



SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa

The Crisis in Lesotho
Apartheid Sports take a Beating
The Wedge in Afrikaans Politics

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ANGLING IN SPORTS. S.A. SPORT IS ON BRINK OF ISOLATION - M.P. STAYS



ONE OF THE MORE disconcerting aspects of South Africa's sports crisis is the apparent failure of many of our sports administrators to understand what it is really all about. It is a race: we are condemned to sport on a racial basis and segregating it unfairly. Therefore, that the whole is in the alert to handle all the sport-race issue with a fact we seem to stumblas to another.

Perhaps the most recent's haggle over who should be allowed to watch an Games in Bloemfontein were supposed to be our Olympic Games, few are one more to convince the world that we were indeed Olympic ideal. Now, in the going to be the most sporting relationship has marked the Alians' tour, with the white spectators in area.



SOUTH AFRICA was on the brink of isolation. Government action was needed to retain United Party M.P. for Johannesburg Pretoria yesterday.

STAFF REPORTER

Mr. Marais, who is a member of the South African Association of Sports Administrators, said that once the Prime Minister had made the concession to send a racially-mixed South African team to the Olympic Games, it was logically assumed that there would be no difficulty in all-race sides abroad South Africa in other sports.

Mr. Marais said he would attend the International Association meeting in London later this year. He said the world's anti-apartheid movement was a "South Africa's few remaining links in international must be preserved. The demonstrations against the Springbok Rugby side in Britain, those which would be at the Springbok cricket in Britain later this year, highlighted apartheid in and strengthened opposition against the selection of on a racial basis."

PESSIMISTIC
Mr. Marais said he would attend the International Association meeting in London later this year. He said the world's anti-apartheid movement was a

SPORT POLICY STAYS VORSTER

... way of
... he says

Theories galore, but poor record is baffling critics

From Geoff Clark

THE CONTINUING FAILURE of the Springbok rugby team to attain even a remote suggestion of home form has provoked a corresponding crescendo of theories for the still unexplained lapse among observers of the British Isles.

THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. Vorster, said on television in London last week that South Africa would not change traditional sports relations with the world.

Nothing sets out the reasons more eloquently than the three tries and three conversions scored by the Springboks in their last match.

ASHE

LONDON. The risk of confusing the players with a host of tactical instructions is avoided.

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Fighting Talk

Central African Summit

It is with considerable relief that we have received the news from the East and Central African summit that the Lusaka Manifesto, having evoked no response from South Africa, is now to be followed up by increased aid to the liberation movements.

The conference, the sixth in a series of important meetings in Central Africa, gave priority to a discussion on the Manifesto. After a long debate it was recorded that South Africa and Portugal had rejected any talks on the probabilities of a peaceful solution of the explosive situation in Southern Africa. In the circumstances, the summit felt that there was no alternative except to extend further aid to the liberation movements, and make every effort to liberate these countries to end all foreign domination on the continent of Africa.

The summit took place at a time when President Kaunda has gone out of his way to express in very strong terms his disquiet about the situation in Southern Africa. In a series of speeches and articles he condemned the 'big powers' which buttress the ever-growing military apparatus of South Africa, saying that it was common knowledge that France, Italy, Britain and West Germany were still oiling the South African war machine. He said that the South African offensive was greatly enhanced by Nato powers who 'claimed Christianity and civilization'.

At the summit Maj. Gen. J. M. El Nimeiry, Sudan's Revolutionary Council's Chairman, said that he did not advocate a racist war but he did advocate a liberation war and that his government had settled in full her arrears of £1000,000 outstanding to liberation funds and such commitments would in future be included in the annual budget.

These commitments to assist the liberation struggle are warmly welcomed by the African National Congress. It would be wrong to deny that the violent cross currents which have swept across Africa in the past few years have tended to hamper our effort in building our liberatory machine. In some cases Governments have fallen to be replaced by others with less enthusiasm for the eradication of white supremacy on our continent, in others, the stresses of working out new policies in difficult conditions have led some states into a greater concern with internal problems than those of the continent as a whole.

We must repeat what we have always adhered to, namely that the responsibility for freeing our country is our own and that we must face the dangers and difficulties inherent in the course we have chosen. But it is also evident to us that the cooperation of other African states is vital both for material and moral support without which our struggle will be seriously hampered.

The stubborn arrogance of South Africa seems to be leading to a rising tide of indignation in Central Africa. President Kaunda has warned in stronger terms than even he has used in the past, that the Southern African situation is deteriorating rapidly and could lead to a second Vietnam with the West fighting on the side of South Africa to contain 'communism' on the continent. Capitalism is entrenched in South Africa, he has said, and the West is already beginning to see it as a bastion against 'communism' - The response of the young people of Africa must be to fight it out. Indeed there can be no alternative when white minorities have dug in to an extent that they are forcing upon us steps that will rock the whole subcontinent. For the ANC the prospect of a severe armed struggle is a serious challenge, but the vision of a country free from oppression is a spur to the revolutionary action that must be pursued.

The "Baas" and the "Bo - Baas" Fight it Out

An all-White election, South Africa-style, has just taken place. Some meetings were broken up by hooligans, speakers were given a thick ear instead of a hearing, and the competition in abuse was faithfully recorded in the white press. Verligtes vied with verkrampstes to prove their hatred for black people while Hertzog, the former Minister for Communications, protested phone tapping against his own party now in opposition. It was a contest few outside South Africa would want to enter, but for the Afrikaner Nationalists it was traditional sport. Its a pity the noise they made prevented them hearing the rising anger of the oppressed outside.

THE CRISIS IN LESOTHO

The announcement of the suspension of the constitution in Lesotho following the election focussed attention sharply on this small country lying wholly within the territory of South Africa. Since these events will have repercussions throughout Southern Africa, SECHABA has collated some background information and statements to show how the crisis developed.

The run up to the election was marked by a significant press conference held on the 15th January by Chief Leabua Jonathan. The Prime Minister stated that his policy was to maintain friendly relations and mutual cooperation with South Africa and that he would meet Mr. Vorster after the elections.

He predicted a Basutoland National Party (the ruling party) victory with the winning of all 60 seats in the elections.

He also declared that he would not make Lesotho a one party state, that he would not ban the Lesotho Communist Party since he was bound by the constitution, and that he would continue to recognise the leader of the Opposition, Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle of the Basutoland Congress Party (B. C. P.). On the question of political refugees he said that his party would not be prepared to fully accept them because 'they were not active in the fight against imperialism.'

A Peaceful Election

The election day was marred by one major incident in the Koeneng constituency of Mr. Peete Peete, the Minister of Finance, where an opponent from his own party was standing against him. Radio South Africa reported that a man was killed in the disturbance. Elsewhere the situation was quiet. The Prime Minister made a nationwide broadcast on the 28th congratulating the people on a peaceful election. On the 29th the results were coming in and were relayed from the constituencies by police radio. On the 30th January at 10.50 a.m. Lesotho Radio announced that the B. C. P. had won 23 seats while the B. N. P. had 22. These results revealed that in the crucial mountain area seats around Mokhotlong the B. N. P. were in danger of losing all their seats.

According to information filtering out of the country, the police radios were then ordered to stop announcing results. However the B. C. P. was at this very time receiving information directly from the electoral officers in the constituencies that they had won 33 seats, the Marematlou Freedom Party one seat while the B. N. P. had 23 seats.

At 3 p.m. on the same day Chief Leabua Jonathan declared a state of emergency on the grounds that the election was taking place in an atmosphere of violence and intimidation. He also suspended the constitution.

The leader of the B. C. P. Mr. Mokhehle was arrested together with some 30 other leaders and supporters. On the 2nd February a delegation from the three principal churches in the country, the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church and the Church of Lesotho visited Chief Jonathan in order to persuade him to stand down and hand over authority to the B. C. P., but Chief Jonathan refused.

Unconstitutional Action

Despite considerable confusion and conflicting statements from the ruling party, it seems clear that the King, who is head of state in terms of the constitution, was not consulted about the suspension of the constitution nor over the cancellation of the elections. He was restricted to his home.

At a subsequent press conference Chief Jonathan said that he had seized power and that he was not ashamed of the fact. He proceeded to ban the Communist Party. Soon afterwards the Prime Minister of South Africa said that Mr. Mokhehle was a "Peking Communist" and that his Government would deal with Lesotho as before. He compared the situation with that obtaining in Rhodesia at the time of U. D. I. as far as South Africa's position was concerned. South African police surrounded Lesotho at all strategic points soon after Chief Jonathan's announcement.

Members of the B. C. P. have drawn attention to the fact that the Commissioner of Police, Mr. Richard Hindmarsh and the Superintendent of the Mobile Police Unit, Mr. Roach are both British and that the implication of their continued presence in their official capacities in Lesotho is that the British Government is not doing all it can to dissociate its servants from the illegal seizure of power.

The press reported that there was a secret poll of the police for the elections on the 13th January, two weeks before the election. According to the Golden City Post of the 1/2/70 some 90% of the police voted for the B. C. P., and the paper stated that Chief Jonathan subsequently threatened the police for being disloyal. Other sources state that the Commissioner of Police asked three senior African police officers to resign just before the election.

Mokhehle salutes supporters



Mokhehle's Pre-election Press Statement

I thought that you might be interested in general matters relating to the oncoming General Elections and the possible future of Lesotho as a whole.

We of the Basutoland Congress Party are far better prepared to win the oncoming elections than we were in 1965; when even then, were it not for corruption, we should not have lost.

By being better prepared this time I essentially refer to our realisation that Leabua is perfectly aware that clean elections mean his being totally and shamefully defeated and he has shamelessly resorted to tricks of rigging and corrupting the oncoming election.

Registration

Registration has been deliberately corrupted – non-Leabua supporters have been left out of the voters rolls in large numbers by his specially chosen B. N. P. government officers.

Nomination Day

On the contrary Leabua registered many of his supporters who by law should not have been registered. Leabua also played a lot of unworthy tricks on the nomination day to precipitate out as many of the candidates belonging to the opposition groups as possible – but he failed because of the effectiveness of our Party's general administration. Only one B. C. P. candidate was lost through this.

Ballot Boxes

At the present moment a box containing Absent Voters envelopes and discs has been seriously tampered with here in Maseru and this has been put in the hands of the police. So far no move is apparent. In villages, boxes are circulating and for some unknown business, visits are allowed exclusively to the B. N. P. members to these boxes – by day and by night. We learnt that yesterday, or the day before, some B. N. P. members were arrested at Mohale's Hoek transporting a ballot box from Pokane, Quthing, to some

destination this side of Mohale's Hoek. The ballot box which is supposed to be with the Mohale's Hoek police now, is said to be containing ballot envelopes with B. N. P. official election discs.

Training and Terrorism

Leabua has also gone all out to intimidate voters, in his rallies, through the radio, and through terrorism he perpetrated through the B. N. P. youths. Some of these youths have undergone special courses of training in terrorism under the Nationalist Chinese (Formosa) instructors. They mostly operate at Mpharane where Leabua is to stand. These B. N. P. youths attack people who make the B. C. P. sign or say our slogan. They beat them to force them to attend the B. N. P. rallies, in which people are not interested. Sometimes they have tried to disperse lawful B. C. P. rallies by force. We have brought these dangerous practices by the B. N. P. terrorist pressure units to the notice of the police and the B. N. P. Leaders. No replies have been received, no action is taken to stop this! and to the B. N. P. leaders nothing is being done.

Unholy Lies

While Leabua and his group are supporting and encouraging this terrorism, they are spreading unholy lies and false propaganda that the B. C. P. is smuggling arms into Lesotho to cause trouble on election day. This is a lie, calculated to deceive people and justify their provocations and their display of force.

They themselves are provoking trouble as they have already done so often.

As far as we have assessed the position, we are winning the oncoming elections in spite of the corruption so far perpetrated. And Leabua's thirst for trouble on the election day and his baseless intimidation of voters shall not bear him any favourable results. His corruption has annoyed even his best supporters and on the mountains he has almost lost all the "support" he is supposed to have enjoyed. We are determined to "incapacitate" Leabua's corruption, threats and intimidation by all fair and lawful means and to win the elections.

A homestead in Lesotho



Communism

Leabua and his supporters have fallen back to their old worn-out theories that we are communists and that we have been assisted in these present elections by Communist China to pay our deposits and our campaign expenses. The two allegations are totally untrue our - ism as a Party is Pan Africanism.

As to our having been assisted by Communist China both with our deposits and campaign expenses - it is sadly false. Leabua himself is in a most favourable position to know whether or not we have received any funds and by whom and he knows that what he says is just a lie. The position of the King and even of the rest of the Chiefs shall remain as it is in the present Independence Constitution which gives Presidential Powers to the Prime Minister in a Kingdom where the King still remains a constitutional Head of State. Our attitude being that if the country develops into a status where the head of state must be a President, that status shall be evolved with the people's will as the dynamic factor.

Human Rights

If we get the necessary majority we shall modify some sections of the present constitution - but it will be our particular interest and determination that whatever constitution we shall use - that will be strictly followed and adhered to. In particular a determined effort shall be undertaken by our government to see to it that Human Rights are respected and fulfilled in the day to day running of the administration.

Refugees

On the question of refugees, we shall receive and protect genuine political refugees originating from whatever country. They shall certainly not be exposed to cruel persecution and uncertainty, either by our own government or by agents of any foreign country.

