

SECHABABA

official organ
african national congress
south africa



**Oliver Tambo
President - ANC
"Bitter
Battles To Come"**



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49 Rathbone Street
LONDON W1A-4NL
Telegrams & Cables:
SECHABA LONDON W1
Telephone: 580-53 03

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Fighting Talk

DIALOGUE IS BETRAYAL

In a recent speech, Alfred Nzo, ANC Secretary General, vigorously condemned those who are working for a policy of fraternization and accommodation with South Africa. He said that he was alarmed that "President Houphouet Boigny should find it appropriate to condemn the armed struggle against South Africa precisely at a time when the great majority of the world is declaring its legitimacy."

"The substitution of dialogue for armed struggle", he declared, "is a gross betrayal of the people of South Africa."

As we write, the manoeuvres for dialogue are gaining momentum. Ivory Coast, Malagasy, Niger and Dahomey, and various other states linked to France are pressing with varying degrees of insistence for moves to engage racist South Africa in talks. Is it not remarkable that these states, most of whom are far removed from South Africa should be so anxious to sup with Vorster? Can it be their own, African, interests they are advancing or those of other powers? Obviously it is France that is playing a major behind-the-scenes role in this shameful affair. Having made a minor gesture to the O. A. U. on the sale of helicopters she is now putting pressure on others to remedy the resulting inconvenience. Since French arms cannot be sold openly because of O.A.U. resistance she now seeks to use her African allies to create a climate more favourable for French purposes.

Joining in this unhappy symphony is Chief Leabua Jonathan who urges "quiet diplomacy, however slow and difficult, as the best way of assisting Black peoples in countries under minority rule." And this willing captive of South African imperialism advises that it is suicidal for Blacks in Southern Africa to rise against the white rulers. At the same time Chief Leabua also congratulates the United States for encouraging dialogue and contact as the best means of solving South Africa's problems.

So it is that in almost every instance

where there is a call for talks there is also brought forward in justification a wholly defeatist view of the armed struggle. All that has been gained in terms of pride and dignity by the actions of Africa's brave guerrillas is minimised by men who seem to want to turn the other cheek. We could perhaps learn to put up with prophets of gloom if it were not for the danger that an atmosphere of dialogue might make it possible for our enemies to isolate the liberation movements politically and show them to be 'extremists', men of violence, stubborn people who prefer to take a destructive course. Such a climate would militate against our prospects of getting aid and of throwing international opinion meaningfully against the racist regimes in Africa.

Even the mere suggestion that talks might be useful is disservice since it necessarily implies that the other side might concede something. Once this is accepted then those who oppose negotiation are made out to be less reasonable even than the enemy. Against such a situation we have a right to protest vigorously.

A WARM RESPONSE IN S.A.

In South Africa itself the news of the Ivory Coast proposals met a warm response. During a Transvaal Nationalist Party Congress delegates unanimously supported a resolution calling on the Government to throw everything into the campaign to win friends and influence people in Africa. And the Johannesburg Star commented, "Nothing would help the 'verligte' cause in South Africa more than a really important breakthrough in our relationships with Black Africa." Need we add that their gain is our loss, and that of Africa too?

Fortunately most African states see the matter in a different light. Zambia recently closed twelve business concerns with South African and Rhodesian connections. She has also not only conducted a vigorous campaign

against the sale of arms to South Africa but she has taken a number of initiatives to discourage talks. Tanzania has been equally insistent on these issues.

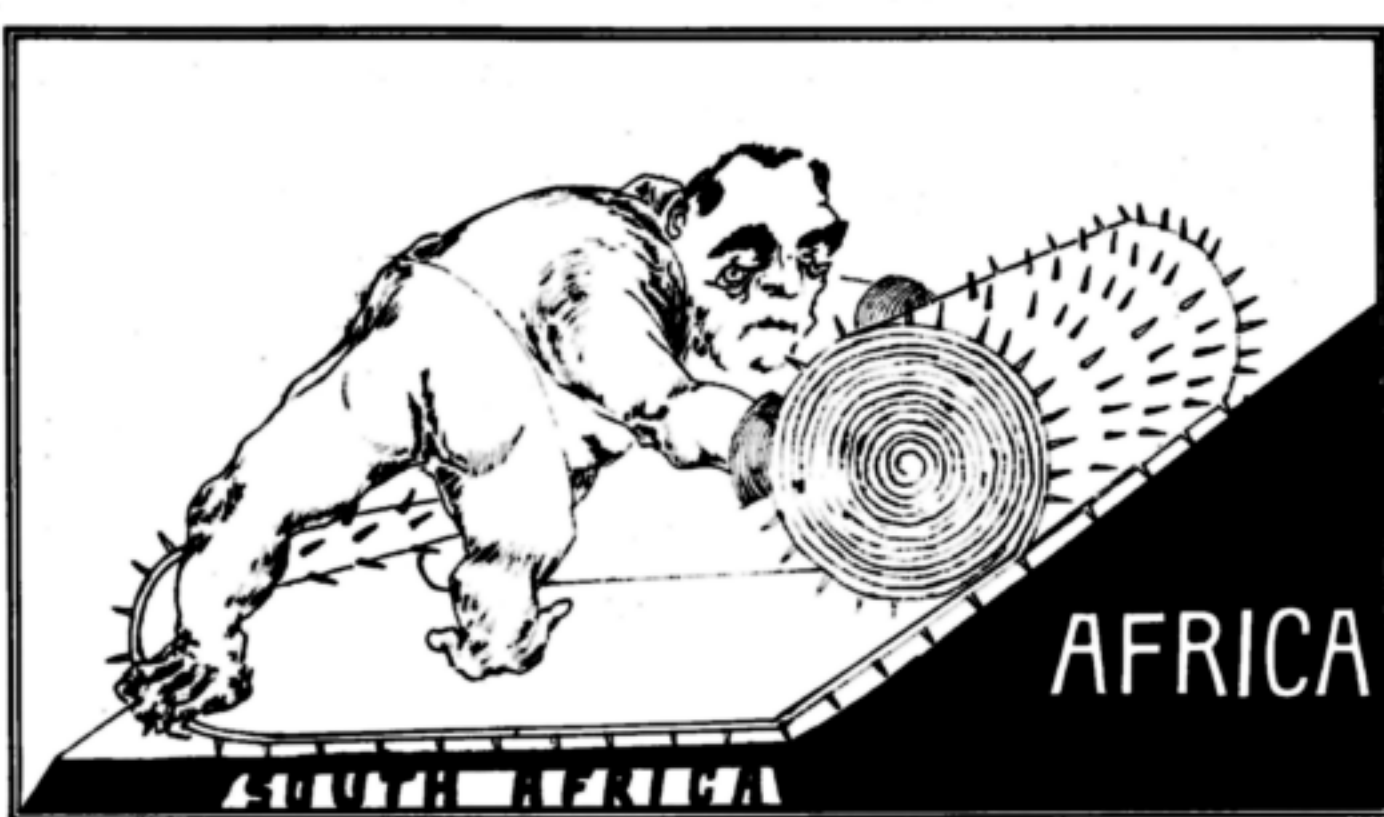
To suggest that Zambia should engage in talks with South Africa is the same as asking Guinea to negotiate with Portugal. Both countries have taken up a position in support of liberation movements, both are committed to the destruction of colonial relics in Africa. Anyone who takes up a contrary attitude is therefore not only breaking the unity of Africa in its struggle against Portugal and South Africa, but is also ignoring the military interventions suffered by Guinea and Zambia at the hands of the racists.

Increasing support for dialogue is now emanating from the United States. Two senior diplomats visited South Africa last year and then called for continued contacts. The same refrain is taken up in differing forms by so many other suspect sources that there is sufficient ground to believe that there is indeed a concerted effort by imperialism working with South Africa to enable her to break out of the sea of hostility which surrounds her outside her borders. This is not the first time there has been this sort of collusion, but this particular campaign is more dangerous than previous ones for it depends on the use of a Trojan Horse. What more effective way to undermine the rapidly extending anti-apartheid movement in all continents than by means of a breach in Africa itself!

DIALOGUE WILL FAIL

And what is dialogue supposed to achieve that years of exchanging speeches at the United Nations could not. Was there insufficient opportunity for talking then? One would have thought that there was perhaps too much. How many concessions did the infamous U.N. Carpio commission of 1961 gain for the conscience of the world? Talk? Talk with South Africa is idle.

There must be no doubt in anyones mind about the real situation facing the oppressed people of Southern Africa at this time. There has been a hardening of postures on either side of the battlelines with greater commitment to struggle than ever before. It is illusory to think that dialogue will prevent South African planes providing support for the Portuguese troops in Mozambique as they did recently in the offensive in the north. Dialogue will also not inhibit Vorster from build-



ing a base at Lilongwe from where South African planes will dominate the skies of the whole of Southern Africa and more. Dialogue will not bring about a withdrawal of South African advance forces from Caprivi, or from Zimbabwe, were they threaten not only the liberation armies but also Zambia itself.

South Africa has shown that she will not retreat no matter what people say. Instead she will readily use every sign of appeasement in those opposed to her for further encroachment on the continent of Africa. Like every imperialist state she cannot and has no desire to curb her appetite. She is now launched on an irreversible drive north penetrating economically, politically and militarily in a desperate thrust for markets and spheres of influence. She will not be restrained by dialogue nor, let it be known, will she modify her internal policies one whit. For this statement we have Vorster's word. Dialogue, he has said, would have to be on the basis of non-interference in domestic affairs.

SOWING CONFUSION IN AFRICA

Just as contacts between Black states and South Africa will create doubts internationally about the validity of our armed struggle, so it will also introduce confusion into the rest of Africa. For those who are prepared to talk to Vorster will soon be prepared to trade as well. And once South Africa penetrates by way of trade, the rest of the imperialist process will follow on only too naturally. This was certainly the case in Malagasy where Mr Pierre Ullmann, a Johannesburg businessman built up a wide connection which was then used as a bridgehead to

establish political links. The same technique was once attempted in Kenya and no doubt it will be repeated elsewhere. First come the faceless outside neutral negotiators, then the businessmen, then the diplomats followed by military intelligence.

