fact that NUSAS membership is banned at Turfloop, a two-man delegation from that college bravely attended the NUSAS conference in Cape Town.

In addition, when the University Christian Movement at Turfloop held a multi-racial service recently, police burst into the church and broke it up. Afterwards, a number of Johannesburg students were charged with illegally entering a non-White area. (The University Christian Movement is considered 'liberalistic' and has been attacked by both Vorster and Interior Minister Muller - who described it as 'subversive'. Members of this organization at Turfloop have been consistently harried by the Special Branch and pressure has also been put on their parents).

At the 'University College of the Western Cape', the college for Coloured students, the students are at present vigorously resisting attempts by the administration to set up a quisling SRC. And at UNNE (University of Natal, Non-Europeans), the recent situation has been described as one of 'ferment'.

Students are no Rearguard!

By M. K. Malie (S. A. student in the GDR)

The Consultative Conference of the African National Congress of South Africa held at Morogoro, Tanzania from April 25 to 1 May, 1969 is a milestone in the history of the A. N. C. and of great political significance to all Anti-Apartheid forces in and out of South Africa and all freedom loving peoples the world over. This conference, which took place at a time when the Vorster regime is intensifying its method of naked and ruthless oppression of the majority of South Africans who do not happen to have a white skin or are opposed to its fascist doctrine and ideology of maintaining "Herrenvolkism" and "White baaskap" not only inspired us but also regenerated our revolutionary preparedness to struggle until victory is won.

The order that comes from this Conference is to "close ranks and intensify the armed struggle". It is a direct challenge to all A. N. C. students, Youth and South African patriots. In the No. 7 issue of *Sechaba* 1969 the A. N. C. clearly elaborates in a clear cut manner the strategy and tactics of the revolution. It is but clear that without armed struggle in South Africa our revolutionary cause cannot triumph.

As the most vital and active force in society the Youth and students can only put this order into practice if it is willing to integrate itself with the broad masses of the workers and peasants.

The hour of decision has arrived especially for those South African students and Youth living or studying abroad to decide whether they shall live as immigrants or as temporary exiles. A true South-African patriot can only retain his dignity by passionately struggling to return home, to overthrow the government which has banished or persecuted him. A man must love his land and refuse to give it up. He must wait on its borders with a famished look. Otherwise one has just to become an immigrant, must settle and forget his native land.

It is therefore necessary that the Youth and students should strengthen and heighten their revolutionary preparedness and vigilance. The notion held by some students that students are a sort of rearguard who only come after some areas have been liberated is wrong, false and harmful to our revolutionary cause. The people who entertain this idea take students as some "elite group" above the masses, who, under all circumstances must be saved from any physical danger that might arise in armed conflict between the enemy and the people. Here the students can safely do instruction and administration in the so-called liberated areas. What a silly idea! As a vital and active force how can the Youth and students afford to play a role of rearguard. How can the masses accept them if they do not integrate themselves - everywhere where the masses are - in the storm and midst of revolutionary struggle. The Youth and students are but like plants that can only blossom and flourish if they have their roots deep in the soil. Our revolutionary soil is the broad masses and workers.

Our watchword as South African students should be "Freedom in our lifetime." How happy we are as young revolutionaries to be living at a time of revolutionary upheaval in the world and what a happy and sacred duty lies before us. We will be able to participate actively in the liberation and emancipation of our country from the fetters of fascism.

Long live the A. N. C.

Long live Umkhonto!

The First Pan African Cultural Festival was held in Algiers from July 21 to August 1. It was attended by delegations, cultural troupes, and personalities from the African continent, as well as guests from other parts of the world. A large contingent from the African National Congress represented South Africa. The ANC participants received outstanding acclamations whenever they appeared presenting traditional dances and songs of the liberation struggle.

CULTURE AND REVOLUTION

Background to the First Pan African Cultural Festival, by Alex La Guma

For two weeks the theatres, public squares and sports stadiums of Algiers throbbed and pulsed to the music, songs and dances of Africa. The First Pan-African Cultural Festival sponsored by the Organisation of African Unity brought together in the capital of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic all the artistic achievements of Africa in all the diverse contributions which the people of our great continent has evolved over centuries.

From every state on the continent came troupes of dancers, singers, musicians. The opening parade through the streets of Algiers created a kaleidoscope of colour, changing from the brilliant robes and trappings of Arab horsemen to the ritualistic masks and panoply of tropical Africa.

The only states not represented on a governmental level were those of the racist South. These were represented by contingents from the liberation movements, the ANC (South Africa), MPLA (Angola), FRELIMO (Mozambique), PAIGC ('Portuguese' Guinea), ZAPU (Zimbabwe).