Public Service Commission

The Public Service Commission shall remain independent. The Public Service shall be Africanised as rapidly as shall be convenient to our efficient running of the country. The Public Servants Association shall be encouraged, strengthened and afforded some substantial say in the general run of administration and in "particular matters affecting their welfare."

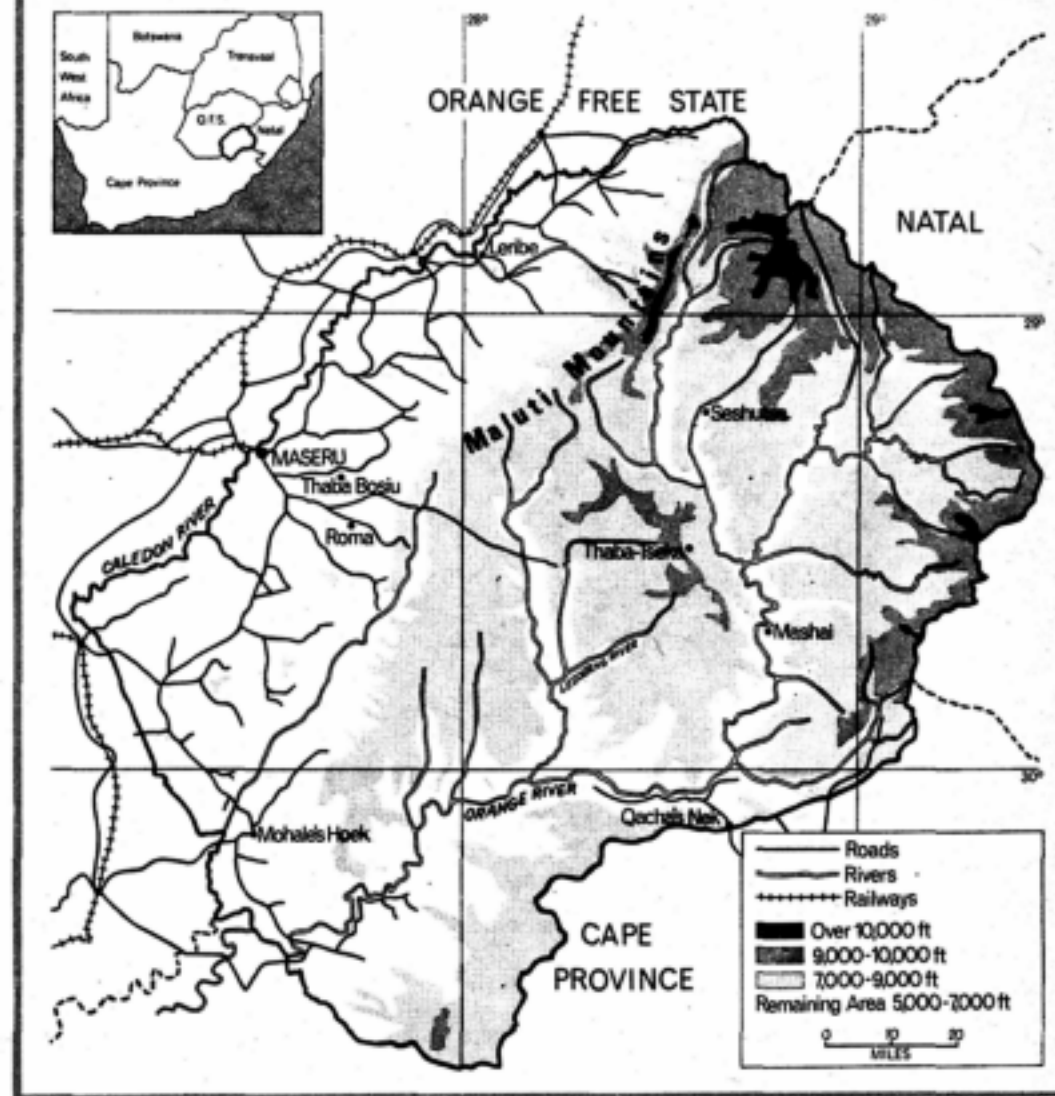
Trade Unions

Trade Unions shall be encouraged and strengthened and protected to operate without interference as long as they do so within the law.

Economic Field

In the Economic Field we shall work with any foreign countries desiring to work with us, and fully recognise our independence and sovereignty. Ours shall be a mixed economy. Cooperatives shall be built to play quite a part in our economic growth. Foreign aid shall be received only to the extent it is absolutely required, and to the extent that it does not interfere or tend to stunt the local efforts by the Basotho to build their own economy - slow economic growth shall be preferred to any fast growth which is foreign based and foreign controlled. We shall strive to avoid economic relations with any country if such relations must be so conditioned that we may financially find ourselves in the inescapable grip and control of such a country politically and economically.

LESOTHO AND ITS NEIGHBOURS



THE ANC'S VIEW

The African National Congress of South Africa expresses a deep sense of shock and strongly protests at the sudden critical turn of events in Lesotho. The sudden declaration of the state of emergency and the arrest of the leader of the Basutoland Congress Party, Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle can only serve to divide the people of Lesotho in the face of a very vicious neighbour - the apartheid Republic of South Africa.

The test in this grave situation is whom does the state of emergency and the arrest of the leaders of the people of Lesotho serve. There can be little doubt that the ruling circles of South Africa, who were already showing alarm at the popular swing towards the Basutoland Congress Party, are happy at the critical situation that has now resulted. It goes without saying that all their hopes had been pinned on the success of Chief Leabua's Party, which had pledged continued co-operation with the Republic of South Africa.

The African National Congress expresses deep regret at this disturbing turn in the political life of newly-independent Lesotho. At the dawn of political independence of the people of Lesotho the oppressed people of South Africa and indeed progressive forces in Africa as a whole were jubilant over the fact that this important event had added strength to the African revolution and had increased the numbers of the forces fighting for peace and progress against the aggressive forces of imperialism. There can be no doubt that the progress of the people of Lesotho will be best served by the preservation of the unity of the people, who must strive to disengage themselves from the forces of neo-colonialism, represented by its aggressive bulwark in Southern Africa, the fascist Republic of South Africa. We, therefore, call upon the independent African States, in the first place, to prevail upon Chief Jonathan to immediately end the state of emergency in Lesotho, and release the arrested leaders of the people of Lesotho. The people of Lesotho must be given unfettered choice of expressing their democratic right to choose their own government.

Alfred Nzo
Secretary General

BCP URGES BRITISH PRESSURE

Statement made by the Secretary-General of the B. C. P. Mr. G. M. Kolisang and the U. K. Representative Mr. M. Q. Molapo.

1. The main purpose of this Press Conference is to enlighten the British public on the true situation about the recent General Elections in Lesotho and to counteract the misleading statements which Chief Jonathan and his illegal regime have been propagating in order to confuse the issues.

2. The Basutoland Congress Party had won 35 seats against Chief Jonathan's 23, in the 60-seat Parliament, as at mid-day last Friday (30th January), in an election which was known for its peacefulness. We wish to solicit the support of the British Government and people for the restoration of legality in Lesotho so as to prevent the deterioration of the situation which, if unchecked, can threaten the stability of the entire Southern African region.

For this reason, we put the following specific demands:

a) That the British Government, which exerts great influence on Chief Jonathan should withhold recognition from his illegal regime and insist on the restoration of the Constitution and of the judicial system.

b) That the State of Emergency in Lesotho should immediately be lifted.

c) That the King should be released from house arrest to enable him to perform his legal functions as Head of State under the Constitution.

d) That the Leader of the Basutoland Congress Party, and all BCP members elected to Parliament who have been illegally arrested by Chief Jonathan should be released forthwith.

3. We dismiss with contempt the suggestion that a government formed by the BCP would precipitate a clash with the Republic of South Africa. On the contrary, a popular democratic government in Lesotho is a better guarantee of peace and harmonious relations than a dictatorship imposed on the people.

Chief Jonathan



APARTHOID

African Catholic Priests Condemn Church for Apartheid

Five African priests have published an extraordinary attack on the South African Catholic Church for practising apartheid and for denying Africans their proper place in the church. In this outspoken and directly political indictment of the church hierarchy, the priests accuse the church of hypocrisy and of perpetuating white supremacy. The document, which was published in the Rand Daily Mail, was signed by The Rev. Father P. Mangaliso Mkhwa Tshwa, The Rev. Father D. Moetatele, The Rev. Father J. L. Louw-fant, The Rev. Father C. Mokoka and The Rev. Dr. A. Mabona.

"Ingane engakhali ifela embelekweni," a Zulu proverb meaning that when someone fails to voice his grievances in time, he has only himself to blame if this results in tragedy.

There was a time when most people believed that Africans had infinite patience. Their mental inertia and natural laziness were partly responsible for this. Be that as it may, we want to state that the African is capable of an agonising "ENOUGH! ENOUGH!" In spite of our ordination to the priesthood, we have been treated like glorified altar-boys.

We kept quiet even when it was our duty to speak up. We were afraid that our White colleagues would misunderstand our stand. Consequently the bad situation became worse.

After a long prayerful self-examination we resolved to ventilate our grievances and take the public into our confidence. For one thing, Church politics are hidden from the rank and file; for another, our fellow-men have the right to know the truth about their priests. We are primarily concerned with the well-being of our Church. How long must we plead for its Africanisation in Southern Africa?

Church Pretence

The Catholics pretend to condemn apartheid. And yet in practice they cherish it. The Church practised segregation in her seminaries, convents, hospitals, schools, monasteries, associations and churches long before the present Government legislated against social integration. The bishops, priests and religious bodies are divided on the question of apartheid.

The statement of one late Metropolitan is still fresh in our minds. Bishop G. Van Velsen made a public defence of apartheid when he was interviewed by the "Sunday Tribune" in March last year.

We know from reliable sources that a number of bishops and priests are sympathetic towards the police. Quite rightly, of course, they condemn some aspects of its implementation, particularly those which bring suffering and injustices.

If we understand the philosophers of separate development correctly, they argue that "as long as the Blacks are in our midst, their position will always be precarious and uncertain. Racial frictions will be inevitable. The Whites do not want to mix socially with Black people. They believe in

ID IN THE CHURCH

preserving their identity as a White nation. So why encourage, let alone, foist integration on them? It won't work." Let's be honest. The Whites would never accept a Black or multiracial government. Whites in South Africa are not prepared to serve under Africans in any capacity. Socially, culturally and intellectually the Whites consider themselves quite different from the Blacks. The obvious conclusion is that most Whites have opted out of the concept of integration.

Among other things they feel that one can't break down traditions which are more than three centuries old, by the stroke of the pen.

As Christians we believe in a multiracial society. We feel this is the only way in which real Christianity can be practised. Unfortunately we haven't a free choice. Segregation, apartheid, is imposed on us and living in a make-believe world won't help. So, if we have to have apartheid we might as well insist on our own rights under it.

We Loathe Racists

We suggest that our people should accept the situation and make the best of it. History is unpredictable. Perhaps one day things will change dramatically. The African wants to rediscover his personality and identity. He wishes to develop all his faculties – mental, physical, aesthetic. We wonder whether he can achieve this in the midst of White people. Competition will always be in their favour.

Don't get us wrong. We are not preaching racialism, because we despise and loathe racists. What we are preaching is REALISM and common sense.

Having set the scene, we want to enumerate a few grievances.

We deplore as well as condemn the baasskap and miessieskap of the White clergy and religion over their African counterparts. You will destroy our morale, personality and professional efficiency by the raw deal you constantly give us.