Does Africa want to follow the example of Malawi where the most recent visitor was, appropriately enough, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and Bantu Education, Mr M. C. Botha, the man responsible for Bantustans in South Africa.

The method of neo-colonialism has now become easily recognisable. Whether it be the work of British or South African agents the results are similar: the undermining of national integrity, the sapping of people's morale, and the gradual denudation of political principle. What a distance Dr Banda has travelled since he joined the circus of Vorster's yes-men.

No, there must be no talks with South Africa, in fact less talk all round. Let there be fewer speeches and more mobilization. Let Africa take heed from the Guinea invasion and prepare to defend itself. We want an outgoing policy of our own: going out against imperialism and the enemies of African freedom.

Furthermore, we want greater recognition of the role the liberation movements are playing in the struggle against imperialism and their consequent admission to the relevant councils of the O.A.U. That way we will see a healthy strengthening in the forces against imperialist intervention in Africa. It will also ensure rapid progress in the liberation of the South leading to the eventual consolidation of our continent in unity and peace.

BITTER BATTLES TO COME

Message of
support from
OLIVER TAMBO
Acting-President
of the ANC
to the
AAPSO Council
Meeting

Twelve years ago, the peoples of Africa and Asia met in the revolutionary capital of the U. A. R. to map out a strategy for the eviction of colonialists from Africa and Asia, and for the liquidation of world imperialism. They formed the Afro-Asian People's Organisation, which soon grew into a great collective – a Movement of the peoples, not only of Asia and Africa, but of the whole of the progressive world.

Today, the Afro-Asian People's Organisation meeting in Council in the new revolutionary capital of Libya, can proudly cast its eyes to the East of Tripoli, to the West, to the African land mass in the South, and even to the North across the waters of the Mediterranean, and will there see great young independent nations growing on the ruins of colonial domination – and all those who participated in the historic meeting of 1958, share the sense of achievement we all feel today, as we enter the dynamic, and highly explosive decade of the 70's.

But even as we survey the world scene from this Northern City of Africa, we not only see the new flags of freedom flying where once Colonialism ruled supreme, we also see the banners of revolutionary anti-imperialist detachments as they engage the enemy in fierce and bitter conflict in different parts of the world. Indeed, this Council meets at a time when, as never before, the strongholds of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism are being challenged, harassed and attacked in a global anti-imperialist offensive which, even in the short space of time since the last meeting of the Council, has assumed a new intensity and a new ferocity, precisely because of the resolute determination of the peace-loving peoples of the world to seize, and retain, their dignity and independence, – a determination which is matched by the equally resolute determination of the imperialists not only to retain what remains of their shrunken empires, but also to re-conquer and nullify the hard-won gains of the national liberation movement, the world Socialist System and the toiling workers and peasants of the world. Thus the struggle of the great and heroic people of Vietnam against U. S. imperialism continues unabated; U. S. intervention in the internal affairs of the people of Indo-China falls into line with Washington's global strategy for domination; the intransigence of Israel in its continued occupation of Arab lands and its denial of the just demands of the Palestinian people has turned the Middle East into an explosive battle ground seriously endangering world peace and security; the courageous people of Guinea Bissau are pushing the NATO-supported Portuguese colonialists out of Africa in the course of bitter armed confrontation, while the Black masses and youth of America wage a militant struggle against racial discrimination, exploitation and U. S. imperialism, with the continuing resistance of the revolutionary people of Cuba and Latin America to the same imperialism; and in the embattled Southern Africa, the peoples of Angola, Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe are fighting wars of liberation against an imperialist-backed alliance of Portuguese colonialists, Rhodesian racists and South African fascists.

AN UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

There is clear evidence that imperialism is losing ground, but it is also clear that the bitterest battles have yet to be fought in the course of Africa and Asia and for the complete defeat of imperialism.

It follows from what I have said that the Afro-Asian revolution which AAPSO was formed to accelerate remains, and will yet remain, an unfinished revolution, especially if



Oliver Tambo A.N.C. President

the mighty anti-imperialist forces continue in their present state of disunity, and if "massive" or "increased" material assistance to fighting peoples ends, where it begins, in speeches and resolutions.

If therefore, I have any message for this Council Meeting, comprising militants and revolutionaries from the battle-fronts of armed conflict it is a simple one —

Firstly,

With the object of launching a decisive offensive to crush all resistance to the forces for peace and progress, let AAPSO initiate a new and powerful campaign to sink all differences and forge a solid united front to all anti-imperialist forces.

Secondly,

Let this Council adopt a resolution in which it deplors the fact that the tens of thousands of millions of the peoples of the world who support the national liberation movement cannot provide enough fire-arms, trucks, food, medicine and funds for even the handful of liberation movements fighting against colonialism and racism in Africa.

In conclusion, I wish to salute this Council Meeting in the name of the fighting people of South Africa and to acknowledge the valuable assistance and support given by our independent brothers and sisters in Africa and by AAPSO countries, and by our brothers in the socialist countries in Europe. In particular, I salute the leaders of the new, dynamic and revolutionary Republic of Libya which joined the vanguard of the anti-imperialist forces at a crucial moment in the history of the Middle East, and which has already played a historic role in its massive assistance to the struggle of the Palestinian people against Israeli domination. And here it is appropriate to recall the tragic and ill-timed death of one of Africa's political giants and an unequalled leader of his people, the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser. He fell, like the great soldier he was, in the forefront of the fierce struggle for the rights of Man, for justice, for freedom, for peace.

It is our historic task, as the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, to continue that struggle with added vigour until final victory is won.

**LONG LIVE AAPSO!
LONG LIVE THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM!**

ANC Statements

To the World Council of Churches

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) at its recent meeting held in Lusaka unanimously adopted a resolution expressing deep gratitude and appreciation for the donation voted to the African National Congress by the World Council of Churches.

We note with satisfaction that the World Council of Churches has consistently adhered to its declared conviction that "any form of segregation based on race, colour or ethnic origin is contrary to the Gospel, and is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ". The donation is therefore, a logical and concrete expression of that conviction. As is now well known, segregation or racial discrimination which has been elevated to state policy by the ruling White minority circles in South Africa is nothing short of open violence by the state against the indigenous African people. Government statistics which for obvious reasons cannot be completely relied upon do however reveal a grim picture of this kind of violence.

In terms of the South African Government's report on prisons for the period 1968-1969, an average of 88,000 people were in prison everyday, and 500,000 people were sentenced to be imprisoned (this is as high as one in 40 of the population). 187 babies were born in prison; 25,933 strokes of corporal punishment were administered in prison, 84 people were hanged and 340 deaths, most of them under mysterious circumstances, were reported.

Amongst those in prison are thousands of political leaders of all races whose release has been demanded by freedom loving people in every part of the world, but to no avail.

The African National Congress expresses its disgust at the unwarranted and libelous condemnation of the World Council of Churches by those forces that support domination of one people over the other on the basis of race or colour of the skin. The leaders of the White minority section in South Africa both from the Government side and from the so-called Opposition Parties have been particularly vocal against and quick to brand the W. C. C. humanitarian decision to assist the victims of Apartheid as an act calculated to assist the spread of Communism. Of course, the bogey of Communism is so often used by the racists in South Africa that it has long ceased to be taken seriously.

Organisations of all types and individuals including eminent clergy who fearlessly speak out in support of the just cause of human equality are immediately subjected to all sorts of restrictions under one or other of the provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act. In this way, the International Defence and Aid Fund which was giving valuable assistance to the dependants of the victims of Apartheid persecution was declared illegal and prohibited from carrying out its humanitarian functions inside the borders of South Africa.

We are happy to note that despite the slanderous propaganda of the racist White minority of South Africa the World Council of Churches has stood firmly by its decision to give humanitarian assistance to the peoples of Southern

Africa. This wonderful gesture enjoys the support of the millions of the victims of oppressive regimes in South Africa, Rhodesia, Namibia and the Portuguese colonies. It is likewise supported by all who work for equality and justice in human relationships in every part of the world. We note with satisfaction that three churches in South Africa have courageously defied Vorster's order to South African churches to dissociate themselves from the World Council of Churches because of its correct stand in support of the liberation struggle.

Alfred Nzo - Secretary-General

On Invasion of Guinea

The barbaric invasion of Guinea by foreign mercenaries exposes once more the desperate criminal conspiracy of the imperialists to overthrow genuine progressive Governments in Africa and those which are firmly committed to fight imperialism in the whole Continent and to support the liberation struggle.

The Republic of Guinea under the leadership of President Sekou Toure is a progressive, anti-imperialist, socialist country which has since its inception been making efforts to consolidate its independence. The Republic of Guinea has given support to the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau.

When President Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown in Ghana, President Sekou Toure invited President Kwame Nkrumah to come and live in Guinea. These are indications of the unwavering commitment of the President and Government of the Republic of Guinea in the anti-imperialist struggle. For years now various imperialist intrigues have been used which threatened the life and authority of the Government of Guinea. The invasion by the mercenaries is the culmination of these dastardly crimes.

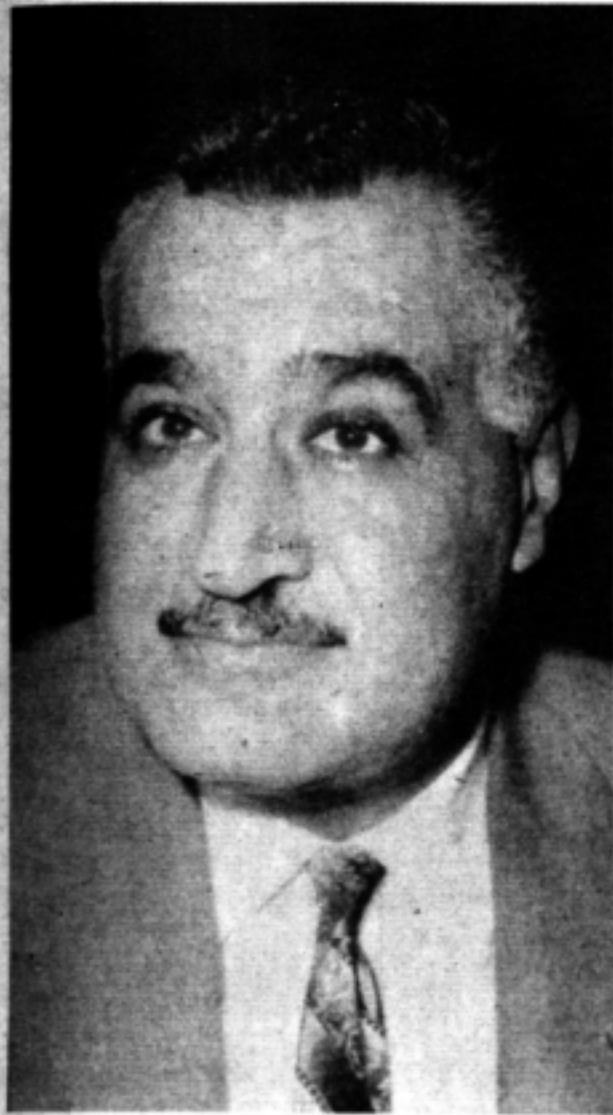
The imperialist powers are all equally to blame for this latest outrage of Guinean sovereignty. This is part of the subversion of progressive Governments in Africa, an attempt to stem and frustrate the liberation struggle with the ultimate aim of preparing for the second rape of Africa.