It is significant that these contingents received prolonged ovations from the massed crowds when they appeared in the streets of Algiers, for they represented those regions of Africa where indigenous culture is suppressed and the people's personality must be re-established by force of arms.

Far from a mere stock-taking of African culture in all its aspects, the Algiers Festival was meant to confirm the self-awareness and expression of the African cultural phenomenon, to help in creating the outlines of a culture able to serve as an instrument of economic and social change. The symposium, attended by African and world personalities in the cultural field, met to discuss, "African culture, its reality, its role in the liberation struggle, in the consolidation of African unity and the economic and social development of Africa."

Intrinsic Part of Struggle

Opening the Festival, President Houari Boumediene of Algeria stated: "This Festival, far from being an occasion for general festivities which might momentarily distract us from our daily tasks and problems, should rather be related to them and make a direct contribution to our vast effort of construction. It constitutes an intrinsic part of the struggle we are all pursuing in Africa - whether that of development, that of the struggle against racialism, or that of national liberation. Colonialism is an evil which all of us have experienced and over its most insolent forms we have triumphed... For us culture is a beginning which involves the best works of man in the stimulating task of development and social progress. What meaning, what role and what function could we give to culture if not to give our liberated peoples a better life and to continue the fight for our brothers

still under the yoke of colonialism in one way or another, to participate thus in the world-wide task of the rehabilitation of man by man?"

Addressing the symposium the delegate from the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) said: "Culture is a dynamic expression. It becomes a way of expressing appreciation or rejection of a national event. In the circumstances of Zimbabwe, our songs now contain abhorrence of oppression and a good many raise the spirit of war against the oppressors. When culture takes this form it becomes the culture of resistance. A people's culture cannot be suppressed or oppressed without touching the heart of the people. Submission to oppression is abandonment of one's culture and effacement of one's personality. The Zimbabwe people today are engaged in a liberation struggle. The struggle is to reject foreign impositions in our systems and concepts of culture. The struggle in a positive sense is to salvage our culture, live by it and preserve the aspects we consider consistent with progress in this dynamic world."

Dynamism of Our Culture

Speaking on behalf of the South African delegation, Mazizi Kunene said that the Festival was an occasion to affirm those values which have kept our society intact. "It is an occasion to not only perpetuate the memory of our great heroes but also thereby to assert the dynamism and continuity of our culture and history. It is an occasion to replenish old values with new experiences. The colonialists in their ignorance and/or arrogance, often as a matter of policy, sought to depersonalise Africa, and have created a cultural vacuum. They have poured scorn on the large number of festivals and sought to project us as happy animals... We are reasserting the continuity of achievements of our forefathers whose spectacular conquest of the physical challenges of this continent is a monument to their spirit of courage and adventure. We are here to continue in the heroic traditions and the directions which they conceived, perceived and explored. We are therefore instruments of our continental history and as such we cannot assume the arrogance and myopia which claims the finality of its achievement. In this sense our cultural festivities go beyond a day, a week, or a month and are thrust beyond it into the unknown in the name of a dynamic and a continuing African revolution. The struggle waged by us against the colonialists must be mobilised with even greater vehemence in the postindependence period of reconstruction against an imperialist elite. Our revolution in South Africa is based on the recovery of our social values defined not in airy-fairy attempts, but in concrete political, economic and social attempts. In short, we are fighting for a socialist state and we are dedicated to this ideal and we shall not lay down our arms until these ideals have been achieved."

BOOK REVIEWS

THE REVOLUTION IN GUINEA-BISSAU

The Liberation of Guiné by Basil Davidson

With a Foreword by Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General PAIGC
Penguin African Series (6/-)

In the welter of revolutionary strategies now being discussed, that of PAIGC, as revealed in this unique study of the war in Guine, stands out for its good sense. We have been ignorant for too long of the remarkable clarity of purpose with which Amilcar Cabral and his comrades set out on the path of armed revolution. Working in a situation without precedent, they avoided a rigid adherence to old formulae, or the oversimplification of problems. Above all, there was no adventurism. Their strategy, summed up by Cabral in 1966 as "political action, armed action, and national reconstruction," was implicit in all their plans right from the very beginning.

In this most excellent book, destined to become a handbook of revolutionary war, we are told of the seven long years of preparatory political and organisational work from 1956 to 1963, of the travels of Cabral to Angola where he joined MPLA and thence to the Republic of Guinea where he set up a base. Training was first political, to build a nucleus for the party, and then military for the armed action ahead.

The men who joined Cabral for these preliminary tasks came from that sector of Guine society they called 'the rootless' ones. They were young men, declassé rather than lumpen proletarians, who had drifted to the towns while retaining links with the countryside, seeking what they could not find anywhere in Guine – a meaningful existence. Thwarted and frustrated by the lack of opportunity, they became, first, rebels, and then in the process of political activity, revolutionaries.