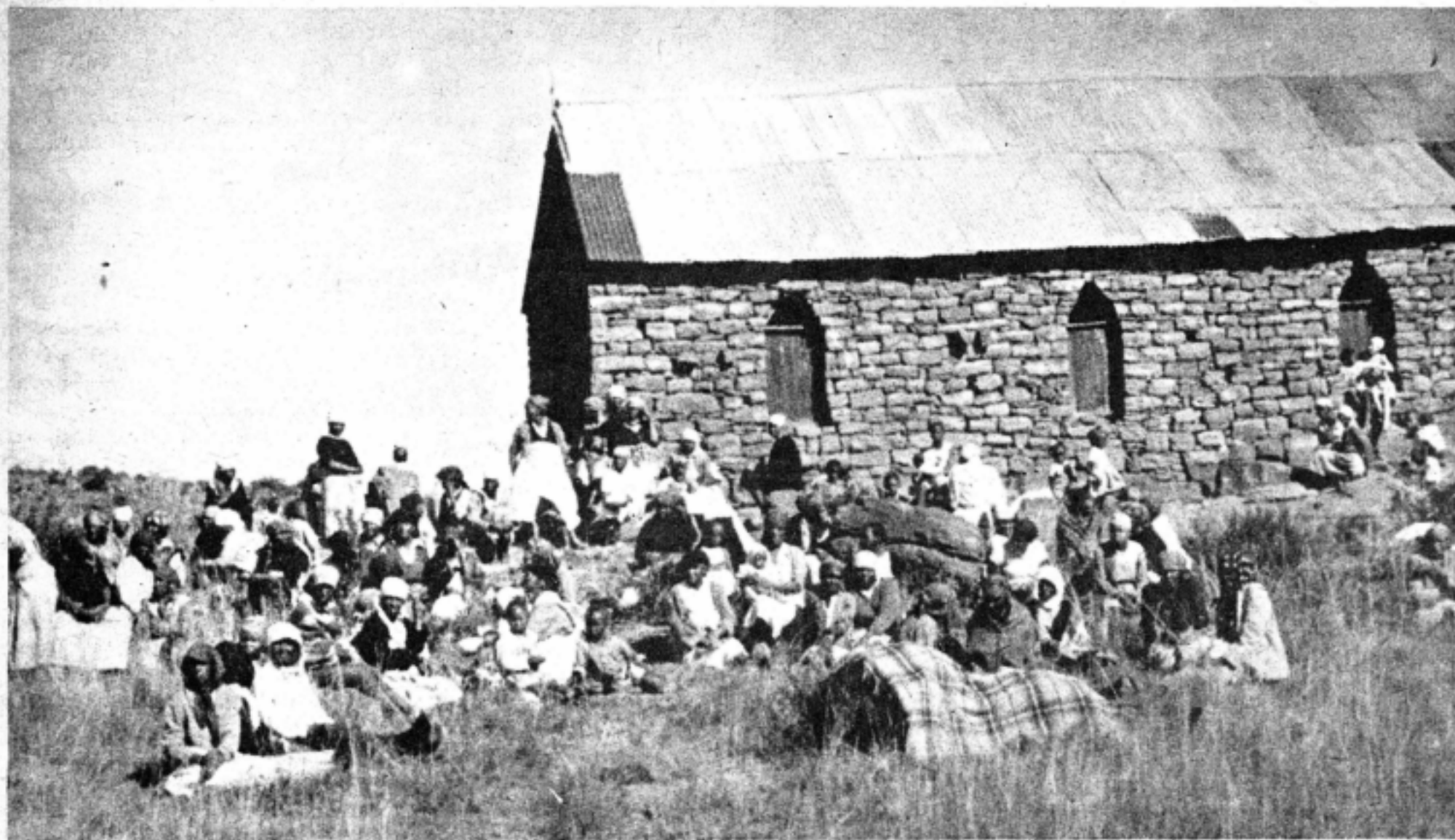
We deplore your perpetuation of the false image of the African priest as a "glorified altar-boy" who happens to share in the White priesthood. With tears in our eyes, we deplore the marooning and exiling of some African priests without any redress. Even in a court of law, the accused is entitled to a fair, unbiased defence.

We humbly invite our Bishops to know their African parishes better. A fleeting snap purple appearance on confirmation days leaves much to be desired.

We respectfully request the Hierarchy to open up new avenues for our priests, such as specialised apostolate, serving on the so-called national commissions, playing a meaningful role in the administration of dioceses and so on.

White Clergy Dominate Our Townships

We ask the Hierarchy to expedite Africanisation. For instance why can't Soweto have its own Black Bishop? Why should our townships be dominated by the White clergy and African priests be dumped in the bush, in non-viable parishes?



We loathe the unwarranted self appointed surveillance of the White priests over their Black colleagues. We deplore the tripe that some missionaries write about Africans.

We would like to add a few other suggestions. The Bishops would do well to broaden their outlook on the apostolate of the Church. Individual bishops must be ready to "sacrifice" some of their priests to serve the interests of the Church even outside the diocese.

We suggest that a department of African Affairs be created on a national level. Its main duty would be to look after the interests of the Black Catholic. It ought to be comprised of professionals, both lay and clerical, plus ordinary men with common sense. We prefer to manage or mismanage ourselves, otherwise we shall for ever remain Black boys under the rectorship of the White boys. If the Catholic Church has hitherto failed to produce African pastors and rectors, then there must be something radically wrong with their training and apprenticeship.

Let our White colleagues cease to pretend to be impeccable angels at our expense.

By the way of conclusion, we would like to reassure readers that we are sincere men who wish to put things right in the Church. Please do not misunderstand us. We have in the past presented to the Hierarchy resolutions that were passed in July, 1966, but to no effect.

If anybody suspects us of mud-slinging or defeatism for that matter, then our message has been misunderstood. We would be hypocrites if we pretended to be contended with the status quo. Our colleagues can rest assured that in any eventuality we shall be their best allies.

Should a fruitful dialogue emerge from this meditation so much the better for the Church. We invite you to join us in reciting an act of loyalty:

"We the undersigned, profess and embrace the Catholic teaching in all its entirety. We firmly believe that Christ's Church is one, holy, catholic and apostolic. We hope to live, work and die as true sons of our Beloved Brother and Saviour Christ."

Support for Protestors from a White Priest

A White priest, Father Colon Collins, came out in support of the five African Catholic priests who accused the Church of practising apartheid in South Africa. Father Collins a former secretary to the Catholic bishops conference, has dealt with the African school system of the church for 11 years.

He is now general secretary of the University Christian Movement and said it was high time the question of apartheid in the Church was given an airing.

Referring specifically to the ecclesiastical segregation mentioned in the statement, he said this could be shown to be true of the entire Catholic school system in the country.

Outnumbered

He said bias could be revealed in the fact that in about 400 catholic schools in South Africa White religious teachers, nuns, brothers and priests outnumbered their African counterparts by more than 10 to one.

It was further emphasised when the number of schools for Africans was compared to that of the Whites. "In Johannesburg, for example, there are about 20 Catholic high schools for Whites," he said, "There are more Non-White Catholics in Johannesburg than White, yet we have only one church-run high school.

Also, the ratio of African priests to White priests was disproportionate.

"In Johannesburg," he said "there are about 60 White priests and about 15 African."

Although the priests received roughly the same remuneration, the White priests were much better off in that the side benefits accruing to them in their parishes were far more valuable than those of the Africans.

Salaries

The African priests had to handle far more parishioners. In the White areas there was one priest to 400 Catholics; in the African areas there was one priest to 2,000 Catholics.

The apartheid in the Church could be further shown by a comparison between the salaries paid to White lay teachers and African lay teachers in Catholic schools.

"The gap between the salaries of the White teachers and the African teachers is almost proportionate to what the Government are paying their equivalents in Government schools," he said.

Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban, and the Right Rev. Hugh Boyle, Bishop of Johannesburg, like Archbishop J. C. Garner of Pretoria, have declined to comment on the statement by the five priests.

Catholic Priests in Protest March

Nearly a hundred African priests and laymen, supported by a handful of Whites, staged a march in support of the five African priests who protested apartheid in the church. They marched on a Pretoria seminary where Southern African bishops were meeting, and where the statement of the five was to be discussed.

The deputation warned the church that a movement had started in the church which could not be reversed and would have to be taken seriously. The meeting of bishops agreed to discuss the matter at a plenary session after strong representations by the marchers. The chairman of the conference, Cardinal Owen McCann, the Archbishop of Cape Town, commented: "We are pleased that these differences have come out into the open and will do everything possible to solve them."

Race Row in Church

A bitter apartheid clash has flared in a Dutch Reformed Church.

Non-whites have been told to refer to Saints as "Baas" a word they used to address their white masters. Whites sing of the Lord's presence in "halls and homes". Coloured people have been told to sing of the Lord's presence in "straw huts". Such differences are made in a newly-introduced hymn book with separate words for non-whites. When coloured people were asked to sing the different words for the first time last week one stood up and protested. Now 500 of the non-white congregation of the Dutch Reform Church in Malmesbury, a farming town near Cape Town, have signed a petition objecting to the new hymn book.

But Minister-in-Church, Dominee Piet du Toit, has said anyone who refuses to use the new book should leave church. A non-white deacon who supported the Dominee was beaten up on his way home from the church.

Coloured leaders say the hymn book is an attempt to introduce apartheid in the church. They accuse white priests of taking over pastoral activity in native townships.

The attack could hardly have been more unfortunately timed. It has come only a week after seventy prominent churchmen and leading laymen here issued a twelve-point message to Christian voters which condemned apartheid outright.



President A. Karume

ZANZIBAR

We had hardly drawn for the third time on our cigarettes when the stewardess on board our aircraft, which was taking us from Dar es Salaam to Zanzibar, announced: "Ladies and Gentlemen, fasten your belts and refrain from smoking. We are landing at Zanzibar Airport."

We had come to celebrate with the people of Zanzibar, and many other foreign guests, the 6th Anniversary of the Revolution in Zanzibar. Foreign guests came from at least 40 countries. Among them were also representatives of the liberation movements presently engaged in the struggle against minority racist governments in Southern Africa. Six years ago, the people of Zanzibar, led and inspired by their party, the Afro-Shirazi Party, brought down by force of arms the Sultan's regime. This was a regime which rode rough-shod over the interests and aspirations of the people of Zanzibar. It had chosen the role of puppet to imperialism rather than promote and protect the interests of its subjects. It exploited the indigenous people of the Island of Zanzibar and Pemba, sapped their economic resources and undermined African sovereignty. The people wanted food, shelter and enlightenment, and not poverty and ignorance. The people wanted to be masters of their own destiny and at peace with all the world, and not pawns of the imperialists, or their country to be a springboard of subversion against the advance of the African Revolution. They wanted to see their children grow up to contribute their best talents and energies to the cause of rebuilding Africa, harnessing her resources and riches for the good of all her peoples, and not just a handful of monopolists, whether they be seated in New York, London, Paris, Bonn, Lisbon or Pretoria.

After six years of revolution, there is still a multitude of difficulties to be surmounted, and problems to be solved, yet this great people is moving forward, in spite of everything and despite every odd.

A warm Welcome

At the airport we were met by members of the Afro-Shirazi Party and Youth League.

"Zanzibar guests?" asked an unassuming young man with a warm smile of welcome.

"Yes", I answered, rather apologetically; still uncertain. Or was I taken aback? Here we were, being addressed as guests of the Government of Zanzibar. We, who, in our homeland, are treated with contempt and scorn; regarded as good-for-nothings or never-do-wells; we whose daily compassion is insult and abuse, humiliation and police terror, government violence and forced removals from our homes and lands, abject poverty and disease. We who have almost forgotten that we are human beings but just lifeless robots whose task it is to create the modern cities of South Africa, the industries, the factories, the railways, the roads, the power stations, the wealth and every other thing which today is being employed by the apartheid regime not only to perpetrate oppression and exploitation of

the African population, but also to threaten the gains of the African Revolution where it has taken root.

However, to return to my narrative. More pleasant surprises were still underway for us.

On leaving the VIP lounge at the airport, my eye was caught by the windscreen of a neat little Hillman Minx parked outside the airport building. On it was a sticker, written in bold black letters: "ANC" and below this, was another one, "GUESTS OF THE GOVERNMENT" "This is Yusuf", said the lady who had accompanied us from the VIP lounge. "He will be your guide during your stay in our country."

Offering me his hand, with a broad smile Yusuf said, "We thought that you were no longer coming. We have been waiting for you since morning."

It was like meeting an old friend, and that is how we were made to feel throughout our sojourn in Zanzibar. The cordiality, the courtesy, and the excitement with everyone we met. The busy workers hurrying to their posts, the peasants on the 'shambas', the school boys and girls beaming with life and confidence for the future. We were treated as friends among friends and comrades-in-arms. How encouraging. How inspiring to know and experience the sympathy and solidarity of the people of Tanzania with the liberation struggle in South Africa. One felt infected here with the spirit of being part and parcel of the great movement of Africa to build a wholesome life for every one of her citizens; to destroy and bury forever the colonial past with its limiting opportunities, exploitation, discrimination and prejudices amongst the people.

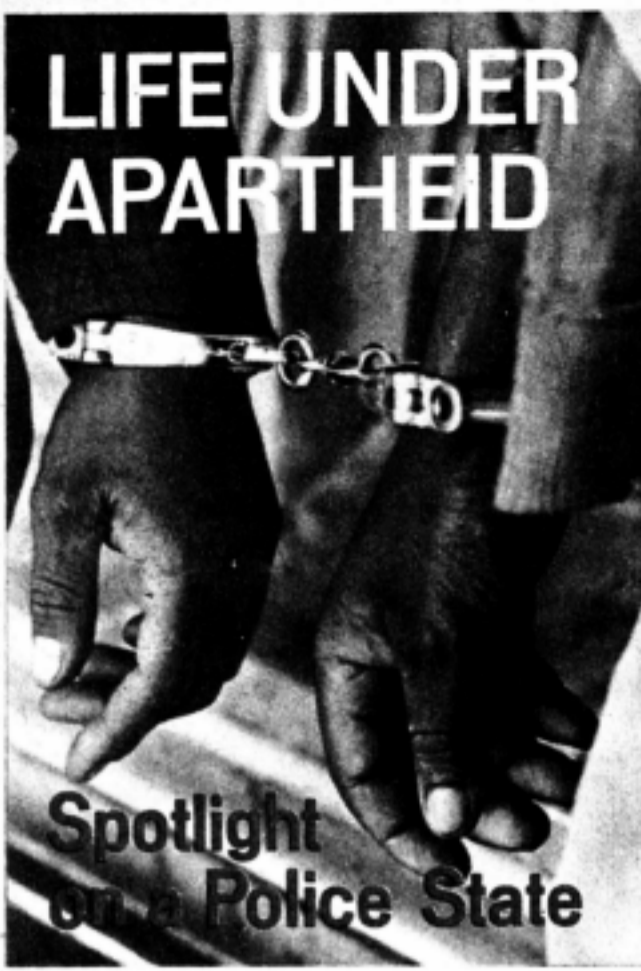
Here the arrogant white boss had given way to the polite old man and determined young man. On the ruins of imperialist plunder and deprivation are fast rising people's monuments of peace and progress. Indeed, as we drove from the airport into the centre of town, we came across a group of workers crowded around an old statue, and hammering away at it with picks and 10-pound hammers. As I turned round to our guide, he anticipated my question: "That is Sir Gerald Matthew's statue, the first British Governor-General of Zanzibar."