Indeed, unless the mercenaries are completely routed and taught a sound lesson, this international brigade of counter-revolutionaries will continue to terrorise the continent, leaving death and destruction in its wake. For the Continent to survive and protect its independence it is necessary for the African States to reply to the counter-revolution now being spread by the imperialists, by joint and concerted action by the African revolutionaries in defence of the African Revolution. In the past it has been correctly stated that Africa cannot be free unless the whole of it is free. The invasion of Guinea has proved more clearly than before that the racists and colonial outpost in Africa are the launching pads and springboards of aggression against Africa. For Africa to be safe these springboards must be wiped out. The heroes of Guinea who fell defending the fruits of the Guinean and African Revolution were murdered through Nato arms by the Portuguese mercenaries. The African National Congress of South Africa mourns the death of all those Guinean patriots who died in defence of a noble cause.

Africa must indict the imperialists with having committed this despicable crime. We hope that the Organisation for African Unity will convene a special session to discuss this new danger to African Freedom.

Duma Nekwe

Director of Political Affairs Department.



GAMAL ABDEL NASSER

President Gamal Abdel Nasser was one of the world's outstanding statesmen and political leaders in the period following the Second World War. The obituaries that were written of him after his tragic death in September 1970 were eloquent testimony to his greatness.

It is given to few men at any time – and to even fewer who hold high office and power – to command such widespread respect from both his friends and his enemies. For Nasser lived and died for his people, for his country, for the cause of the oppressed peoples fighting imperialism in all corners of the world. It can truly be said of him that he sacrificed his life for the common weal.

One has only to recall the infamy of Nasser's real predecessor, King Farouk, to realise the transformation which was brought about in the Nasser era. Farouk, the servile tool of imperialism, presided over a social system whose corruption and depravity, the heritage of centuries of thralldom, earned the contempt of all civilised humanity. It was Nasser who led the Free Officer's movement which swept Farouk and his court into limbo. That in itself would have earned him the respect of his people and a firm place in history. But he did not stop there.

When he first came to power Nasser did not clearly map out the course he was going to follow. He had no ideology, no party, no programme for bringing about social change. He probably took capitalism for granted, and thought only in terms of a few modest reforms – some redistribution of the land, some Egyptianisation of the administration and the economy. On all these points there was certainly no consensus among the Free Officers as a whole.

Nasser's life was a demonstration that the dictum "all power corrupts" is not invariable. Power gave Nasser the opportunity to learn and develop, the flexibility to change and adapt, while at the same time remaining a man of the people. He always lived simply; he could not be bought.

His first clash with imperialism and its local agent Israel – the Suez crisis of 1956 – had two basic consequences. It steeled Nasser in his determination to end Egypt's dependence on the capitalist West; and it fired the national spirit of the Egyptian people, making them feel for the first time that they could be masters of their own destiny.

Nasser did not choose the socialist road out of theoretical conviction. It was forced upon him by the logic of history. The American refusal to finance the Aswan Dam brought in its train (a) the nationalisation of the Suez Canal and (b) the acceptance of Soviet aid as the only alternative. The war which followed only served to make the issues crystal clear to everybody.

The 1967 war, far from proving the disaster it seemed, became another turning point in Egypt's history. The spontaneous mass rejection of Nasser's resignation not only consolidated his personal position but also flushed out the rightists who had been plotting against him. Once again pressures generated by the brutality and cupidity of the enemy both inside and outside the country had strengthened his determination to maintain independence, resist imperialism and continue the drive for socialism.

Land redistribution, nationalisation of key industries, regulation of wages and working conditions, housing, education, social services – in all these spheres enough had been done to earn Nasser the support and love of the masses which was demonstrated so abundantly and so movingly when he was struck down at the early age of 52.

But Nasser was not only a man for his own country, but also for the whole Arab people, and the whole of Africa. During the Nasser era Egypt became one of the main bastions of support for the national liberation struggle against imperialism and White domination in other parts of the continent.

The oppressed peoples of South Africa share with the people of Egypt the loss of their great leader at this most critical time. His life was a beacon for us all. B. B.



Lotus Prize Winners in New Delhi

ALEX LA GUMA GAINS LOTUS PRIZE

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi Hosts for Afro Asian Writers Conference

New Delhi: The Afro-Asian Writers' Conference was inaugurated here on November 17. In attendance were a galaxy of eminent writers and poets of Africa and Asia. The total number of delegates attending the conference was about 400 including about 100 representatives from African and Middle East countries. Guest representatives from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland also attended the conference.

The inaugural address was delivered by Suniti Kumar Chatterjee. He laid stress on the humanistic and rich cultural heritage of the peoples of Africa and Asia and called upon the writers to take decisive steps to make the literary creations an integral part of the struggle for freedom and against social injustice.

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand welcomed the delegates and appealed to them to strengthen the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle.

The same day Prime Minister Indira Gandhi warmly greeted the conference

and handed over the Lotus prize to the most eminent writers and poets of Asia and Africa. Out of the six winners for the years 1969 and 1970 only Augustino Neto, the Angolan liberation leader and poet could not attend the conference. The others were the Vietnamese novelist To Hoai, the militant writer from South Africa Alex La Guma, the young Arab poet from occupied Palestine Mahmoud Darwish, the Soviet people's poetess Zullifya and Indian poet Bachchan. The prize-giving ceremony was marked by prolonged ovations by the large gathering and also by the spontaneous slogans in support of the freedom-fighting peoples of Vietnam, Palestine and the Portuguese colonies.

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in her brief address commended the noble efforts of the writers of Africa and Asia to come closer and carry forward the larger interests of their peoples. She called upon the writers to fight the forces of superstition, social injustice and oppression. The writers can never ignore the burning issues in the life of their people and they must

associate themselves with the people, she said.

Youssef El-Sebai, secretary-general of Afro-Asian Writers' Association presented his report in the plenary session of the conference which gave an account of the social and cultural circumstances under which the peoples of Asian and African countries lived today. The first and foremost duty of every writer today was to stand solidly with their hearts and their pens by the side of the brave fighters of South Africa, the Portuguese colonies and of Indo-China, the Arab peoples and Palestinian resistance movement, the report stressed.

The report further outlined the history of the Afro-Asian writers' movement and proposed 12 concrete measures for the conference to consider for the furtherance of the aims and objects of the Afro-Asian writers' movement. Others who took the floor in the plenary session were the heads of the delegations from the Soviet Central Asian Republics, Mali, Morocco, Senegal, Lebanon, Syria, Japan Mongolia, Dahomey, Algeria, Zambia and Sudan.

Tribute to Alex La Guma

by Ezekiel Mphahlele

Alex La Guma's life in South Africa was soaked in turbulent times and events right from his youth. Son of a political leader; one of the 156 South Africans who were tried for treason and acquitted in 1956-1960; hounded by police, placed under house arrest in Cape Town; wrote for *Fighting Talk*, now since silenced by the fascists.

Like so many other Africans in South Africa, Alex began by writing sketches and short stories. His first important story was *Out of Darkness*, which appeared in Ronald Segal's *Africa South*. A beautiful story about the brutality of Black prison life.

In 1962, La Guma's first long narrative, *A Walk in the Night* (a novella) was published by Mbari Publications in Ibadan, Nigeria. By then he had

been banned in South Africa, and so nothing he said or wrote could be read either at first or second hand in the country.

This book is a neat little piece of good writing. Out of all the chaos of District Six ghetto life, this man has hammered out a work of art that formulates a short, sharp and beautiful and effective definition of that chaos: a life of dissipation and unarticulated but dead-end aspirations. It is a highly documentary and impressionistic novella. And yet its compact organisation, singleness of mood are compelling qualities. The writer never spares the reader the minutest details, like a cockroach that is squashed and flattened on the wooden floor of a tenement room; the flypaper that hangs

from the ceiling of a cafe, full of ancient flies etc. No extravagant orchestration. Yet these concrete - objects he documents build up to evoke a leaping indignation in the reader, without any overt editorializing on the writer's part.

Short Stories that appeared in Ibadan's *Black Orpheus* later appeared in the Heinemann edition of the novella. His short stories, again, do not roar like a furnace. Rather they are vignettes of African life inside the South African nightmare. Sometimes a character, out of sheer desperation hurls herself against the fascist machine and gets hurt or destroyed by it; sometimes the vignette is self-contained, the drama is acted out between Black and Black, but mirrored in the situation is the nightmare constantly pressing in on the characters. His later fictional works, *A Threefold Cord* and *Stone Country*, although they are conceived as novels, really turn out to be novella, long short-stories. We see here again the naturalistic form of narrative that Alex sustained in *A Walk in*

Alex La Guma receives the prize



Drawing: from Lotus

the Night. Again, as before, the documents, renders such aspects or portions of South African life as he knows he is capable of handling. Alex, it would seem, can only work within the limits of what concrete experience is available to him at the initial level. He then goes out to exploit that arena fully. We know he will not attempt to let us into any prophetic vision he may have: he will simply show us the portion of life. And we need to take this intention for what it is and ask how good or bad the performance has been. If I never see greater variety of life in Alex's writing, I shall still be content that I have experienced a portion of life in terms of the concrete specifics contained in that life; that I have relived acutely the emotional experience he renders.