However the towns offered little prospect for generating a nationwide revolutionary struggle. On the other hand, the mass of the population the peasants, were quiescent and far from ready to embark on the only method of struggle possible under the harsh rule of Portugal – armed struggle.

The first task for PAIGC, therefore, lay in the development of a network of cadres who would filter into the villages discussing the proposition that 'there was no third way between continued surrender and armed uprising.' Only when this process had been underway for several years were the first foco established within the country, and thus began a dialectic of struggle which would lead the peasants to gradually discover for themselves the need for armed struggle.

Davidson deals skilfully with this aspect. The cadres, fanning out secretly throughout the countryside, came to the people as the spokesmen of the party and its policies. They preached revolutionary war, war with a social content which was to introduce new democratic practices and structures throughout the countryside. Later, when the armed struggle reached these villages, the democratic principles could be seen in operation as the grass roots decision-making apparatus and administration. They were created everywhere.

It was in this crucial area of communication between the party, its armed detachments, and the body of the peasantry that the philosophy of the revolution was developed. Wholly dependent on, and in fact springing from the peasantry, the actual struggle was accompanied by the creation of village committees which were then directed into tasks of reconstruction. In the nature of things, this involvement of the peasantry at the lowest levels has come to be a guarantee that this revolution will not be a revolution of elitists – that parasitic section which has usurped the people's power elsewhere in Africa. Cabral has said that Guine's revolution will not be "simply a matter of raising a flag or singing an anthem" and that PAIGC well understands 'the difference between genuine national independence and artificial political independence.'

Davidson informs us that there are no Portuguese settlers in Guine, which underlines the fact that Portugal's interests there are not as great as in the other territories in Africa. Yet, despite a steadily deteriorating military situation, Portugal clings desperately to this small country which has but limited natural resources, preventing the consummation of the Guine revolution. This very stubbornness in the face of huge costs, brings home to us the significance of the PAIGC's achievement. They have shown that Portugal is desperately trying to conceal a powerful truth; that African guerilla forces can conquer: that nothing can stem the ever growing pressure of the African armed revolution which is emerging everywhere within the former enclaves of white domination. B. T.

THE VIOLENCE OF APARTHEID

South Africa: The violence of Apartheid by Albie Sachs.

An International Defence and Aid pamphlet – price 4/6

"Violence is by no means a peculiarly South African phenomenon, yet in South Africa it manifests itself to a degree and in a manner probably without parallel in the world."

Albie Sachs provides us with the facts to support that statement in his excellent, well-documented 66-page booklet, and succeeds in painting a picture of South Africa which is so horrifying that it is almost incredible. One wishes it were not true. But, in a quiet legal manner, he builds up his picture largely with statistics (very often based on the South African government's own figures), together with an analysis of various laws and practices.

He points out that apartheid is not self-enforcing but is maintained by an elaborate system of penal laws backed up by the powerful weaponry of a modern state.

The world's busiest hangman is in South Africa. "In the name of the law he has for the last five years killed on average two persons per week, one hundred per year, nearly 500 in all." South Africa alone is responsible for 47 per cent of the total world executions. Every day an average of 2,000 Africans are prosecuted under special apartheid laws.

For race laws to operate, of course, a whole machinery for determining race is required. Mr. Sachs deals with Population Registration activities: "Lawyers, inspectors, board members and judges found themselves examining appellants and making notes about their appearance: skin colour, texture of hair, width of nostrils, shape of head..."

Of particular interests, and Mr. Sachs goes into some detail here, are South Africa's various security laws. He describes the 1967 Terrorism Act, under which detainees can be held secretly for an indefinite period. Mr. Sachs deals convincingly, too, with the allegations of terrible tortures made by political detainees and also by criminal suspects, and he also has a chapter on prison conditions.

What is particularly significant about this booklet is that, not only is it a well-documented account, but it gives a coherent picture of the South African legal system. Mr. Sachs does not himself use the word, 'fascist', but he makes the point that the security police are becoming increasingly independent of civilian control, all-powerful, and closely identified with Vorster, the South African Prime Minister. He says: "In effect a semi-secret organisation with a para-military arm has been set up under the control of personnel representing a particular sector of the ruling party... They have immense power and material resources, a strong sense of Providential mission, and an ideology based on race. Events elsewhere in the world have shown how dangerous such a combination can be in situations of severe social stress."

This booklet is essential reading for those outside South Africa who want to understand what this country is like – a country which, particularly in the context of its imperialist drive in Africa and the beginning of armed confrontation across the Zambesi, is a real threat to world peace. S.N.