I thought about Paul Kruger's bronze figure on Church Square in Pretoria. I pitied him. The writing is on the wall.

The Revolution – Fulfilment of the People's Dreams

The initial smolderings of the imminent revolution in Zanzibar became noticeable as long ago as 1932 when "The African Club" (This was a football Club) was formed, bringing together Africans from different tribes and villages. Associating in this way, the people soon discovered that they needed "an association of their own which would enable them to look after their interests." Through trial and error, fighting against enormous odds placed in their way by the British colonialists and the puppet Sultan Govern-

contd. overleaf



LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Spotlight on Police State

One fifth

In the manufacturing industry where Africans get a better deal than in mining or in the farming industries the average wage of an African worker is little more than one fifth of a white worker. The average monthly wages quoted in the Johannesburg Financial Mail show that Africans earn £21 as against £115 for white workers.

It Makes Him Boil

A Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, official church of the ruling white minority, has appealed to big chainstores to phase out "mixed shopping" and set up separate stores for Africans. Writing in a Pretoria Nationalist paper, the Rev. C. P. Brand said that white people were "pushed aside" by non-whites in stores. Calling for separate stores, he wrote: "I am afraid that my Boerebloed (Boer blood) cannot help begin to boil when I must dodge right and left to avoid a collision - literally and figuratively - with an 'African' lady or gentlemen. I feel that our friends in the commercial world can, by adopting this practice, reduce the flashpoint gradually. Is it really necessary for our white women and girls to have to serve non-whites?"

Crime Increase

Loss of life from crimes of violence increased from 2,544 in 1950 to 8,040 in 1966 - an increase of 216 per cent, while the population increase was only 46 per cent. Cases of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm reported to the police rose from 33,000 to 90,000 in that time. From 1963 to 1966 no fewer than 16,568 persons were convicted of offences for which the death penalty could have been imposed. In 10 years 953 South Africans were executed.

Callous

The white South African attitude to the poverty of the majority is aptly summed up by a report in a Sunday newspaper which began: "Thousands of poor Indians here who do not earn enough to live on the breadline were this week denounced as being "just plain lazy" by an official of the Natal Family Planning Association. "They will continue to live at starvation level for years to come because they are too darned lazy to cross the street and get a handful of free birth control pills."

No Permit

Levi Madi, the South African non-white feather-weight champion, is to leave Johannesburg after 17 years and go to the homelands because his family is threatened by influx control regulations. He will also have to quit boxing. The top South African boxer is entitled, under Section 10(1)b of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, to live and to be eligible for housing in Johannesburg. But his family - a wife and four children - are not permitted to live with him because his wife came from a Bantustan. Mr. Madi said that for 6 years he has been battling to obtain permission for his family to live with him in Soweto, but without success. "It has been a frustrating experience," he said. "I have decided to go out of Johannesburg to Garankuwa, where my wife was born, because I do not want to part with my children."

ZANZIBAR (contd. from Page 9)

ment, the people finally emerged with their organisation, the Afro-Shirazi Party. This was on 5th February, 1957, the opening of yet another gruesome phase in the struggle of the people of Zanzibar to build an African Nation and bringing to it human dignity and progress. From 1957 to 1964, the Afro-Shirazi Party fought four elections without success. This was not due to its unpopularity among the people, but on the contrary because of the serious threat its popularity posed to the interests of the Sultan Government and its imperialist masters.

In the first election of 1957, three parties contested, the Afro-Shirazi Party, Zanzibar Nationalist Party and Muslim Association. Notwithstanding the results of the elections, which showed clearly the Afro-Shirazi Party as being the most popular party, they were not allowed to form a government. Out of six seats, the Afro-Shirazi Party had won five, while the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, which was patronized by the Sultan had won no seats at all. The Colonial Government blatantly decided to appoint as Minister a candidate of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party. This was the pattern of imperialist democracy and justice right throughout all elections in Zanzibar in the succeeding years.

Dreams becoming Reality

In the face of such gross chicanery, the people had no alternative but to seek other means of gaining political power, which was a necessary prerequisite for the realisation of their age-old dreams of placing all the people of the coun-

try on an equal footing, doing away with oppression, usury, and capitalism; improving the economy of the country, spreading education, eradicating disease and raising the standard of living of all the people of the country. Thanks to the 1964 revolution, these dreams are gradually becoming a reality. Today the reins of government are in the hands of the common people of different races. Their government has distributed the land among those who work it for the benefit of their families instead of working as squatters for the benefit of others.

Health services are extended to all and sundry, free of charge, irrespective of occupation, race or religion. Education is free for all. Besides, it is not only limited to the youth, but embraces even the old. Thus the young and the old work together in harmony for the benefit of all and well-being of the nation. Adults are taught better methods of farming and harvesting, public hygiene, child welfare and community development. Everybody is offered tremendous opportunities to do better things for themselves in all spheres of life, for their own benefit and for that of the nation.

Perhaps one of the greatest achievements of the revolution in Zanzibar is the housing scheme whereby peasants in the countryside and the workers in town are provided with modern houses supplied with modern facilities such as running water and electricity.

Above all else, Zanzibar strikes one as a living example of peace and racial harmony. Here people drawn from different races rub shoulders in the fields, in the factories, in the army, in the police force, the citizen's force and during leisure-time. One thing unites them, dedication to work together, to pool and utilise all their resources for the benefit of all and their posterity.

Deportations

The Bantu Administration Department has stepped up its removal of Africans in the urban areas to the "homelands". In Johannesburg alone 2,172 people were sent away, some under police escort and in handcuffs, in one month alone. This means the forced removals are now being carried out at the rate of 70 a day. Last year the rate was 50 a day.

They are first sent from various places, including prisons, to the Newlands Police Station before they leave Johannesburg. From Newlands they are moved in trucks to the Johannesburg Station where they are given free tickets for the journey to the "homelands".

Some have been working for many years in Johannesburg but have either become "Superfluous to the labour market" or have been in unregistered employment. Others are relatively new arrivals who came hoping to find employment but were arrested for being in Johannesburg without authority.

At Johannesburg Station, the "deportees" are kept away from the crowds on the concourse before departure.

Banned

Between 7,000 and 8,000 Indians and Coloureds will be officially banned from Zululand from this year. The Government does not know where these families will go to earn their living.

Squatters

575 Families are being moved to a new 'home', Cloetesdal near Stellenbosch. They follow 130 other evicted families who have been existing in a town council sponsored squatters camp near Cloetesdal. Roofs in many of Cloetesdal's new homes are leaking; there is cold comfort in the raw cement floors and walls; gaps between walls and roof let in the wind; the sunken toilets cause great discomfort to older folk.

Removals

Half the entire Indian population of South Africa have been forced to leave their homes and businesses as a result of Group Areas Act decisions made by Government officials who show a "callous disregard for the fundamental principles of human justice", according to Mr. Eric Winchester, a United Party MP.

Mr. Winchester further disclosed that more than a million South Africans of all races have been ordered from their homes in terms of Group Areas legislation. He alleges that some officials entrusted with the task of uprooting hundreds of families were "grotesquely unqualified for the job." Mr. Winchester made the shock disclosure that a white man, the father of 8 children earning about R85 a month and who had not passed standard 8, had been given (by the Department of Community Development) the job of "compiling socio-economic reports" on communities affected by the rulings of the Group Areas Board.

Gangsterism

Mr. Joel Carlson, the Johannesburg attorney defending Winnie Mandela in the "Red Act Trial" was the victim of a violent attack on his home in Oaklands when at least three blasts from a heavy calibre shotgun were fired at his car and a petrol bomb was hurled at the window of his study. His car was extensively damaged. His passport was seized in June 1969 while he was acting in the inquest on a detainee, James Lencoe. Mr. Carlson stated that for several weeks before the withdrawal of his passport he was watched and his telephone tapped. He said that he had been threatened before but that this was the first sign of actual violence. He called it a shocking case of gansterism.

Prosperity?

A new survey of Coloured households in the Western and Eastern Cape has shown that most heads of households — and as many as 84% of them in rural areas are earning less than R50 (approx. £25) a month.

The survey was conducted by Market Research Africa (Pty.) Ltd.,

The average income was found to be R52 a month. Average monthly expenditure was found to be R51.73 — with more than 49% of this going on food.

The average Coloured family home — for an average of 6.2 persons — was found to be 2.9 rooms, including enclosed verandas.

In a recent nation-wide drive this record in its innocent cover was distributed in South Africa by the A.N.C. The record opens with a burst of machine-gun fire followed by a woman screaming. The text is read by a number of voices and is interspersed with the songs of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the A.N.C.

First Voice: That was the last time. That was the last time we went innocent and unarmed to plead for a birthright in our own land. The last time we held out empty hands and were confronted with death. The last time we asked for an end to the bitterness of the pass laws.

Second Voice: We went to them with songs and they answered us with guns.

Third Voice: They banned our organisations and sent our leaders to gaol.

First Voice: We have no illusions. This will be a hard and terrible struggle. But the outcome is never in doubt. We are at war against white supremacy which is doomed. Apartheid lives on borrowed time.

Second Voice: We too have learned to use the gun. Under the banner of the A.N.C. our revolutionary armed struggle has begun.

First Voice: Every single person must take sides. You too must join the struggle. The freedom fighter is not only the trained guerilla. Wherever you are you must find a way of organising those around you. If you are careful and work cleverly you will outwit the enemy and his agents . . . There can be no liberation without sacrifice.

This is our message. This is the message of the A.N.C. at the beginning of this new decade, 1970!

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SPEED 33 1/2



The all-white South African rugby tour of Britain has come to its ignominious end and it is now an appropriate time to assess the political implication of the demonstrations by the opponents of Apartheid in Britain spearheaded by The Anti-Apartheid Movement and the "Stop the 70 Tour Committee."

Lockner, the Springbok's trainer described the tour as a nightmare. This in a word sums up the conditions under which the team, their hosts and their supporters had to struggle on to save the tour for the sake of Apartheid and to see it through by whatever means possible.

The humiliation which the team suffered is wellknown. Never in the history of international sport was a team subjected to the indignities, on and off the field, which this team had to endure throughout the tour. The most elaborate "security" arrangements, backed up by hordes of police were laid on. But the solidarity of the demonstrators was such that the stronger the police forces became, the stronger became the resolve of the Anti-Apartheid forces in Britain to deal a shattering blow to Apartheid.

The demonstrations were not directed at the 30 rugby players, but against a loathesome system which the team symbolised. And it is not the disruption of the tour which is in itself important, but the impact which this disruption made on the supporters of Apartheid in Britain, in other parts of the world and in particular, in the Republic itself. It is against this background that we should examine and analyse the political implications of the demonstrations in the context of the world struggle to destroy Apartheid.

Myth Exploded

Let us take the impact on the British supporters of Apartheid first. It is an historical truth that Britain was among the architects and creators of the system which is today known and loathed as "Apartheid". In every area where the concept of Apartheid was applied, Britain condoned, encouraged and supported it, including sport. Down the years "South African" teams were invited to tour Britain in the full

knowledge that teams would be selected on a basis of colour only. And without any compunction, British touring teams were sent to South Africa in the full knowledge that the teams would play against whites only and in the presence of spectators segregated on colour lines. We were told that all this was being done to "maintain the traditional friendly sport links with South Africa" as a means to bringing about a "change of heart" in South Africa. A change of heart indeed! The demonstrations exploded this myth.

And with it, brought to an abrupt and ignominious end the honeymoon which the British and the "South African" Apartheid sports teams enjoyed for so many decades.

President Kaunda's Applause

The impact on Britain which the demonstrations made against the rugby springboks was terrific in the context of the overall struggle against apartheid. An ORC Opinion Poll taken for the "Evening Standard" showed that 30% of those questioned said it was wrong to have invited the South African Cricket team to tour Britain. 28% said the Rugby Team should not have been invited and 81% said that it was wrong to apply apartheid in sport.

By any standards, this represents a magnificent breakthrough for the Anti-Apartheid forces in Britain. But what is even more heartening is the refusal of several wellknown County Cricketers to play against the "South African" cricket team, and the numerous planned boycotts and withdrawal of invitations to white South African sportsmen and teams in different types of sport who were due to play in Britain, and elsewhere.

APARTHEID

by Sonny Ramsdale



We should also take cognizance of the repercussions of the demonstrations in other parts of the world. The Authorities in Kenya and Uganda stopped the M. C. C. tour of these countries because of the M. C. C.'s decision to confirm the invitation for the South African Cricket team to tour Britain, and for the same reason, the West Indies Cricket Board of Control is considering breaking off all cricket relations with England. Several commonwealth countries are threatening to boycott the Commonwealth Games to be held in Edinburgh later this year. Perhaps the most significant comment was President Kuanda's applause for the demonstrations and his pledge to give any help asked for.