I want to pay tribute to this son of South Africa who has been honoured with a literary award. May he continue to wield his pen in the service of man.

BANTUSTAN IMPOSED UPON ZULULAND

by P. V. Tulisizwe Mbatha

For nearly 20 years the Afrikaner Government of Vorster applied pressure on the Zulu-speaking Africans to accept the Bantu Act of 1951, but this fraud was strenuously resisted largely through the influence and integrity of Chief M. G. Buthelezi. The Government's last hope of an easy "acceptance" vanished when the more amenable Paramount Chief Cyprian Bhekuzulu died in 1969. The next step was to brush aside all pretence and impose this essential piece of window-dressing for apartheid. After all, it was vital for the Nationalists to drag in the second largest ethnic group, the Zulus, who number at least 3,340,000. In his Inauguration speech, Chief Buthelezi quoted the famous statement by Disraeli who was Prime Minister of Britain during the Great Zulu War, "a remarkable people the Zulu. They defeat our Generals, convert our Bishops, and put an end to a great European dynasty". Chief Buthelezi then added to the quotation above, "The Zulu people are no less remarkable today than they were when this memorable remark was made during the last century, despite the vicissitudes they have gone through, throughout the years".

CHIEF BUTHELEZI, A MAN OF THE PEOPLE

Much as the Afrikaner Nationalists dislike him, Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi has become the Chief Executive Officer of the Zulu Territorial Authority as from June, 1970. His father the late Chief Matole Buthelezi was a senior Chief who married a sister of King Solomon ka Dinuzulu. Mangosuthu was given the kind of education that would fit him for his position as a senior Chief, but he remained a courteous and courageous young man. I had the privilege to work with him and he always had an infectious smile even under very trying conditions. His word was his bond.

PRINCIPLE LEADS TO EXPULSION

When the then Governor-General of South Africa was to visit Fort Hare the students decided to boycott this so-called "supreme Chief of all Africans". Chief-Designate Mr. G. Buthelezi was

alleged to have taken part in the boycott. A number of scabs of the students' boycott were "lynched" or subjected to other forms of discomfort and the college authorities had Buthelezi, among others, expelled. This was during his final year. He wrote his exam externally and passed, but was summoned to appear before W. M. Eiselen and was reprimanded. But Mangosuthu would not be daunted. He continued to place the interests of his people before his own.

Thereafter, the B. A. D. Empire embarked upon a vicious campaign of humiliating him and discrediting him. They sponsored their own stooges to dispute the chieftainship. When all that failed to break him, they would not confirm his appointment as chief until the pressure of the people compelled Verwoerd to yield. Only once in 1963 did they allow him to go abroad, otherwise he was spied upon and threatened by the Special Branch.

AT LUTULI FUNERAL

Among the chief speakers at the funeral of our late Chief Albert J. Lutuli was this great leader of the people, chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. His was a great and eloquent tribute to a noble leader.

INSTALLED BY POPULAR VOTE

When Zulustan came on the agenda, the apartheiders made it abundantly clear that they would not have any truck with Buthelezi. They groomed and promoted their own "yes" men from Ngoye Tribal College and from the ranks of the "loyal Chiefs". But the people would have none of them and delegation after delegation was sent to Mangosuthu to plead that he make himself available for the post of Chief Minister and thus save the people from charlatans and selfseekers. Eventually Buthelezi bowed to the will of the people.

Thus by popular pressure even the die-hard Nationalist Government has been forced to accept the man of the people, an African patriot.

INAUGURATION SPEECH BY CHIEF M. G. BUTHELEZI

In his inauguration speech Chief Buthelezi made it clear that he is not at all convinced of the virtues of apartheid. While he is willing to cooperate and give it a try, the crucial and decisive factor lies in the good-will of the government in the "implementation of this self-government under your policy of separate development".

Chief Buthelezi declared, "the Zulu nation has been the last, but certainly not the least, to reach this milestone which the other six ethnic groups have already reached . . . All sorts of opprobrious terms have been used to condemn the slow pace at which this has come about . . . Initially the Zulu people were made to understand by officials of your Department, Sir, that the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 was optional . . . About 1967, officials of the Department of Bantu Administration told some of us that the Bantu Affairs Commissioners who gave us the impression that we had a choice in the matter were wrongly instructed, that we were merely being consulted and that consultation did not mean we had to give consent. Those of us who had been waiting for our people to decide, had after this explanation no option but to comply with the law, as the question of accepting or rejecting the Act, fell away".

DISAGREEMENT

Throughout his speech Chief Buthelezi referred to the late H. M. Cyprian Bhekuzulu as "King" and not by the official designation of "Paramount Chief". He reminded the Boer Nationalists of the loyal participation of the African people in the two World Wars in support of the governments of the day. (This reference must have been galling to the Boer Nationalists many of whom were not just indifferent to the world wars but were active saboteurs of the war effort of the governments of the day). With regard to local disagreement, he cited the history of the so-called Native Representative Council established under



the Native Representation Act of 1936 to which the African people were opposed. They were nevertheless willing to try it out until it was manifestly clear that this Council was a dummy, just another "Toy Telephone". Chief Gatsha went on, "Sir, we would also like to make it clear that there may be Zulus who have reservations about certain aspects of your policy, but all of us are united in assuring you of our cooperation. Nor can reservations about just some aspects of such a wide policy, mean that those who have reservations are Communists or Saboteurs". This again must have been distasteful to the totalitarian Government as they believe in unquestioning obedience, especially from Africans.

MAYIBUYE — THE LAND ISSUE

It is well-known that the Vorster Government excludes all areas with a substantial White population or areas on the coastline from Bantustans. Such Bantu territories were never intended to be economically viable. So the Chief touched on this sensitive spot. "This raises quite a number of issues. The first of these, which I consider a priority, is for the government to give the Zulu nation more territory for without more territory our scheme will not make sense . . . humanity is so much on the march today when the moon itself has become merely man's next port of call, that we cannot be expected to move towards our self-determination and self-realisation at ox-wagon pace. What also makes it urgent is the position of our people from the farmlands. Not one day passes without some of our people from the farmlands approaching us (chiefs) for sites and arable lands, and yet we are already forbidden by the officials of your department from granting these people land as our areas are already occupied to their full capacity."

GAP BETWEEN WHITE AND BLACK WAGES

The Vorster Government is fond of trumpeting to the world that average wages for Africans are higher than those in African states. They fail to understand that Africans are primarily concerned with how much they get of the rich South African cake which is their fatherland. They will never be satisfied until there is equal pay for equal work, with equal opportunity. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had the courage to tackle this fundamental issue. "We are also watching the development of Richards Bay with quite a great deal of interest. If under these schemes our people are for the first time going to share in the economic boom then we have every reason to feel confident about the future of our land. Some people are going to say that the boom has been with us for quite a time already and that the non-Whites have shared some of it. This is partly true in the sense that wages are higher today for our people than say 20 years ago. While this is so, the gap between what White workers earn and what Zulu workers earn has, in spite of the boom, not yet been bridged or narrowed".

"We also applaud the creation of these growth points as a solution to the migratory labour problem. This problem has not only destroyed the fabric of our society, but it has destroyed the very moral fibre of our people. The spiritual development of our people, also envisaged under your policy cannot take place so long as this is the position".

SCRAP BANTU EDUCATION

"We have to plead with you . . . to assist us financially and in other ways to establish a free and compulsory education. When we look at the proceedings of the Native Representative Council as long as 20 years ago, we find that our people even at that time pleaded with the government of the day for free and compulsory education. Today development and industrial expansion now makes this a matter of urgency . . . this matter must receive priority even if this should mean a postponement of some prestige projects that may be envisaged for our people. Also in order to get our people trained as quickly as possible in agricultural science and to advance quickly in the field of technology, we wonder whether you would not consider allowing our children to be taught through the medium of Afrikaans or English from Std 5 as was the case in the past. The standard of these languages is getting poorer and poorer and as long as this is happening we are not going to get the personnel we require to take part in the rapid development you have planned for us in our homelands. This seems to be the key to our whole development."

FREEDOM AND AFRICAN STATES

"We do hope it will not be long before our Territorial Authority is granted more power and before we get full self-government. It is often said that we are not yet ready for such a step. We challenge such assertions. Today most African States are governing themselves, some go through chaos in the process and these are merely their growing pains. But there are some that are governing themselves efficiently . . . Quite often we enjoy boasting about the fact that we in South Africa have more African graduates than the rest of Africa. How can we, therefore dare to think that our own Black people are not good enough to govern themselves? (Emphasis mine).

"We shall all rejoice if when we eventually get our freedom that this shall be freedom in the truest sense of that word. That is, freedom embodying all the four freedoms . . . A South African Afrikaner leader added a fifth one, which is freedom from prejudice."

PEOPLES' ACCLAIM

The thousands of Africans who had assembled at Nongoma in Zululand to hear the inauguration speech made in the presence of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD) and other apartheid apostles roared their approval.



LUTULI MEMORIAL FOUNDATION LAUNCHED IN ADDIS ABABA



Director M. B. Yengwa at the reception

His Highness Emperor Haile Selassie

Chief A. J. Lutuli



The Lutuli Memorial Foundation, in honour of the late Chief Albert J. Lutuli, was launched in Addis Ababa recently. Sponsors include Emperor Haile Selassie, President Nyerere, President Kaunda, Mr. Diallo Telli, Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity, and Professor Gunner Myrdal, Swedish sociologist.

Speaking at the opening ceremony in the Africa Hall, Mr. Diallo Telli said that the ideals for which Chief Lutuli fought and died would continue to live. Chief Lutuli had been a symbol of determination, and the launching of the Foundation "will further give solidarity to Africans to free South Africa and Namibia from the hands of the imperialists," said Mr. Telli.

Director of the Foundation will be Mr. M. B. Yengwa, a leader of the African National Congress and a close colleague of the late Chief Lutuli. Explaining the decision to set up the Lutuli Memorial Foundation at its inauguration, Mr. Yengwa said that no greater tribute could be paid by the ANC to its leader than that his memory was perpetuated in this way.