White Racists in S. A. Demoralised

It was in South Africa however that the demonstrations made the most vivid impact and gave the struggle for the ultimate overthrow of Apartheid its greatest boost. The white racists at home were badly shaken and thrown into confusion. The banner headlines in the South African newspapers told the story of their consternation and anguish when the myth of South Africa's impregnability was exploded on the apartheid sports sector of their fortress. "SICK, SICK, SICK - That's the 'Boks' as Demos step up provocation" is the way the Durban Sunday Tribune summed it all up in a banner headline on 11/1/70.

The realists among the racists at home knew that it was not a rugby team which was being tormented by a few "drop outs", "hooligans" and "Communist agitators". They knew that it was apartheid as a way of life which

APARTHEID SPORTS TAKE A BEATING

was confronted with an upsurge which unless contained or diverted, could make a lasting impact on South Africa's external relations.

The Cricket Tour

The grim situation with which the ruling class in South Africa is faced is that even before they can recover from the bashing their rugby team received, their cricket team is on the point of receiving a thrashing, not from the English batsmen and bowlers, but from ordinary decent people who have reached the point of no return in their resolve that apartheid must be exposed once and for all as a tyranny no less vicious than was Hitler's Nazi tyranny. The white Springbok cricket team is being sent into the waiting storm and they are under no illusions about what awaits them. They know that the reception the Rugby team got at Twickenham is like a Mother's Union tea party at the local vicarage compared with the reception they will get at Lords. This, notwithstanding the state of siege declared by the M. C. C. with barbed wire entanglements, slippery walls, police patrols etc., not only at Lords, but at other grounds where they reckon apartheid can be "protected".

Political Repercussions

The attack by the Anti-Apartheid forces against apartheid sports has produced reactions in South Africa which calls

for analysis and assessment. There were of course reactions in many quarters and there were all sorts of manoeuvres to try to save something from the wreck. Vorster's reaction to one of these manoeuvres is worthy of a close examination. Cheetham, President of the All White S. A. Cricket Association after one of his periodical cloak and dagger visits to Lords announced to the world that future South African cricket touring teams would be selected on merit only, regardless of race or colour.

This piece of chicanery would not have deceived many people, but dishonest as the pronouncement was, for Apartheid it must have had some value. After all, this is what the demonstrations were all about. Assuming that some formula was found whereby this declaration of good intentions was given some semblance of sincerity – and there is no doubt that their ingenuity would have found a suitable formula – whilst at the same time preserving their Apartheid image, sport Apartheid at least might have lived to fight another day.

But Vorster, the Prime Minister, would have none of it. Cheetham was publicly put on the carpet for talking out of turn and told that touring cricket teams must be selected on the basis of South Africa's "traditional" policy. And we all know what that means. So Cheetham had to hurriedly retract his statement and sport apartheid was back to square one. Why did Vorster intervene to make the selection of a



Springbok supporter



Defiant demonstrator

cricket team a major political issue as indeed he did with the D'Oliviera affair. Why did he have to go out of his way to knock the stuffing out of Apartheid supporters abroad who still clung to the fallacy that by keeping politics out of sport and by maintaining their "traditional" sport links with South Africa, Apartheid in sport would eventually disappear? It is possible that Vorster has decided that sportsmen are too vulnerable to attack when abroad and therefore an embarrassment and a

contd. on Page 14

A CRACK IN THE WHITE WALL-

A Wedge from the Right in Afrikaans Politics

By B. Breytenbach

It is important to understand that the system of Apartheid – oppression, discrimination, exploitation – is a straightjacket also for the Afrikaners themselves. They are, after all, trying to do the historically impossible: as a racial, cultural and religious minority they intend being the sole arbiters of the lives of all the South Africans, they hope to suppress the majority indefinitely while reaping the economic benefits of their exploitation.

It is important to remember that the very bed of Afrikanerdom is a prison of negative ideas; Calvinism, rigidity, isolationism, the fears of a colonizing (and colonized) people without a homeland to which they may return, a people with no past being able to identify themselves only through their most obvious "difference" from other peoples; creating these differences where necessary to justify their fears – for they weren't missionaries, but for the most part land – and power hungry European rejects. The passionate fostering of their estrangement by their leaders could only lead to a greater alienation. In his search for identity the Afrikaner is constantly running away from any real identity, "moving off" to avoid integration or "contamination." He has rushed to the sea to put his back against it.

The contradiction in Afrikanerdom is that it must move in two opposite directions to survive as the entity it wishes to be. To sustain the economic boom, to continue industrialization, to satisfy the demands of super-capitalism which monopolizes the economy ever more, the Government must institute a more enlightened form of oppression, it must bend its own colour bar and increase the buying potential of the people – but in so doing it admits integration which it cannot control.

Afrikaner "Purity"

It cannot afford to relax any of the present controls since the ropes which hold its power base together (the Afrikaners, the Nationalist Party) are its "purity" and its exclusiveness. This "purity" is constantly threatened; by the demands of an expanding economy dependant on "foreign"

Contd. from Page 13

liability. His reasoning may well be that by keeping sportsmen at home the Anti-Apartheid forces overseas would have nothing to demonstrate against.

Economic Links Vital

We all have reason to be greatly encouraged by the way the Anti-Apartheid forces in Britain broke through the Apartheid defences on the sports sector. The dedication which was shown to the cause of freedom is a source of great inspiration to us and freedom fighters everywhere salute them. But having said this, we must be warned that this is not the time or the occasion for premature flag waving and victory parades. The economic sector of the Apartheid fortress is still intact. And the economic links which South Africa has with the rest of the world, especially Britain, is vital to the

survival of Apartheid. And the City has far more powerful reasons for wanting to defend Apartheid than the hierarchy of Lords have. Their interest in ensuring Apartheid's survival is a matter of £1,000 m investments, a £500 m annual trade turnover and a growing economic influence in South Africa.

In fact it is disturbing that economic links between South Africa and Britain are being strengthened day by day. And it is also a fact that the stronger these links become, the harder is our struggle. Necessary to the ultimate destruction of Apartheid is a breakthrough on the economic front. Apartheid can survive for a long time with demoralised sportsmen, but it cannot survive with demoralised financiers and business tycoons.

We know from past experience that they can be shaken and that the economic front is not impregnable – remember the panic on the London and Johannesburg Stock Exchanges the day after Sharpeville.



capital, by the increasing politicization of the Afrikaners as the revolution of South Africa's disinherited people develops – thus by heretics and waverers in their own ranks. The Government has to draw the noose of the laer even tighter to protect the pure ones inside. The long list of recently enacted repressive laws is the grizzly proof of these desperate efforts.

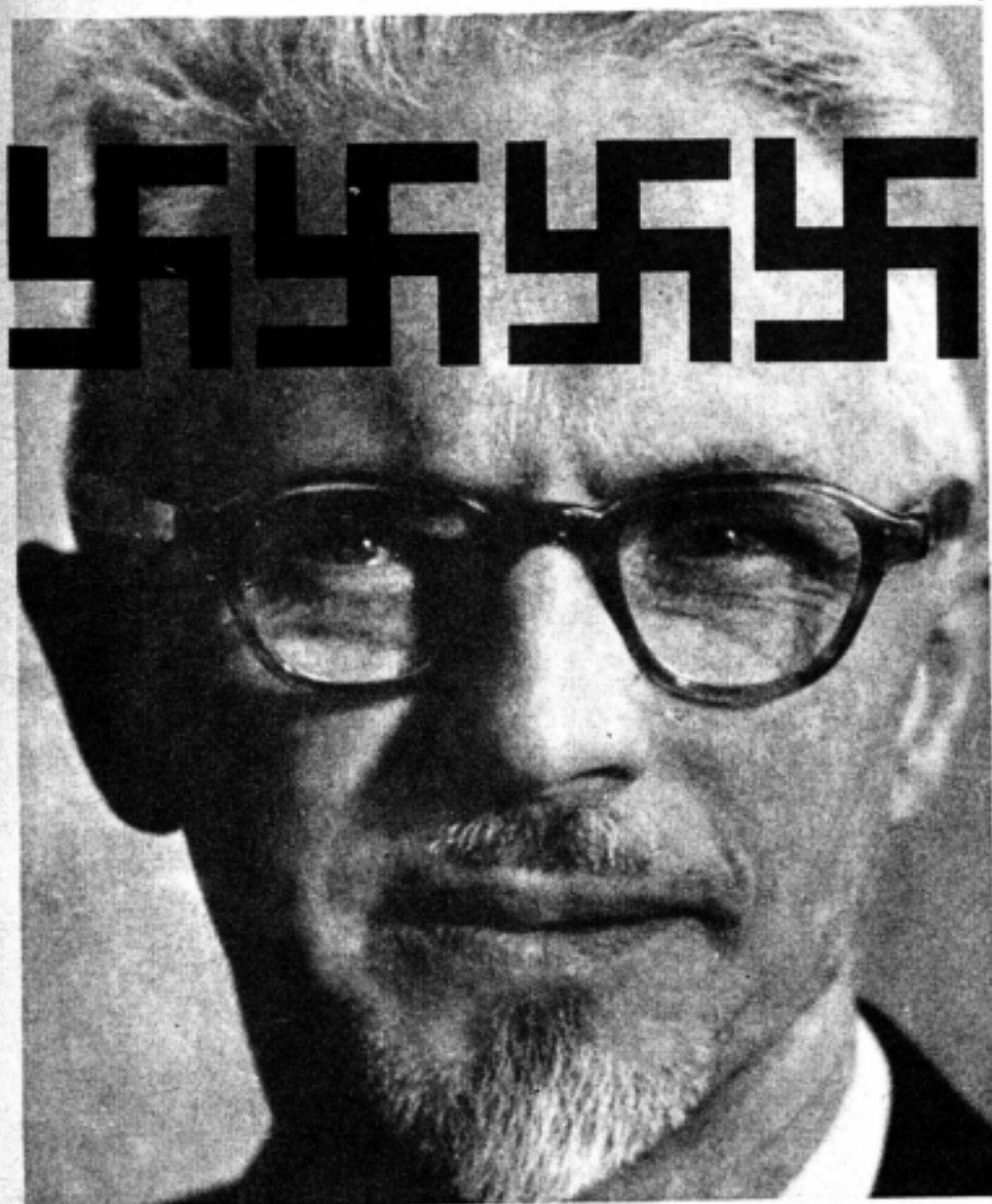
The cement within which the Afrikaner tribe is petrified – the ethic of racial, cultural and religious purity, **baaskap**, the notion that it is a chosen people (all static concepts) – denies the Afrikaner the flexibility of either being integrated by the other South Africans or ceding to the dictates of the foreign capitalism needed to maintain its stranglehold – since both alternatives would bastardize the volk.

This stalemate, these two conflicting directions underlie the recent split in the ranks of the Nationalist Party when ex-Minister Albert Hertzog (son of General Hertzog) and his followers were forced out and formed their "purified" Reconstituted Nationalist Party. Vorster's Nationalist Party of course purged the Hertzogites in the name of 'purity'!

This total myth of tribal purity – since the Afrikaner is of hybrid stock; he is inevitably a racial, cultural, religious mixture; to which the Afrikaans language bears witness – has adroitly been transformed into a powerful weapon in the hands of the leaders of the tribe.

Ultimately the only source of power the Afrikaners have is their own hegemony and unity as a tribe. (Ex Unitate Vires!) But this strength is also their weakness. To survive as a tribe (and as baas) not the slightest crack must be seen to disfigure the facade of unity. The narrow base of negative concepts upon which Afrikanerdom is founded cannot weather the onslaught of doubt, self-criticism, exposure or examination. This overriding need for unity accounts for the violent denunciation of the Hertzogites in the nationalist press, a violence seemingly out of all proportion to the number of heretics involved.

Verkrampde Hertzog



B. Breytenbach.
Afrikaans
writer,
poet
and
painter.



We have been inclined to take this myth of homogeneity for the reality the Afrikaners want it to be. Whereas it is true that Afrikanerdom is a monolithic bloc where, for instance, race questions are discussed, there always were profound historical, regional and especially economic differences among them; differences which were more or less successfully ignored during their striving for exclusive political domination. Even so these differences quite often broke through to the surface.

The Early Splits

And always they broke along the same lines: the early bourgeoisie who preferred staying on at the Cape as opposed to the Trekkers and then at each successive halt the quarrels among the Trekkers (Retief against Potgieter, later Potgieter against Pretorius); the political tug-of-war between those of the Colony and those to the North (as before Union between the Afrikanerbond and the Orangia-Unie); then during the 1914 Rebellion between De Wet and De la Rey's rebels and the loyalists or "constructionists" of Botha and Smuts.

The 20's and the 30's saw some strange splits and even winder bedfellows. Hertzog Snr. (In coalition with the Labour Party!) came to power against Smuts in 1924. In 1926 the Colour Bar Act was introduced. Already in 1924 Hertzog declared that White men must be protected – as on the goldfields – against "uncivilized labour" and "must be prevented from sinking down to the level of the native. He used to argue that whites would be "fair" to Africans – "do right by them" – only after they had been disarmed and mastered by discriminatory laws.

But then in 1934 Hertzog and Smuts fused their forces and now it was the turn of D. F. Malan to break away and form his "purified" Nationalist Party. Then came the now disavowed struggle between Hans van Rensburg's (and John Vorster's!) pro-nazi **Ossewa-Brandwag** on the one hand and on the other Smuts's coalition Government and Malan's Nationalists. Then came Malan's victory at the polls in 1948 and after his death the fight for leadership between the hard-line Northerners (Strijdom, Verwoerd) and the "liberal" Cape Nats. (Donges, Sauer). The tension between **verligtes** and **verkrampes** gave issue during the election campaign of 1966 to a batch of rightist candidates in the Transvaal under a certain van der Merwe. All this finally culminated in the split between Hertzog jnr. and Vorster. Hertzog's Reconstituted Nationalist Party is now putting forward its own "purified" programme and candidates for the elections on the 22nd of April.

Apartheid's Sterility

Some of these conflicts were straight fights between leaders and would-be leaders; others reflected differences in approach which were modified by regional and historical conditions. The Cape Nats, for example, were until recently more "moderate" in their attitude to the Coloured people, obviously because they had lived with (and off) them for centuries and because the Coloureds were a potential electoral force, in the Cape Colony that is. Underlying all these conflicts though there are two irreconcilable options: there is the fat and bougeois faction which is willing to ally itself to foreign (British – and now American) power, to infiltrate this power, to collaborate with it and thus represent the "free world"; and then there is the go-it-alone lot, those who haven't been getting their share of the ill-gotten capitalist fruits, who want to establish once and for all an "alternative," "pure" Afrikaner power. It would seem that John Vorster played along with the second faction for a time. He could not do otherwise, having inherited the reins from Verwoerd. But the real insolvency of the Nationalist Party as it already existed under Verwoerd, has now become apparent. Vorster is caught in a system which cannot function indefinitely through fascist oppression and cannot function at all without that oppression. He can neither apply Apartheid nor admit to the bankruptcy of it as conceived by Verwoerd, nor deviate from a line of race supremacy (which can only be applied through Apartheid). Whatever procedure he follows, it will lead to the destruction of the mis-led and myth-fed Nationalist Party. The sterile and alienating cancer of Apartheid has caught up with the brave Nazi.

Vorster's New Allies

Under this pressure Vorster has done several things. He has aligned himself with the super-capitalist faction of his party, the Cape wing which is typified by the tycoon Anton Rupert (and the Northerners accuse him of being a devia-

Bitter isolation



tionist turn-coat); he has tried to shore his party up by inviting the English-speaking whites in (and the Northerners accuse him of being a sell-out); confronted by a cul-desac for his party's policies in South Africa, he has pushed an outward-looking policy (**uitwaartse beleid**) to the rest of Africa, while securing his alliance with "Rhodesia" and Portugal (and the Northerners accuse him of being a "liberal").

Although it may superficially seem that the difference between the two groups is only one of tactics – the goal, Afrikaner domination, being shared by both – I would suggest that the gap between them is unbridgable given the context of South Africa at present. The context is that of the increasing struggle of the oppressed people led by the A.N.C. – with the initiative slipping from Vorster's hands – and the context is also defined by the inherent contradiction of capitalism as they now manifest themselves. The Liberation Movement, preparing the revolution, may be checked temporarily but can no longer be stopped. The Nationalist Party, intimately associated with world capitalism and world imperialism cannot escape the contradictions inherent to these dogma's and the developing resistance to these dogmas.

Hertzog's Attack

What are these contradictions and what political hay is Hertzog trying to make out of the situation? 1. Capitalism is parasitical. Whereas increasing monopolization will tend to destroy the stimulus for technical progress a transformation becomes necessary if they want to introduce technical improvements, keep the cost of production low and increase profits. 2. The domination of financial capital does not weaken the inequalities and contradictions of the country's economy, but strengthens them. 3. Capitalist domination aggravates existing antagonisms.

Hertzog's attack is three-pronged. a) He is attacking Vorster (opportunistically) because Apartheid is seen not to work. He accuses Vorster of having softened Verwoerd's line, of being willing to compromise the "hard-earned" privileges of the working class Whites by allowing the erosion of the colour line. b) He claims that Vorster is doing this because he is at the beck and call of "foreign capitalists". This means that Vorster is tainted, no longer pure. c) By thus weakening the Afrikaner strain (according to Hertzog) Vorster is eventually laying the country open to communist subversion. This subversion will be carried on by Vorster's lackadaisical cultural, sport and immigration policies as well as his "contacts" with black states to the north!

So Hertzog proposes, as every populist and unscrupulous Afrikaner politician before him has done, that the poor Afrikaner be protected both against the non-White and the foreign White. He proposes Afrikaans as the only official language and the Afrikaans culture must be protected from outside influences. This goes for sport too. (The ostensible cause for the split was Vorster's supposed willingness to let the odd Maori with the All Blacks into the country.) He says that his party is based only on the word of God as correctly interpreted by Calvinist theologians. (This is potent stuff since, as **Die Burger** complained, it would make heretics of Vorster's Nationalists.)

Why did that expansionist section of the Nationalist Party which Vorster represents choose to force the dispute into the open? It would seem that, although he could force the timing of the split through his controls of the party machinery, he couldn't prevent it from happening. Dissent within the party has been undermining his regime and his outward-looking policy.

Vorster's Response

He must move outward to circumvent the bottleneck in his economy (and the resultant putrefaction) caused by Apartheid. He needs to penetrate the underdeveloped markets of Africa; he needs outside colonies. For this he must have at least the tacit approval of the major imperialist powers. Ridding himself of the Hertzogites could be seen as the slaughtering of a sacrificial goat to appease the miserable consciences of the imperialist bloc. He hopes above all to establish an image of realism for his government. By excluding the verkramptes he apparently tones down the anti-English sentiments of the Nationalist party and makes it easier for the English to enter the kraal. He soothes the even more miserable consciences of verligte urbanized Afrikaners who may have been upset by his creation of BOSS and his treatment of the Coloureds. He probably had to stem a thrust for power, spearheaded by the Broederbond, inside his party. He needed to limit the damages to his party and authority which is why he called for national elections, hoping to deny these rebels (some of whom hold seats in the present Parliament) a national forum. The split has undoubtedly strengthened Vorster's hands in his dealings with international imperialism and with the "opposition" parties at home. The only reproach the official opposition parties have against the Nationalists is that they risk smothering the black goose which hatches the golden eggs by too rigid an application of Apartheid. They are concerned lest this monster child of capitalism destroy the rich possibilities for exploitation they consider South Africa to have. In this they are obviously sharing the concern of big overseas investors. (Remember that America alone now has over 1 billion dollars invested in the country.)

As far as the Nationalist Party is concerned Vorster's move had only equivocal success. Not all the dissidents left. A. P. Treurnicht who edits *Hoofstad*, a far-right Pretoria daily, declined the offer to bolt the ranks and become the real leader of the Hertzogites. Piet Meiring, head of the S. A. B. C. (and the Broederbond) made an ambiguous statement and preferred to stay inside. Gen. BOSS van den Berg, bosom pal of the late nazi van Rensburg, shut up and did likewise. Others have toned down their voices and are obviously biding their time while keeping close to where the power is warm.

Violence at Election Meetings

The electioneering policies of both groups have been interesting. Hertzog enjoys the support of many poor Afrikaners – the miners, the railwayworkers – of many civil servants caught up in the deadening machinery of oppression, and of those earthworm-Whites to whom government in South Africa – any government – has always been foreign. He seems to have unlimited funds (and controls several trusts). He has his own newspaper – *Die Afrikaner* – and the active participation of smaller journals like *Veg* of Barry Botha and *The South African Observer* of S. E. D. Brown. He can count on the Potchefstroom-based Calvinist purists, Gert Beetge (trade union organiser), Ras Beyers (former counsel to the White Mineworker's Union), and cultural fascists like Ds. de Beer and Prof. Weiss. He has several M. P's in his party – among them Jaap Marais (Innesdal) and the lone Cape rebel, Louis Stofberg (Worcester).

Hertzog has been trying to put his case to white audiences in a series of violent meetings. He has tried to discredit Vorster by accusing him of misleading the country on the extent of the "Communist menace"; by pointing out that BOSS profits from a "covered" and very substantial budget; he has let slip out that telephone tapping is far more com-



Bigotted

monly practised than most people thought – and he should know, being ex-Minister of P. T. T. I Charged to appear before a Commission of Enquiry on State Security to substantiate his accusation that "the external threat is being overblown" he refused and was fined the royal sum of a few Rands.

Vorster's orders to his troops have been clear; to isolate Hertzog's party; not to give them the chance to speak – especially about the country's economy; to insist on the unity of the party and loyalty to the leader; to make it clear that their candidatures in seats where Nat majorities are small can only benefit the "enemy" – the United Party.

Afrikanerdom is Doomed

The Nationalist Party at present controls 123 of the 166 seats in Parliament. They may well lose a few to the Reconstituted Nationalists. But the real danger to them is that Hertzog may touch the nerve of chauvinism and isolationism in Afrikanerdom and exploit it effectively in the event of an economic recess, that he may then gather around him those fellow-travellers who prefer, for the time being, to stay at Vorster's elbow and breathe down his neck.

Vorster has gambled and may win in the short run. He may have parried the immediate threat to his authority, but he is unable to come to grips with the basic dichotomy. The parasitical cancer of capitalism will extend its poison. Behind the smokescreen of "efficiency" and "modernization" more money, more power will be concentrated in the hands of fewer people. The gap between rich and poor Afrikaner will grow even wider.

Afrikanerdom is doomed and it will be for a free South Africa to decide how it can best integrate the Afrikaner. The Afrikaner too can only be saved through the revolutionary destruction of his power structure which is capitalistic, totalitarian and brutalizing. And this revolution can only come from the proletariat – the enslaved workers and peasants; it can only be socialist. Only then will the Afrikaner be able to take his place as a South African with the dignity, consciousness, freedom and responsibility that man is capable of.

THE ISRAELI- SOUTH AFRICA AXIS - A THREAT TO AFRICA

by Brian Bunting

At opposite ends of the African continent, Israel and South Africa today constitute a threat to world peace and equality of peoples. In the Middle East Israel has stolen the lands of the Arab peoples, killed thousands of men, women and children and dispossessed millions from their homes.

In South Africa the white supremacists have likewise dispossessed the Non-White peoples of their lands, denied them political rights and equality of opportunity, and are at this moment joined with the neighbouring states of Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies in an aggressive alliance against independent Africa.

Israel and South Africa are today not only acting as the gendarmes of the imperialist powers, the pillars of neo-colonialism and white domination on a Black continent. With the growth of their advanced economies, both are beginning to take on an openly imperialist role in their own right, aiming to exploit their human and material resources by a combination of economic, political and, if necessary, military pressure.

South Africa was one of the first states to recognise Israel in 1948, and in 1953 the South African Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, visited Israel. During the Second World

War Malan had led the Nationalist Party resistance to the Allied war effort, and had hoped to come to power with the assistance of a Nazi military victory in Europe. Despite this, Malan was cordially received in Israel in 1953 and had his name inscribed in the Golden Book as one who proved himself a true friend. In 1956 South African sympathies were firmly on Israel's side when the Anglo-French-Israeli attack on Suez took place.

ISRAEL IN AFRICA

The failure of the Suez attack in 1956 led to a temporary change in Israel's policy towards Africa, at least in its outward manifestations. Great efforts were made to cultivate relations with the African states, and Israel's "aid" and advisers began to appear in a number of countries. Not only did this "aid" help to undermine Afro-Asian solidarity against Israel; it also brought in a substantial profit - it has been estimated, for example, that Israeli trade benefitted by about £ 30 million as a result of this "aid" in 1962.

The other side of the medal was a diplomatic offensive against South Africa at the United Nations, culminating in Israel's support for the 1962 General Assembly resolution calling for the severance of all relations with South Africa and the imposition of sanctions against her. In due course the head of the Israeli mission in Pretoria was withdrawn, and the country thereafter was represented only by a charge d'affaires. In 1966 Israel supported the U. N. resolution in the General Assembly revoking South Africa's mandate over South West Africa.

The 1967 war stripped the mask from Israel's true face. The quick success of the Israeli forces, with the connivance of the imperialists, filled them with the conviction that they were now impregnable. The African policy which had served Israel for 10 years was discarded as no longer necessary. Relations were established with South Africa on a new basis which sought to stress their identity of aims in Africa and the Middle East.

When hostilities broke out on June 5, 1967, South Africa proclaimed herself neutral, but she did not act as a neutral. On the contrary, she did whatever was in her power to ensure the success of the Israeli aggression.

South Africa contains not only one of the largest but also one of the wealthiest of the world's Jewish communities, and South African Jewry's contributions to Israel rank second in size only to those of the United States. Of course not all South African Jews are Zionists. In fact many of the Jewish people of South Africa have played a prominent part in the liberation movement and have been persecuted by the Nationalist regime for supporting the Communist Party and the African National Congress. South Africa's security chief, General van den Bergh, has even expressed his dismay that so many Jews joined the Communist organisations or were involved in Communist-organised sabotage - something which could only be explained in the light of his racialist philosophy "because Communism was the highest form of capitalism".