"Chief Lutuli was a great personality and through his courage and leadership he inspired men and women to follow him and dedicate their lives to the struggle for freedom."

"Cut off by restrictive and repressive Government measures in his remote village of Grootville in Natal,

his organisation banned and his colleagues jailed or in exile, he grew in stature, a symbol of the imprisoning and silencing of a whole people, and their continued will to resist".

The Lutuli Memorial Foundation sets out to finance the following projects:

1. Education: To provide scholarships to suitable students from Southern Africa and to establish a vocational school in an African state where South African students can be trained in skills not open to them under the apartheid regime.

2. Research and Publicity: To publicise the work and ideals of Chief Lutuli and to do research on the history of the liberation movement in South Africa, as well as to establish Lutuli Memorial libraries both inside and outside South Africa.

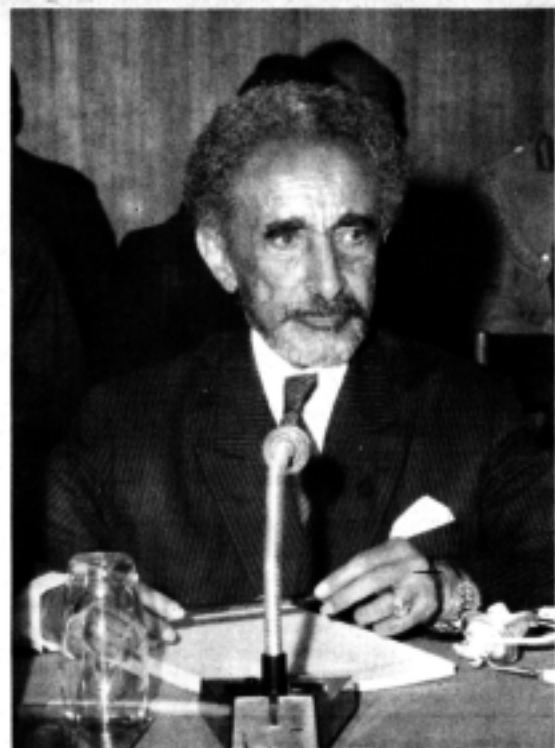
3. Lutuli Emergency Fund: To establish a fund for those carrying on the work which Chief Lutuli left unfinished, and assist the African National Congress to achieve his vision for a free South Africa.

4. Chief Lutuli Memorial tombstone: To establish a fund for a commemorative tombstone to which the people of South Africa will be invited to make contributions.



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FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

NOTES AND COMMENTS

BASTERS DEMONSTRATE

About 200 Baster demonstrators gave the Minister of Rehoboth Affairs, Mr. J. J. Loots, a hot reception when he visited this small town about 50 miles south of Windhoek.

As the Minister and his entourage arrived they surged forward with placards which read: "Keep your money and leave our ground"; "Loots, where is your permit?"; "Rather poor than a rich slave"; "Vbrster, leave our ground"; "South African Government, do away with your pigs and pigsties and your cronies"; "A dog has the right to fight for his survival, but not a Baster"; "Gone with apartheid."

Many in the crowd were youths. In the dust on the ministerial car someone scrawled: "Voetsak, you dog" and "Loots, you pig."

Mr. Loots had come to open the regional offices of the Department of Rehoboth Affairs. Fewer than 40 Basters entered the building to listen to his speech. The rest stayed outside. There was no violence.

SOWETO ANGER AT CLASSROOM HOLD-UP

NO EXTRA classrooms would be built by the city council in Soweto next year although residents were paying for

these, the Johannesburg Urban Bantu Council was told recently.

The assistant manager for Non-European Affairs, Mr. V. B. MacFadyen, told the councillors the city council was in debt to the tune of R55 000 for maintenance of Soweto and the money that was taxed on the residents for more schools was going to be used to pay this deficit.

NOT A STARVING AFRICAN IN S. A., SAYS M. C. BOTHA

There was not one starving African in South Africa and the National Party Government would not allow it, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M.C. Botha said at Fynnland.

Mr. Botha was answering a question from the floor at a campaign meeting held by the Rev. Pierre Cronje, the National Party Candidate for Fynnland in the provincial elections. He denied that there were thousands of unemployed Africans in the Transkei while migrant labour was being brought into the country from neighbouring territories. "We help underdeveloped countries by utilising their labour but we can make provision for our labour and others", he said. "However, South African Bantu have priority and these other countries know it."

He denied that there were 32 000 unemployed Africans in the Transkei a figure which the questioner said came from brochure issued by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr. Theo Gerdener.

MINE MEN BAR SKILLS FOR BLACKS

The Council of Mining Unions has decided to ban its members from training Africans for skilled or semi-skilled work in the Bantustans or giving job instruction to any people including Whites not entitled to training. The Chairman of the Council, Mr. Ken du Preez, and the secretary, Mr. Tom Murray, said in a joint interview "that it was part of the constitution of most of the nine unions represented on the council that Africans and other "unentitled" persons should not be taught skilled or semi-skilled work by union members.

"This is the position as it stands now. Even if we wanted to we could not lawfully take part in any scheme aimed at training Africans to do White work in homelands' mining ventures or anywhere else for that matter", they said.

PRIEST WARNS CHURCH OF BLACK POWER

One of the best-known Coloured Anglican priests in Cape Town, Father Clive McBride, warned that if the Anglican church - which has a 74 per cent non-White membership in South Africa - "continues to further "White power" it may

well call forth a Black Power response." There is growing dissatisfaction among clergymen over what they describe as "White power" in their church. They want the head of the church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be given a correct picture of the "White power" situation. "White power" in the Church, he said, had reached such a "level of arrogance" that it was no longer even aware of its own existence.

W. C. C. GIFTS - NAT EDITOR'S WARNING

IT WAS NO SOLUTION to the problem of world pressure on South Africa to write off the World Council of Churches' aid to guerrillas as a communist-inspired action. This warning was given by Mr. Schalk Pienaar, editor of "Die Beeld", writing in his weekly political column. Mr. Pienaar says South Africa is facing a more serious international situation than in the days of Sharpeville. "The pressure is on an endlessly broad front and more nations are more deeply committed to it than before," he said. "Christian sanctions are rendering aid to a campaign of violence against South Africa and it does not help to try and write off this question with the doctrine that it is communist or communist-inspired action. "In the first place such a view is at the very least completely exaggerated. However misled it might be, the World Council of Churches speaks on behalf of a very large section of Christendom. "In the eyes of these people (or at least the greater number of them) the decision is really a rejection of South Africa on Christian grounds. We can only underestimate the importance of this to our own disadvantage."

'LENIENT' FINE FOR 'BRUTAL' CRIME SHOCKS LAWYERS

Dr. Barend van Niekerk, senior lecturer in law at the University of the Witwatersrand, expressed shock at a sentence - a fine of R150 (or three months' imprisonment) passed in the Rand Supreme Court after the death of an African, Mr. Victor Mashishi.

Two firemen, Andries Johannes van Greunen and Jan Gabriel Smit, who took part in a mob attack on the African - who later died from his injuries - were fined R150 (or three months).

Mr. Justice Claassen was told that the African, Mr Mashishi, was apprehended after a woman's handbag was snatched near the Germiston Fire Station.

He was brought to the fire station where a large crowd gathered, many of whom took part in a vicious attack on him. Smit and Van Greunen, who served in the South African Police for 5½ years, were charged with the murder of the African. At the end of a week-long trial, the judge convicted them of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. Witnesses said the two firemen kicked, punched and trampled the African, who offered no resistance. He died six days later, in Natalspuit Hospital.

The judge found that there was nothing to show that the accused inflicted the particular injury which caused his death. Van Greunen and Smit were part of a "mass hysteria" that gripped that group of people on the night of the incident. The judge said that he was satisfied that the two accused "did the most damage".

"It has also been said in this court that Smit jumped on the deceased. This is a serious assault but I cannot say that it was the cause of death".

Earlier during the assault, Mr. Mashishi's head was placed under the wheel of a van. The driver was ordered to run over him but refused. Commenting on the judgement, Dr. Van Niekerk said that his sense of justice was shocked by a sentence of such lightness when the brutal and callous nature of the crime is taken into consideration. "A sentence must, within certain limits, reflect the moral indignation of society and if the moral indignation of our society is reflected by the imposition of a fine of R150 - or three months - for a crime such as this one, then our society should look again at its values" said Dr. Van Niekerk.

POLICE ARREST 9 AT UCM SEMINAR

Five non-Whites and four Whites including two young Johannesburg women students, all members of the non-racial University Christian Movement, were arrested in Sekhukhuni land where they had been attending a UCM seminar for Transvaal students. They were arrested about 11.30 p.m., taken to the Groblersdal police station about 5 a.m. - where all of them were stripped and searched - and released about 3 p.m. on Monday. The Whites each paid R20 admission of guilt fines for being on Bantu Trust Land without permission, and the non-Whites paid R5 admission of guilt for not having their reference books with them.

The seminar was held at the Jane Furse Hospital, an Anglican mission hospital, near the village of Nebo. About 12 policemen, uniformed and members of the Security Police, led by a major, took part in the raid.

DEATH KNEEL FOR MIXED SPORT

THE GOVERNMENT will not change its policy to allow mixed sport in South Africa. This was made clear by Mr. Jack Cheetham, who was re-elected president of the South African Cricket Association in Johannesburg. Mr. Cheetham said that his board had asked the authorities for the right "to administer the game in the light of pressures which have been placed upon us". He added: "I state with complete frankness that we will not be allowed to deviate from our path in the past - we will not be allowed to participate in such fashion as others outside this country require from us to bring about a change in the internal affairs of this country". Mr. Cheetham said that the board had sought clarification of the conditions under which it was entitled to arrange tours to and from this country. It had asked about the requirements for inviting teams other than those from South Africa's traditional opponents and had suggested



that teams of world standard be brought here. But it had been made clear that there would be no changes in Government policy.