SOUTH AFRICAN ZIONISTS

Nevertheless, the Jewish community as a whole, as represented by its leading organs, undoubtedly supported Israel, and has contributed greatly to its present position both in money and in men. Within a week of the outbreak of war in 1967, South African Zionists had collected £ 10

million for Israel – and the Vorster Government waived its financial restrictions to allow the money to be exported. In addition, thousands of volunteers crammed Zionist offices in all the main centres of South Africa to offer their services to Israel or to donate blood.

It is significant, however, that sympathy for Israel was by no means confined to the Zionist section of the population. White South Africans of all political complexions identified themselves with the Israeli cause and collected funds for it.

South Africa's links with Israel are long-standing. Many South Africans have emigrated to Israel over the years, and there are many South African communities there. Many South Africans fought in the Israeli army in the 1948 war. Many of those in top positions in the Israeli political and armed services are South African-born, among them Abba Eban, the Foreign Minister; Mike Comay, a top Foreign Office official and former Israeli representative at the United Nations; Louis Pincus, the chairman of the Jewish Agency, the controlling body of the World Zionist Organisation. There can be little doubt that many of these immigrants from South Africa brought with them the racial attitudes which have helped to make the Israeli attitude to and treatment of the Arabs so similar to the treatment of Non-Whites by the majority of whites in South Africa. Israel's proposals for the development of the stolen territories on the west bank of the Jordan bear a remarkable similarity to the Bantustan policy of the Nationalist Government. "Perspective", the journal of the big business organisation the South African Foundation, commented in its issue of August 1967: "The recent war in the Middle East aroused fevered interest and passionate concern in many parts of the world, but in few so deep a sense of personal involvement as in South Africa.

"Sympathy for Israel was not confined to the Jewish community, however. White South Africans generally identified themselves personally with the plight of the Israelis . . . All were aware of the analogy between the situation of Israel, surrounded by hostile neighbours, and the situation of South Africa – similarly, though perhaps less immediately, threatened by unfriendly states. In the circumstances, it seemed only natural that white South Africans generally should view the Israelis as comrades-in-peril, and seek to succour and assist them accordingly."

ZIONISTS THANK VORSTER

The Minister of Labour, Mr. M. Viljoen, speaking at a Nationalist Party meeting in Johannesburg on June 10, 1967, reflected the views of the Government when he said: "The Middle East war has not only brought the Arab states to a reevaluation of their position, it also ought to make some of the most loud-mouthed African leaders, who continuously threaten attacks on South Africa, think again." On the same day a joint statement issued by the South African Zionist Federation and the S. A. Jewish Board of Deputies thanked the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, for permitting the transfer of funds from South Africa to Israel. "We sincerely thank our fellow South Africans of all faiths for the goodwill, sympathy and support for the cause of Israel which they have so amply demonstrated during these critical weeks", the statement said.

The previous day – June 9, 1967 – the Chief Rabbi of Cape Town, Professor Abrahams, said that if Israel had not won the war in the Middle East, the communist powers would have spread terrorism throughout Africa, including South Africa. "We Jews feel it was a victory not only for Israel against enemies who received constant support and

even incitement from Russia, but also a decisive victory for democracy and the western world."

The Johannesburg "Star" reported on June 10: "A demonstration of the fervour the Israeli cause generated among the Nationalists were reports circulating here (in Cape Town) that the Broederbond (The fascist secret society behind the Nationalist Party) had made a sizeable contribution to funds to assist Israel".

THE S. A. FOUNDATION IN ISRAEL

The South African Foundation, representing both Afrikaners and English big business interests, took steps to reconstruct its Israeli-South Africa Committee in an effort to improve relations between the two countries. Chairman of the Committee was Dr. Shlomo Peer, an economist who settled in South Africa two years previously. He was a founder-member of Ben Gurion's Rafi Party and a member of its national council. A second Israeli on the committee was Colonel Ephraim Shurer, who left Israel's Defence Force to become South African manager of the Israeli El Al Airline. One of the first things the committee did was to arrange a meeting between the South African Minister of Defence, Mr. P. W. Botha, and Mr. Shimon Peres, secretary general of the ruling Israel Labour Party and member of the key Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. In the last few years South Africa and Israel have been sharing military secrets.

In September 1967 General Mordechai Hod, commander of the Israeli Air Force, visited South Africa and addressed a selected group of officers at the Air Force College near Pretoria. One of those present later told a "Sunday Express" reporter: "It was an intensely interesting lecture, which made it apparent that the tactics employed by the Israeli Air Force were brilliant. The Israelis seem to have been as clever as a cartload of monkeys."

In December 1967 a group of Israeli government officials, businessmen and aviation experts, including the deputy director general and the chief engineer of Israel Aircraft Industries, toured South Africa. The Israelis visited the Atlas Aircraft Industries plant near Johannesburg and said they hoped to bring an Israeli-manufactured short-take-off-and-landing aircraft to South Africa for a series of demonstrations.

ISRAEL – SOUTH AFRICA LEAGUE

An Israel-South Africa League, headed by Knesset member Mr. Eliezer Shostak, of the right-wing Herut Party, was formed in Israel and pressed the government to revise its relationships with South Africa. The pressure was by no means ineffective. On January 3, 1969, the Tel Aviv correspondent of the Johannesburg "Star" reported "Israel will try in future to maintain much closer and fuller contacts with South Africa". The correspondent said that for years Israel had played down her relationship with South Africa "because the assumption was that closer links with South Africa would be detrimental to Israel's friendly relations to the independent African nations . . . There has now been a complete reappraisal of the situation . . . The pro-South Africa faction has, so it seems, won the day".

In May 1969 Israel's "elder statesman", Mr. David Ben Gurion, accompanied by Israeli military leader Brigadier General Chaim Herzog, visited South Africa to help launch a R25 million Israel United Appeal for the Emergency Solidarity Campaign. Asked at a press con-

ference whether Israel's experience with the Arabs had not made her understand that the Whites there were threatened in the same way as in South Africa, Ben Gurion replied: "I see your problem".

The South African President, Mr. J. J. Fouché, in turn visited Israel and in October 1969 told a Nationalist Party meeting in Henneman that Israel had a lot to teach South Africa. Surrounded by enemies, she had succeeded in developing a way of thinking in terms of the State, thereby kindling a national consciousness. "Each Jew is truly a nationalist, no matter what party," he said.

DEFYING WORLD OPINION

What impresses South Africa even more than the 1967 military victory, however, is that Israel has proved able, not only to swallow up large tracts of Arab land without any interference from the Western powers, but also to continue attacking her Arab neighbours and to defy United Nations and world opinion without harmful consequence. Incidents like the Israeli raid on the Beirut airport and what amounts to the hi-jacking of five gunboats from France have helped to remove any inhibitions from which South Africa may previously have suffered in implementing her aggressive plans against Africa.

When Zimbabwe and South African freedom fighters first crossed the Zambesi in August 1967, Vorster did not hesitate, as he might have done a year previously, to send his troops to prop up the illegal Smith regime. Since then South African forces have been deployed even further afield. Air attack and reconnaissance units operate with the Portuguese forces in Mozambique and Angola. Banda's sway in Malawi and Jonathan's in Lesotho are underpinned by South African personnel in key positions. South African squads have engaged in sabotage attacks on installations in Zambia and Tanzania. South African mercenaries and spies operate, with the connivance of the South African government, in all corners of the African continent. The subversion of independent African governments is one of the main aims of BOSS, South Africa's CIA; set up by Act of Parliament with a budget of nearly R 5 million in 1969.

The motives of the South African Government were forcefully expressed in a speech by the South African Minister of Information, Dr. C. Mulder, at Randburg in November 1968. The frank aim of world communism was to appropriate Africa and thus to encircle Europe, he said. Only two states today were still obstacles in the way of the Red plan - Israel and South Africa.

For this reason South Africa must realise and tackle its position and vocation in Africa. If South Africa stood unconcerned about the rest of Africa, "I can tell you now where the boundary will be in the fight between communism and anti-communism. It will be the Limpopo . . . "We refuse merely to defend. The eyes of the West must open and they must realise that the Republic is the key to the conquest of Africa."

The Israeli-South African alliance is an alliance of the most reactionary forces in the Afro-Asian world, backed by the forces of imperialism, and designed to hold back the tide of progress, preserve the stronghold of profit and privilege and perpetuate the exploitation of the oppressed masses in the interests of the tiny handful of racists and monopolists who are holding the world to ransom today. **Israel and South Africa are today the main bastions of imperialism and reaction in the Afro-Asian world. The smashing of the alliance between them must be one of the foremost priorities of progressive mankind today.**

ZAPU-ANC UNITY



James Chikerema
Vice-President ZAPU



Oliver Tambo
Acting President ANC

A joint meeting of the National Executive Committees of the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union (ZAPU) and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) was held in Lusaka on the 16th January, 1970.

The discussions which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere were preceded by a statement by James Chikerema, Vice-President of ZAPU and Oliver Tambo, Acting President General of the ANC (SA) both of whom underlined the historic importance of the revolutionary ZAPU/ANC alliance in the struggle against colonial oppression and race tyranny in Southern Africa. They emphasised that the significance of our common struggle against minority rule in Southern Africa extends beyond our own borders; it is closely connected with our whole continent's struggle for true independence and social progress and is part of the world-wide struggle against imperialism. The two organisations exchanged information on the development of the struggles in their respective countries and appropriate decisions were taken;

1. to intensify the struggle for national liberation on the basis of their programmes. A very close scrutiny of the machinery was made to ensure effective coordination of the political, military strategy of the alliance;

2. to work out details of an efficient and regular exchange of information at all levels of the two organisations and to work for a deeper commitment to the alliance by the peoples of Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The participants from both organisations were convinced that the above measures would further the consolidation and strengthening of the ZAPU/ANC alliance.

The joint meeting reaffirmed the necessity for broadening friendly relations and fraternal cooperation with the authentic legitimate revolutionary movements in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Angola and Namibia. To this end, efforts are to be made to bring about full co-operation on all matters of common interest.

The joint meeting placed on record its deepest appreciation of the all-round assistance received by the two organisations from the O. A. U., the socialist countries, peace loving Asian countries and democratic organisations all over the world.

BOOK REVIEW

THE PEOPLE BECAME THE MOUNTAIN REVOLUTION IN GUINEA

by Amilcar Cabral

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It is an image that stirs the imagination. Amilcar Cabral, one of the finest theoretical minds in Africa, buried somewhere deep in the swamps of a small backward country on the West coast of Africa, continues to produce the most profound political studies to be found anywhere on the continent. In this age of revolution there are many other instances of political theorists throwing in their lot with a revolutionary cause, but if ever there was a case of a committed intellectual finding a place where he could most effectively give a sharp twist to the wheel of history, this is it. No doubt Cabral's own acute sense of history revealed to him the possibilities of the Guinea situation. Remote though his people seemed from the mainstream of African political development, he saw that they too could be brought into action for their freedom provided that the proper strategy was applied. What was required was an approach which would reveal to the people themselves that the natural processes of historical development in Guinea had been frustrated by the crushing stagnation of colonialism.

Cabral's historicism led him into an intensive study of the dynamics of Guinea society, seeking out with painstaking care those positive elements which could be expected to respond to a call to revolt. Despite the numerous previous acts of resistance in Guinea, he saw that much that was new had to be injected into the country if there was to be an organised nation-wide struggle based on armed force.

Many obstacles had to be overcome among a population where illiteracy was 99% and where there were only 15 university graduates at the time the P.A.I.G.C. was being formed. In Cabral's words: "We had to begin the struggle almost naked."

THE FIRST CADRES

In the towns there was little industry and no proletariat as such. There were some dock workers, people employed in commerce, domestic workers and other wage earners, and it was here that the first efforts at political activity were begun leading to a number of strikes and demonstrations which were viciously suppressed by the authorities. Also to be found in the urban areas were various declassé elements which Cabral differentiates into two categories. He thereby clears up some of the confusion which has grown up around Fanon's claims for a revolutionary potential to be found in the footloose individuals in the towns of all colonial countries.

Cabral distinguishes between the beggars, prostitutes and hangers-on of the colonial regime who are against the struggle, and others, called loosely 'the rootless ones', consisting mainly of young people springing from petty bourgeois or workers' families. Most of them have only been in the town for a short time, do not work, and, knowing both town and country, are able to make a comparison between the crushing poverty of the peasants and the easy life of the colonial Portuguese. It is this group which proved to be extremely important in the national liberation struggle and which formed a significant portion of the militants in the first days.

THE PEASANTS

From the beginning the peasantry were assessed with realism and objectivity. Cabral reveals the independence of his thinking in rejecting facile parallels of the peasant potential in Guinea with those in China and other former colonial countries.

"A distinction must be drawn between a physical force and a revolutionary force; physically the peasantry is a great force in Guinea, it controls the nation's wealth, it is the peasantry which produces; but we know from experience what trouble we had convincing the peasantry to fight." (This was written in 1964, the situation changed radically later).

The reason for the tardiness of the peasantry in entering the organised struggle is discussed in an extremely interesting way by Cabral. He points out that Guinea was a commercial colony without a significant settler population. Although the peasants lived in conditions akin to slavery, and though they were subjected to the most intense exploitation, they were not wholly conscious of their own condition because the economic aspect of the exploitation was indirect.

"It is not the degree of suffering and hardship involved as such that matters; even extreme suffering in itself does not necessarily produce the prise de conscience required for the national liberation struggle."