CELEBRATION BOYCOTTED BY BLACK STUDENTS

ALL STUDENTS of the University of the North (Turfloop) boycotted independence celebrations at the college. The rector, Professor J. L. Boshoff, said yesterday that the students told him they were boycotting the celebrations because they rejected the independence of the university. He would not make any further comment. In a statement the students said: "Independence from the University of South Africa at this stage is premature. It can be seen in no other light except as another calculated move by the Government to drive Black students into a life of isolation, despair and perpetual frustration".

BLAAR ON S. AFRICA DEFENCE

The whole of Black Africa could attack South Africa tomorrow and "we would eat them up before breakfast", Mr. Blaar Coetzee, Minister of Community Development, said recently.

DISCRIMINATION WAS CAUSE

Discrimination between White and non-White students caused South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth Medical Association, the secretary of the association, Dr. D. Stevensen, said.

Both South Africa and Rhodesia were expelled at a meeting of the association in Singapore recently. Dr. Stevensen who is chairman of the World Medical Assembly, said that South African delegates in Singapore had not been able to refute the charge "which was put very strongly by African delegates" that this segregation existed.

"It was not a matter of politics, but merely the fact that discrimination did exist in medicine," he said. "It was also noted that the South African Medical Association has never had an African member on its council, for instance". Segregation had caused the expulsion of South Africa and Rhodesia, but Eire was still a member and the Commonwealth label had been retained merely as a convenience. Dr. Stevensen felt convinced that the association would be prepared to reconsider its ruling if South Africa could show that the present discrimination was ended but not before. This would require equal treatment for undergraduates, graduates and post-graduates.

Although South Africa left the Commonwealth in 1961, the South African Medical Association had continued as a member of the Commonwealth body, together with Rhodesia and the Republic of Ireland, since these countries had

been branch organisations under the old British Medical Association.

BIG DEFENCE SPENDER

South Africa's defence expenditure per capita remains the highest among African countries, according to the Institute for Strategic Studies. In the Institute's annual publication South Africa heads Ethiopia, Nigeria and Rhodesia. South Africa's total defence expenditure in 1969 was R50-million more than Nigeria's R215.6-million with Rhodesia and Ethiopia spending respectively R 25.2-million and R16.8-million. In a table comparing military manpower as of July 1, 1970, South Africa's percentage of regular armed forces to men of military age - at 1.1 per cent - ranks higher only than Japan's one per cent. South Africa is named as the recipient of the SA-330 helicopter from France in a table listing major indentified arms agreements. Cost figures are listed as unavailable and the delivery date is given as 1970. The Institute states that 3000 South African police have received anti-terrorist training.

NAT NEWSPAPER EMPLOYS PRISON LABOUR

African prisoners are being used by Afrikaanse Pers - the company headed by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Ben Schoeman, which publishes the Nationalist newspaper Dagbreek and the Vaderland - to work as unskilled and semi-skilled labourers in its publishing premises in Johannesburg. A spot check showed that about 45 prisoners in prison garb, were working at the premises of the National publishing house in Empire Road Extension, Johannesburg. The Company's premises are in the Johannesburg West constituency of the Minister of Health, Dr. Carel de Wet. Some of the duties the African prisoners have to perform include handling insertions in the publishing room (putting together printed sections of publications), moving reels of newsprint, loading waste paper and moving machinery.

WALK-OUT THREAT BY 30 000 NURSES

South Africa's 30 000 non-White nurses are threatening mass resignation if the promised salary increases by Dr. Diedrichs, do not bridge the "shockingly unfair" gap between them and White nurses who have the same qualifications. The leader of the protest movement in the Cape - a senior Coloured nursing sister whose name cannot be disclosed because, she says, she will be "booted out by the Provincial authorities" said that the dissatisfaction among non-White nurses in South Africa had risen to such an extent that if the "discrimination against us is not stopped we shall be forced to give up our profession and go to

work in factories". The non-White nurses are demanding at least 75 per cent of the salary of White nurses with the same qualifications. It seems unlikely that this demand will be granted, because, in terms of Dr. Diedrich's announcement, non-Whites will receive only R8-million of the R69-million increase promised to public servants.

The South African Nursing Council would not comment on the matter, but a spokesman admitted that there had been a sharp decrease in the number of non-Whites applying for training.

DEATH OF IMAM: STATE WILL NOT PROSECUTE

The Attorney-General of the Cape, Mr. W. M. van den Berg, said in a statement last night that a further inquiry into the cause of the death of Imam Haron, who died last year while being detained in terms of the Terrorism Act, revealed no evidence whatever which could serve as a basis for prosecution of any person. The death of the Imam, who was formerly editor in Cape Town of a Moslem newspaper, was raised in Parliament by Mrs. C. D. Taylor (U. P., Wynberg) who said she had confidential information about an alleged police assault on the Imam during detention.

Mrs. Taylor said the Imam was questioned on a number of occasions by Detective Sergeant J. F. C. van Wyk, commonly known as "Spyker" van Wyk, Sergeant Andries van Wyk, Lieutenant-Colonel Pienaar, and Major Kotze. The Imam was interrogated from May 28 to August 11 - "that's for the best part of 76 days" - with short intervals, for seven-and-a-half-hours every day.

PRISON DIET

Information given in Parliament makes comparison possible between prison food today and ten years ago. African prisoners now get $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. more sugar a day than they did 10 years ago: but in 1959 they got 24 oz. of meat a week. Today it is only 15 oz. plus 5 oz. of fish. The mealie meal ration has been cut from 112 to 84 oz., fat (essential to a Robben Island prisoner in the severe winter) reduced from 1 oz. to $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. a day. Protone powder and puzamandhla has been added.

Whites' sugar ration has been doubled: their meat, milk, fat and bread rations remain the same. Africans get no bread, no jams, no milk, and their meat allowance is less than half that of the whites' though Africans are employed on hard physical labour.

(Hansard 19. 6. 59: 14. 8. 70)

LABOUR UNITS

In Parliament recently the Minister was asked how many 'Bantu' were employed as patrolman on the line between

Durban and Port Shepstone, their names and the dates of their contracts with the South African Railways. The Minister replied that 12 'indynas', appointed in 1969, did patrol duties as part of their normal work. Their names were: Jeremiah, Koloko, Samual, Boyi, etc. (Hansard 14. 8. 70)

What an insult! Do Africans not have surnames? To whites any African is still just 'Jim' or 'Boy, come here'. On the pay roll of the South African Railways they are known only by their first name. And every year an amount running into many thousands of pounds is lost to Africans who have been injured on duty, because the Workman's Compensation Commissioner says that he could not trace 'Simon' or 'Peter', and the employer (including the government) are too lazy to record the full name.

NEGLECT AND PARSIMONY IN AFRICAN EDUCATION

Less money is being spent per pupil on African Education by the South African Government now than in 1954. South Africa, the richest and most developed country in Africa, spends less than $\frac{1}{2}$ % of its national product on the education of African children - 68 % of its youth. "That is no African record", writes Dr. W. G. McConkey in THE FAILURE OF BANTU EDUCATION, "On the contrary . . . it probably places us deep down among the world's lowest." This most recent revelation of the startling extent of the Government's neglect and parsimony over Bantu Education has caused ripples of uneasiness and dismay in circles hitherto apparently unconcerned.

In response to the disclosure that an African parent has to spend an average of R25 a year on school books for each child, while white pupils receive their books completely free, groups of white school children and students in Cape Town and Natal have banded together to collect books for local African schools.

This move appears to have embarrassed some people in the Government, at least to the extent that the Secretary for Bantu Education, Dr. H. J. van Zyl, told the press that African schools might receive free books next year. He hastened to add, however, that other matters would take priority and it all depended on enough revenue being collected from the recently introduced Bantu Income Tax.

SUB STANDARD

Of the 2,552,807 African children in June 1969 24.48 % were in sub-standard A and only 0.11 % in the matriculation standard.

(Figures supplied by the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. M. C. Botha, in reply to a question tabled by Mrs. Helen Suzman on 18th August 1970)

FROM OUR READERS:

The December issue of Sechaba carried a Discussion article "Is Economic Growth Disintegrating Apartheid?" The following comments have been received thus far, more are invited.

(Sechaba regrets that the acknowledgement to the original article was omitted in error. It was indeed first published in another journal. Editor.)

1. A REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL

The article criticises an old and widely held theory of liberals and bourgeois economists about the effect of economic growth on colour bar rigidities. According to the theory, economic growth, industrial expansion and the consequent absorption of Africans, Coloureds and Indians in the industrial sector will change the system of racial relations. The liberal view is, that, as the economy becomes increasingly dependant upon Black and Brown workers, new job opportunities will be opened to them and the industrial colour bar will be eroded. Africans, Coloureds and Indians will move into semiskilled and skilled operations; the income gap between them and the Whites will narrow; and the structure of white supremacy will consequently be undermined. The author of the article rejects these contentions on a number of grounds. His central argument is that economic integration is wholly consistent with white supremacy. To prove this point, he draws attention to the removal of unemployed and unemployable Africans inclu-

ding women and children from the towns; the conversion of African workers into migrants employed under contracts and housed in compounds on the style of African mine workers; the elimination of so-called "Black spots" from white rural areas; and the relocation of industries in the border regions.

These changes in the economic and social pattern he argues strengthen and do not weaken White supremacy and meet with the approval of the capitalists. Further he points out that job reservation covers a minute portion of the labour force and is administered with sufficient flexibility to provide many loopholes. In the author's opinion, white workers because of prosperity and high wages are more tolerant than before to the employment of Africans on what used to be the whiteman's preserves.

In any event, the argument continues, the main bastion of white economic supremacy is the suppression of African trade unions, collective bargaining and the right to strike. These three measures are vigorously enforced with the wholehearted backing of the employing class.

The author draws the conclusion that economic development achieved through an increasing exploitation of African workers is compatible with apartheid policies, in spite of the avowed aim of bringing about territorial separation between White and Black. This declared objective of the government is a false ideology not seriously contemplated and presented only in order to provide a moral pretext for a system of racial discrimination which is universally condemned by the international community.

CONTRADICTIONS OVERLOOKED

While agreeing with the author's analysis of the economic situation and his rejection of the liberal bourgeois economic thesis, we are of the opinion that he overlooks or underestimates the significance of the contradictions that do exist in the system. One of these, can be expressed in terms of the Marxist concept of a contradiction between the economic structure and the social superstructure. Marx, Engels and all Marxists after them have recognised that capitalist exploitation generates a proletariat which is compelled by the nature of the economic system to develop into a class which is antagonistic to the exploiters and which eventually embarks on a struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist class. This struggle assumes the form of a national liberation movement and of an interracial conflict in South Africa. Basically, however, it is the struggle of a proletariat against the capitalist class. The bigger this proletariat becomes, the greater the degree of exploitation suffered, the more certain we can be of the ultimate outcome in the form of a struggle for working class power. The author of the article completely ignores this fundamental principle of revolutionary theory. Secondly, though less significantly, the author ignores the, Bantu Homelands' and the government's declared policy of selfdetermination including secession. It is too soon to arrive at a conclusion about the possibility of them becoming centres of black power, but it would be unwise to exclude them from our discussions of strategy.

They may be of little consequence at the present time. They are small, economically bankrupt, entirely dependent on the handouts of the white minority regime and without effective control over their people and resources. They are in the position of small colonies in a primitive stage of development. They are not however irrelevant, external pressure have compelled the white regime to adopt the language of decolonisation, and to transfer a modicum of authority to African traditional rulers in these regions.

Authority without power does not however provide a stable basis for political institutions, and we must allow for the possibility that the persons with authority will in time also demand power.

TREND CANNOT BE REVERSED

There are African countries with far smaller population than the Transkei, Zululand or Tswanaland, which have in the past ten years become independent and exist under strong nationalist governments. The transition from colonial status to independence, once set in motion cannot be reversed except by the use of military force. It is one of the contradictions of the South African government's policy, that the whites in order to maintain their supremacy are being forced to bring into being potential power centres from which attacks could be made on the entire structure of white supremacy.

We cannot assume that the Matanzimas will remain in control, they are being challenged by other and more radical leaders who will hold fast to the vision of a united South Africa under majority rule.

The two contradictions are not separate and distinct. The contradictions between the superstructure of white supremacy and an economic structure based upon a huge black proletariat interact with and reinforces the contradiction between an integrated economy and the maturing of separate black power centres. The article presents a static and defeatist perspective which in its own way is far removed from the realities of a dynamic and potential revolutionary situation in South Africa.

Jack and Ray Simons.

2. WHITE LUXURY BLACK POVERTY

Apologists for cooperation with South Africa have consistently pointed out that Apartheid can only be reversed or modified if conditions of prosperity and industrialisation are created, they argue that if more investments are pumped into the country, then an integration trend will set in.

This line is a reflection of gross ignorance on those who profess it. Firstly, prosperity in South Africa benefits the white man i. e. the white capitalists and the white workers. The falsity of South Africa's prosperity and booming conditions lies in the fact that it connotes white prosperity and black poverty. Nowhere is capitalist alienation more evident than in South Africa. The Blacks shoulder the main part of producing the country's wealth but this wealth is virtually expropriated by the white oligarchy while the white man lives in palatial places, the black man lives in hovels and is a victim of the most ravaging diseases.

International economic investments in South Africa not only increases the white man's prosperity but also accords him a feeling of security. This prosperity salves his conscience and while stewing in it he conveniently forgets the plight of the black man. Sheltered in his luxurious life on the exploitation of the blacks he feels less threatened because of abundance. The luxury and wealth make him indifferent to the anguish, agony and insecurity that affect the black

man. He is quick to denounce those who demand a better deal as subversive who should be dealt with sternly. From the above, it is clear that economic prosperity prolongs South Africa's agony and makes even contradiction and conflicts less acute. As long as the white worker is not affected by conditions of depression, as long as he does not live in squalor and poverty, he will defend white domination because of self interest, because he benefits from the system.

Some people overseas often justify their advocacy of links with South Africa by making allusions to some white progressives. I think a time has come for us to dismiss this myth of white progressives in South Africa. This does not mean that there are no white progressive individuals. **The myth that must be exploded is the view that certain white opposition parties champion the cause of the black man.** The existing South African white parties all uphold white domination. The Nationalist party believes in white baaskap i. e. unadulterated white supremacy. The United Party believes in white supremacy as well, but wants to cultivate and win the budding black middle class. It sees this middle class as a potential ally in the struggle to thwart the aspirations of the black man. The Progressive Party represents enlightened white capitalists who see the present ideological trends in the country as a brake on economic progress. Just as in the period of early development of capitalism when the bourgeoisie saw feudal production relations as a brake on capitalist production relations, so the progressives look upon apartheid economic structures as a similar brake. The Progressive Party also assiduously promotes and cultivates the black middle class. It promises franchise only to this black middle class and the intelligensia. It thus hopes to emasculate the struggle of the black masses for the seizure of power. So these are the voices of liberalism that international capitalism wants to revive and activate. All these tactics are carefully designed to frustrate our revolution. They must be exposed and our genuine allies must support us on the basis of our programme for liberation.

From the above short analysis, a clear inference can be drawn, namely that the pillar of the revolution in our country is the mobilisation of the Africans and other oppressed groups and least privileged. Full use must be made as well of all other revolutionaries. But the least privileged and the most brutalised are going to be receptive to a call for sacrifices in order to achieve liberation. **The call to the black must never be watered down to accomodate liberal sentiments both at home and abroad.**

Chris

3. ATTACK THIS APOLOGIST THESIS

The style and language of the article belong more to a dry academic, objective journal than to a committed, mass circulation magazine like "SECHABA". It is surely the role of Sechaba to win as widespread a range of support for the liberation movement as is possible and, in pursuance of this, articles should be easily readable and digested. The style flows into the contents of the article. It appears somewhat ossified and discusses a lengthy historical period in a static form. The dynamics of a developing process are

not brought out sufficiently and suggests that things are as they were.

Having said this one must agree with the critique of the "conventional" argument that economic development will gradually destroy white supremacy. More emphasis needs to be laid on the fact that the conventional theory is propounded generally by defenders and apologists (overt or covert) of the status quo. The weakness of the critique is that it discusses the white population in isolation from South African society as a whole. The writer himself states that "actual" apartheid allows for upward occupational mobility of the Black workers. The argument could then be posed that at some stage Black workers will acquire sufficient skills to make geographical mobility and the migrant labour system uneconomic and a hindrance. As this process continues will not their needs and demands become more powerful and irresistible? Or is white supremacy going to rely on technology and machines to replace these skills? This factor needs to be clarified in relation to the argument.

It is not adequately dealt with by merely stating that it has not happened yet. After all secondary industry in South Africa really only got under way about twenty years ago. It was during this period that the majority of African workers were gradually moving upwards being given more skilled occupations. The process is continuous. (It is not so long ago that Solly Sachs was fighting for Afrikaaner garment workers.)

The author put forward figures to show that the border industries programme has already got off the ground. Admittedly he says that it is yet but a small percentage of total economic activity but contrasts it with the fact that there has been no development at all in the "homelands". This contrast is fallacious even from his own argument for there never was any intention of developing the reserves — that would undermine already established industries and the mines and farms. However, it is questionable whether any real movement away from established areas to the border has taken place. Many of the areas defined as border areas are, in fact, suited to industrial development and would have attracted entrepreneurs in any case. The central Natal Midlands are an example of such an area. (SACTU had considerable support here in the late fifties.) Figures which include investment in such areas are invidious and misleading. A more correct study would be investment in "homelands". The terms of such investments have been made extremely attractive but little development has taken place. On theoretical grounds one cannot see why border industries should appear any more attractive unless the basic necessities (water, transport and power) are there already. If the above is true then economic factors, in this instance also, override ideology for the border industries programme was ideologically conceived. It would appear then that economic development is following general principles but State power with the support of the white population is used to suppress the economic advancement of the Black population.

THE STATE AGAINST THE BLACKS

This brings us starkly face to face with the fundamental contending forces viz. the state supported by the white population on the one hand, and the Black population, largely working class, on the other. It is this conflict that needs resolution and it can only do so by a transfer of power into Black hands. Economic development without active struggle by the Blacks will not destroy white supremacy. Status quo white supremacy can only be maintained by ever more vicious suppression of the Black struggle.



There is no third way. Revolution with the capture of state power can be the only logical objective of the liberation movement.

The homelands cannot be dismissed as irrelevant. More and more of the Black population is becoming involved in them. Allowing for the fact that apartheid ideology does not synchronise with apartheid practice, nevertheless the Bantustans are a subject for acute discussion within the Afrikaaner population. The present government might find pressures from the church and universities too much. In such a situation the homelands could become centres and bases for revolutionary activity. Such a prospect cannot be discounted and political strategy must take a fresh look at the Bantustans. The dubbing of them merely as "frauds" is no longer enough. In this context the verligte-verkramppte differences need closer examination. The Nationalist losses in the recent national and provincial elections are also relevant in this study.

With regard to the "conventional" theory that economic development will overthrow white supremacy it is essential that it be constantly attacked. Not all our supporters are equally well informed about South African conditions and if brainwashed by this apologist thesis they could easily accept apparent "changes" such as the outward-looking policy, the creation of more homelands, the losses sustained by the Nationalist Party in the elections as evidence in justification of this thesis. The divergence of interests of the white and Black workers needs to be clearly explained. The call for "unity of the working class" on purely theoretical grounds without relation to the facts is confusing to the development of correct slogans and propaganda of the movement. **The appeal must be to blacks as blacks.**

Randeree

OBITUARY

Debi Singh



South Africa has lost yet another Congress stalwart. Towards the end of last year we received the sad news that Debi Singh, former Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress had died after a long illness.

Since the departure of Mahatma Gandhi from South Africa the N.I.C. which was formed by the Mahatma in 1896 had progressively deteriorated from a mass movement of the Indian community into an organisation, representing in the main, the commercial classes. Debi as he was popularly known by all his many friends and colleagues, entered the political arena towards the end of the last world war, at a time when the Indian youth were up in arms against this staid and conservative leadership of the premier Indian political organisation, the Natal Indian Congress (N.I.C.). The following year when Congress launched a campaign of defiance against the proposed Land Tenure Act the forerunner of the present infamous Group Areas Act whereby the government has the authority to move settled communities into separate watertight ghettos, Debi was appointed Secretary of the Passive Resistance Council of the N.I.C., a

special committee set up to organise and lead the defiance. In the course of the struggle that followed over 2,500 men and women were imprisoned including Debi Singh.