The contrast is drawn between the peasant and the urban African who is thrown into daily conflict with the Portuguese, who is made to undergo constant humiliation which is the outward expression of the underlying exploitation.

The Portuguese did not expropriate the land in Guinea nor did they create large agricultural companies as in Angola. The peasants were exploited through trade, through the differences between prices and the real value of products. Colonialism thus hid its parasitism in the field of economics, although in the political and administrative structures its gross domination was all too evident. It was therefore by concentrating on immediate injuries and grievances that the fundamental injustice of colonialism as a system had to be brought out by the political movement in its first propaganda campaigns.

"Which of you have been imprisoned?" they were asked, "You are going to work on road-building: who gives you the tools? You bring the tools. Who provides your meals? You provide the meals. But who walks on the road? Who has a car? And your daughter who was raped - are you happy about that?"



Amilcar Cabral -

THE PAIGC AS TASK FORCE

This was how the peasants came to see for themselves that the Portuguese were not only harsh rulers, but they were also bleeding the country economically and were therefore responsible for the growing poverty in the countryside. The way out was to join the P.A.I.G.C. in a revolutionary war against the Portuguese authority.

It was some time before the P.A.I.G.C. was in a position to embrace the peasantry into organised struggle. Starting out with

a small nucleus of militants they had first to create the necessary political structure before the mass work could begin, and the idea of the party acting as a special task force within the population as a whole remained.

In 1966 Cabral spoke of a revolutionary vanguard, "generally an active minority," which is alone able to make the necessary distinctions between politics of a general character and those which have a specific content.

"The generally embryonic character of the working classes and the economic, social and cultural situation of the physical force of most importance in the national liberation struggle — the peasantry — do not allow these two main forces to distinguish true national independence from fictitious political independence."

Linked to the concept of a revolutionary vanguard was the question of ideology and already in 1961 when the P.A.I.G.C. was still a fledgeling in the struggle, Cabral pointed out that the party was concerned not only with national liberation but that the exploitation of man by man was the greatest obstacle in the development and progress of a people. Always, at every stage of his analysis, Cabral looks into the future at the forms the new free nation will adopt, who will rule, in whose interest and with what consequences for the population as a whole.

"We do not confuse exploitation or exploiters with the colour of men's skins; we do not want any exploitation in our countries, not even by black people . . ."

WHO WILL FIGHT AND WHY

Cabral does not pose these questions in a dogmatic way, nor is he trying to force a solution on his country. He raises these problems wholly in the context of Guinea's social structure, of which sectors of the people can be relied upon to fight and what their motives will be. To illustrate this point we can refer to the distinction he makes between colonialism and neo-colonialism. The first is characterised by the political power of a foreign country imposing itself by means of armed forces, police, administrative agents and settlers, while neo-colonialism is distinguished by the political power being largely in the hands of local people who act as the lackeys of the colonial power.

The impact of the colonial power on the various strata of the population is complex since there is also an interaction internally, but Cabral is intent on making two salient points. First, as long as the colonial tie is allowed to continue in whatever form, the country will remain backward and the productive forces largely undeveloped. Since dependence on the imperial power is the essence of colonialism, the natural, historical processes of development remain only potentially so and stagnation continues. Second, as a corollary of this, under neo-colonialism the bourgeoisie that emerges is only a pseudo bourgeoisie and is unable to generate sufficient strength to rule in its own right. It remains a subject of imperialism and its captive.

Cabral concludes that the "principal aspect of the national liberation struggle is the struggle against neo-colonialism" since the prime objective is the freeing of the process of development from the stifling bonds imposed by imperialist domination and control. Here again, Cabral writes with a sweep of historical perspective that is invigorating. He shows the liberation struggle to be a necessary part of the reassertion of the rights of a people not only to the exercise of political freedom but also to make its own history, and for him this means nothing less than resuming control over the productive forces which are the principle motive force of history.

LIBERATION AS REVOLUTION

The question of productive forces is dealt with a length, and his profound grasp of socio-economic processes explains why Cabral could never rest content with the kind of freedom which amounts to "a mere raising a flag and singing an anthem". It is again the persistent search for an understanding of the movement of society which seems to motivate Cabral to investigate



how a nation develops. He questions the assertion that history is a matter of class struggle alone, for this implies that those peoples whose development was interrupted by imperialism have no history since they had no previous class struggle. This will never do, and so the Guinea people are shown to have a history which is explicable in terms of the productive forces so cruelly crippled by foreign intervention.

It is not just a matter of setting the record straight however. Cabral's view is that the present task of the national liberation struggle is to set free the productive forces and he believes that this cannot be done by a bourgeoisie. It can be accomplished in the most thoroughgoing way by a struggle for national liberation which is also a revolution leading to the creation of a socialist state. History can be short circuited, says Cabral, and the determined application of correct policies can give the greatest incentive to a people to break the power of colonial oppression in order to release the springs of production fully.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE

The key to all these possibilities is the mobilization of maximum popular support, and in each of the aspects dealt with by Cabral this commitment to mass struggle is ever evident. Even in the field of guerilla warfare we find that it was a sense of the strength of the people which gave him the confidence to start military operations in a small country without the natural advantages of high mountains and vast spaces suitable for the hit and run tactics of guerilla warfare. The people became the mountain, and once they had been politicised to accept the guerilla bands the armed struggle could begin. The Portuguese were bound to be in difficulties right from the start since they had no equivalent bases of Portuguese settlers in the countryside. Apart from some administrative and military posts, Guinea's countryside was entirely foreign territory to them. How this is used to advantage even now is best explained by Cabral himself.

"We follow the fundamental principle of armed struggle, or, if you prefer, colonial war; the enemy, in order to control a given zone, is forced to disperse his forces; he thus becomes weakened, and we can defeat him. In order to be able to defend himself from us he needs to concentrate his forces and when he concentrates his forces he allows us to occupy the areas that are left empty and work on them politically to prevent the enemy from returning".

WAR IS A POLITICAL QUESTION

Always political work. Everywhere political considerations predominate. In the midst of a dirty war where napalm is used widely against the people and where the methods of mass destruction

developed by the U.S. in Vietnam are in constant use, the response of the P.A.I.G.C. remains fundamentally political, highly principled and morally correct.

The enemy is not the Portuguese, or even Portugal, it is: "Portuguese colonialism, represented by the colonial-fascist government of Portugal". Cabral stresses that 50% of the Portuguese people are illiterate and their country is "at the bottom of all the statistical tables of Europe". So it remains a political question; of NATO, of imperialism, of the character of our time as the era of national liberation. Cabral's mind reaches way above the confines of his small country, seeking universal political answers to the day to day problems confronting his movement.

It is rare for a man of action to pause in the midst of battle to reflect so deeply on the implications of his struggle and of its consequences. As suggested earlier it is probably his deep sense of history which gives his thinking this character. It probably also accounts for his quest for the moral meaning of his struggle, and if politics is supreme everywhere, including in the military field, politics is itself under the very definite influence of a profoundly human morality. This is evident everywhere.

On the question of how to treat the Portuguese, there is not the slightest sign of narrow racialism. On the question of aid, Cabral insists in several places that "we do not ask for aid".

"Our aid ethics are as follows: we never ask for the aid we need. We expect that each will conscientiously give what help he can to our people."

MUCH DEPENDS ON THE LEADERSHIP

In dealing with the people, honesty and integrity is placed high in the scale of values. "Tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told. Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no easy victories . . ." With such a man people will go a long way in the deepest confidence.

In speaking of the release from colonial bondage, Cabral talks about "the 'marginal' human beings who are the product of colonialism to recover their personality as Africans." His cause is that of 'humanity', and his party is committed "to every just cause in the world".

He draws attention to the fact that since the national liberation movement often places into positions of prominence individuals from the unstable petty bourgeoisie, much depends on the capacity of the leadership of the national liberation movement as a whole to "remain faithful to principles and to the fundamental cause of the struggle. This shows us, to a certain extent, that if national liberation is essentially a political problem, the conditions for its development give it certain characteristics which belong to the sphere of morals". Specifically, this means constant struggle against tendencies to opportunism, parasitism, arrivism and similar phenomena. It is this requirement of persistent attention to subjective weaknesses in the movement which — "no matter what difficulties the enemy may create — is the most difficult of all, whether for the present or the future of our peoples." From all accounts, the P.A.I.G.C. are carrying out in daily practice this injunction of their far-sighted leader. B. T.

"SOUTH AFRICA'S DEFENCE STRATEGY"

by Abdul S. Minty

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The Enemy is Within

It is a chilling thought that while almost every major country in the world is building up its armaments, strengthening its war potential and turning to the latest technological devices for its "defence", in South Africa alone the process goes on for war against its own people. Everywhere else the enemy — real or imagined — is outside, foreign — for Americans Vietcong; for Israelis Arabs; for Nato the socialist world; for Cuba the USA. Only in South Africa is the enemy at home, in South Africa — the neighbours with whom the rearmers rub shoulders every day in their daily work. South Africans. But naturally, Black South Africans. Despite all its talk about making itself "a bastion of the West against Communism", South Africa arms frantically, almost hysterically, against South Africans. The enemy is within. And every South African knows it.

It is for this reason that a standing army of ten thousand men is maintained, that every white youth undergoes compulsory military training and is put on an active reserve, subject to instant call-up at any moment; that a police force, 30,000 strong is maintained armed like any army anywhere; that a war budget has built annual military expenditure from £22 to £200 million in ten years, and still expanding. A nation preparing for a war to the death — on itself.

This is the bare bones of the matter. And if that was the whole of it, one could dismiss it as a fit of madness, bound to end finally like a long drunken bout with a ghastly hangover for the ruling class.

Left alone, this maniac drive to self-destruction would run out of energy, cash and frenzy to carry it along well before now. But it has not been left alone. Aid for the building of white South Africa's military muscles has come flowing in from abroad, from

a number of countries and for a number of different reasons — from France because it has kept armaments factories going in the era of slump after the ending of French military campaigns in Indo-China and Algeria; from West Germany, because it opens the way to possession of nuclear weapons without a confrontation with the "occupying powers" of World War II; from Britain and the USA, because it has opened up richer seams of investment and higher dividend rates than their capital could find elsewhere; from reaction everywhere because this is their last bastion of white supremacy in Africa; and from counter-revolutionaries everywhere, because this is the main base of aggressive counter-revolution against the developing nationhood and national independence of all Southern Africa.

South Africa has played skilfully to woo them all. It has driven workers wages down, by the simple device of trade union suppression, colour-bar wage rates, and putting the tax burden squarely on the shoulders of the poor, so that profits and dividends can fly high. It has presented itself to the gendarme of foreign imperialism, supporting its cause in the Portuguese colonies and in Rhodesia with both men and materials. It has made itself a minor pivot in archaic but yet official British "strategic" thinking about naval power in the Southern oceans. Thus the South African people, face to face with their South African enemy find themselves ranged against an unholy international alliance of reaction which straddles the imperialist world.

This is the picture which Abdul Minty documents in every detail in a new booklet issued by the London Anti-Apartheid Movement — "South Africa's Defence Strategy." It is an ugly picture, but one which has needed to be so clearly exposed. It will enable the people of the imperialist countries to see how their governments are conniving at white South African military planning even while paying lip service to the cause of "democracy", "race equality", and progress. And it will enable the people of South Africa to see their own position clearly, without illusion that silver tongued statesmen from abroad will help them to their liberation. If a man properly informed is a better crusader, then those South Africans who read this book will be better for it. And if a man who is shown that he is being hoodwinked by his government is an angry man, then perhaps this booklet will serve to raise in Britain and France and Germany and the USA some of the anger against their governments which is needed to bring an end to their co-conspiracy with the Vorster government in its preparation of war against the South African people. L. B.

Politics is in sport to sta

—but we'll be out before long

at storm over way

mixed sport over way

By STANLEY UYS
CAPE

M has burst over the
ministers who
to send multi
with Africa

SPRINGBOKS HAPPY
TO LEAVE IRELAND

36 bomb scares at
a barrage of ab

By BARRY GLASSPOOL

INTERNATIONAL SPORT is
foster international friendship, but
Springboks' eight-day stay in Ire
site happened. The mobs of de
to that, just as they have done
British Isles during the Sou
tour.

Thirty young players who
believe in their country show-
ed normal human anger at
the organised abuse from
hurlers, hecklers and speer-
ers during the four-day stay
in Gray and Dublin.
The Springboks, sick an
tired of being singled out
targets by politically-motiva
people, made little secret of
fact that they could not
for the Irish visit to end.

convincing tour
form is 'backlash'
of demonstrations'
From Geoff Clark

THE SPRINGBOKS, with the numbing shock
themselves confronted by demands w
frican rugby teams to l
last three matches,
moral

Fiercest
demo yet
against
the BOKS

From IAN HOBBS

VIOLENCE of the Springbok Rugby
terday afternoon as extremists led thou
apartheid demonstrators in repeated cha
outside the White City Stadium in Stre
where the Boks beat North Wes
nts to 9.

More than 30 minutes before
Springboks ran on to
behind the

SPRINGBOKS
ARE BATTLED



ARTHUR ASHE: ...
visa to enable him to con
the South African Ope
nis championships



SO GARY PLAYER
South African sports
expect similar treat
the Americans.

Davis Cup
plan
could ban
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