He was again imprisoned together with over 8000 people for participating in the Defiance of Unjust Laws campaign organised jointly by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress in 1952.

In 1956 when 156 leaders of the Congress movement were arrested and charged with High Treason, Debi was once again among the accused and, when in 1960 following the general strike called by Nelson Mandela in protest against the Sharpeville massacre, the Government declared a State of Emergency. Debi Singh was among the thousands throughout the country who were imprisoned for six months without trial.

At the time of his death he was under severe bans, restricting his movement to his home town Durban, and denying him the right to attend any gatherings, including social gatherings of more than two persons.

Sechaba dips its banner in memory of this gallant freedom fighter. M. P.

OBITUARY

Rebecca Bunting



against the pogroms in Tsarist Russia. She emigrated with her family to South Africa in 1914. There as Rebecca Nottowitz, she joined the International Socialist League one of whose founders was Sydney Percival Bunting. They married in December 1916. Two sons were born of this marriage - Arthur and our own Brian former editor of "New Age" and himself now in exile in England.

Johannesburg has always been a centre of violent political activity, but this did not deter Rebecca. It was in the Communist Party that she and her husband probably scored their most significant political Victory. It was largely due to the Buntings that the viewpoint was adopted in 1924 that to be a white Communist was to be openly identified with the emancipation of all non-White people in our country. This policy was to have a profound effect on the history of the whole liberatory movement.

She represented South Africa at two International conferences. The first during the period of the 1922 Rand Revolt and the second in 1928 when the campaign of "Africa for Africans" had begun. Inspired by the great Russian revolution, the Buntings consistently fought for the equality of all people. Thus in 1922 when 22,000 White miners struck work against the decision to make 2000 White workers redundant, Rebecca supported the strike; but pointed out that the decrease in the ratio of White workers to Black workers was the wrong issue to be taken

up by the rebels. She agreed that the workers were correct in striking and fighting for their rights but were wrong in making racialism an issue.

Rebecca soon got to know what the inside of a cell looked like. While campaigning in Tembuland in the late twenties with her husband, she was arrested on several occasions and shadowed for months by the Special Branch. She was a pioneer victim of police oppression when many readers of this article were not yet born.

And right to the end of her life, Rebecca fought and worked for the liberation of the oppressed people of our country. Her familiar figure could be seen selling literature, obtaining signatures, distributing clothes, collecting money and hotly debating 'all issues' right through the years of the second world war; the African miners strike in 1946; the Defiance Campaign; the Congress of the People and subsequent Treason Trial and Emergency. Remarkably, in her seventies, she would be driving her car delivering "New Age" and collecting jumble in the farthest corners of Johannesburg. Rebecca was one of a great band of freedom fighters. Her great strength was her faith in mankind. Her revolutionary activity was dedicated "to the greatest cause in the whole world - the liberation of all mankind."

We salute you, Mother of our movement. Our condolences go out to Brian, Sonia and the rest of the Bunting family. W. K.

One of the most devoted, highly principled heroines of our liberatory struggle died recently in a London hospital. Rebecca Bunting, widow of the famous "S.P.", was born in Lithuania 82 years ago. At an early age she joined the "underground" to fight

BOOK REVIEW

RELUCTANT REBELLION

The 1906–1908 Disturbances in Natal

Shula Marks. Clarendon Press
Oxford University Press 1970. 80/–

Shula Marks study of the 1906–1908 disturbances in Natal is a great tribute to her meticulous work. She examined not only published material, but unearthed a mass of primary sources on which her work mainly depends. She belongs to a new and I hope growing number of South African Scholars who see South Africa's history from the view point of the African majority and not of the white settlers.

The forerunners of this tradition were W. M. MacMillan and C. W. de Kiewiet who did much to correct the distorted version of J. M. Theal and his successors. Not even Mac Millan and de Kietwiet questioned the morality of white man's rule. Neither exposed the hypocrisy, acquisitiveness and inhumanity that characterised the bloody wars which led to the defeat of the Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho and Tswana who defended their families, land, cattle and national independence against the firearms of Boer commandos and British redcoats.

Shule Marks uncovers the dirty record of British officials and settlers in Natal with a success that few academic historians have achieved. She exposes the white Natalians, who like their neighbours in the Transvaal and the Free State, set out to rob Africans of their land, cattle and turn them into wage slaves for the white masters. She projects the Bambatha revolt against a broad background of Natal's social structure, examines the prejudice of the settlers towards Indians and Africans and describes the attempts made to buy the allegiance of the Coloured community. She exposes the land robberies perpetrated by the Imperial government as well as the Natal colonials and explains that this, more than any other act of oppression, alienated the African population and turned it against the settlers. When the Delimitation Commission of 1902–04, collected evidence to justify the carving up of Zululand, 906 Africans testified on a wide range of issues; and 5,000 listened to the proceedings in 34 different centres. This shows the African's political awareness and determination to resist the expropriation.

The commission reported: 'The natives must be clearly made to understand... that the presence and predominance of the white race will be preserved of all hazards... and all attempts to destroy its hegemony will be promptly punished...'

CAUSES OF THE UPRISING

The seizure of land, poll tax and oppressive measures against independent African churches were the substance out of which the Bambatha rising developed.

The confiscation of over two million acres of good farm land, the introduction of a poll tax and backed by punitive expeditions were the immediate causes of the rising. It culminated in a pitched battle on the 10th June 1906 which ended in the death of chief Bambatha and many of his followers and the capture of other rebel leaders. South Africa's social structure has changed little since the beginning of the century in spite of its industrial development and despite the fact that one third of the world is free from national oppression and class exploitation and that most of Africa having rid itself of colonial rule is moving forward to economic independence. Apartheid policies project the colonial system which Shula Marks has described for Natal. The Bambatha rebellion was the last defiant attempt by Africans using traditional weapons and Forms of organisation to recover their ancient land liberties. They were conquered but not subdued.

After the Bambatha rebellion Africans learnt to fight the white invaders with modern political techniques and organisation. The logical succession to the Bambatha rebellion was the African National Congress, formed to liberate the whole of South Africa from white minority rule.

We may repeat here the belief expressed by Rev. John Dube, founder member of the African National Congress, who was detained in 1902 for stating that 'justice would be done only when the African ruled the country'.

R. E. S.

Arvika Afrikagruppe,
C/O Nilsson,
Takene S-670 30 Edane
Sweden.

Comrades!

We are some young boys who have formed an Africa Group. Our aim is to fight imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racialism and apartheid in Africa. Among other actions we have sold Sechaba-copies during a fair in Arvika. Arvika is a small town with 16 000 inhabitants in western Sweden, not far from the Norwegian border.

Now we ask South African young refugees to write to us. Then we will give the addresses to Swedish boys and girls so that you can make pen-friends in Sweden. The reasons for this pen-friend-action are mainly two:

- 1) We want Swedish youngsters to learn about your fight for freedom in your country, which is being oppressed by an inhuman, cruel apartheid regime.
- 2) We want South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean refugees to know that the young people of Sweden have not forgotten them. Arvika Afrika-gruppe want to get more people supporting your fight for freedom.

We also want to get in touch with the families of political prisoners if possible, so that we can let them know that we want to help them in their tragic situation.

People who can give us addresses can write to Evert Nilsson, Takene, S-670 30 Edane, Sweden.

Solidarity greetings! AFRICA MAYIBUYE!!
Arvika Afriagruppe.



REPORT OR ELSE . . .

The following note was received by an African living in Hammanskraal, "You are kindly requested to report to this office without fail, on . . . day of, 197 . . . at or about a. m. in connection with a matter mentioned above. Kindly make the necessary arrangements with your Employer in order to comply with this order.

You are strongly urged to consider this matter in a serious light because the law has a disposition to throttle men who intentionally fail to obey Summons.

Yours faithfully,
Bantu Affairs Commissioner.
(Quoted in the Sunday Times Jhbg)

POP APARTHEID

A Pop Show was disrupted by Government officials in Durban recently. They intervened in Live Musical Show at a local Durban Cinema when a group of Coloured Artistes were

banned from appearing with their fellow Indian Artistes in a show entitled "Sounds of Africa".

The ban was imposed because the organisers did not get a Permit from the Group Areas Board to perform before "... An Extra-Racial Audience".

SUICIDE BECAUSE OF PASS

After he had been assaulted by a group of men, robbed of his hat, jacket, wristwatch and reference book, a Soweto man committed suicide because he could not bear the loss of his reference book, a Johannesburg inquest Magistrate heard yesterday. Mr. W. G. Engelbrecht heard that Gilbert Gamede, 32 of Zola, committed suicide by hanging himself from a rafter in the dining room of his parent's house on May 26.

---"Rand Daily Mail", 6. 10. 70.

DOCTORS BARRED

About 100 South Africans of Indian Origin studying abroad --- India, Pakistan and Egypt, will not be allowed to practice medicine in South Africa because the Government has decided not to recognise their degrees. It is ironical that whilst there is a tremendous shortage of doctors in South Africa, the degrees acquired from the Internationally Recognised Universities are of no value, but the Bantustan Universities are acceptable.

CLINIC CLOSES

A serious shortage of Doctors in Durban has resulted in the closure of the Diabetic Section of the non-

white clinic in Beatrice Street, Durban. Patients have been diverted to another hospital in Congella some miles away.

A member of the Hospital Board Mr. A. S. Kajee said, "If the clinic is reopened, hundreds of elderly patients would be saved the tiresome and costly bus journey to Congella".

DUMMY INSTITUTION

South Africa's 600,000 Indians were not convinced that the Government - appointed South African Indian Council was adequately representing their interests said Mr. H. E. Joosub, the chairman of this Dummy Institution.

GASSED

The Government in their haste to carry out the Group Areas against the Indians, expel the residents, bulldoze the houses, throw barbed wire netting around the sites, cut electricity and gas pipes. As a result of one such campaign in Fordsburg Johannesburg, a father and his eleven year old son died from Seeping Gas. The authorities said their deaths were due to "An unfortunate accident".

