

SECHABA

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Fighting Talk

Zimbabwe - The Vortex

The 17th March is commemorated annually as Zimbabwe Day, a day of rededication to the war of liberation in Zimbabwe. The African National Congress salutes the people of Zimbabwe on this occasion and reaffirms its pride in the long-standing alliance with the liberation movement of Zimbabwe - the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).

Our association with ZAPU began years ago. It was launched in November 1965 as a political association of the two organisations which shared a common historical task - the freeing of our part of Southern Africa from white minority rule. Our friendship flourished and became consolidated into a political-military alliance, unique in Africa, and our brotherhood became sealed in blood at the hands of the enemy. We have seen our comrades fall in action, but we have also tasted the triumph of victory, seeing the white racist troops of Smith and Vorster rush headlong before the withering blast of our fire-power.

Even as we write the news is filtering through from our own sources and from the enemy media that guerillas have stormed the Victoria Falls airport and shot up the buildings there. Other actions are reported where a South African 'police' detachment was attacked by ZAPU guerillas. This is how our common destiny is being forged by the madness of Smith and Vorster who hope to delay our revolution by their combined strength.

It is worth recalling that South African intervention in Zimbabwe is not a new phenomenon. Already in 1960 there were reports of military discussions between the two regimes, and there were subsequent reports of joint training exercises carried out secretly. Rapidly their collusion increased so that by the time of U. D. I. their collaboration was well known. The persistent presence of South African troops in all the areas where fighting has taken place now indicates that they have been fully integrated in the defence structure of Smith's regime, and that they are indispensable. Without them Smith could not cope.

This flagrant intervention by hard-core South African fascists is a source of great hardship to the people of Zimbabwe and to ZAPU. But the struggle is now fully launched and guerilla bands have fanned out deep into the countryside. This is brought out by the recent report that three bullet-riddled bodies of the Rhodesian Special forces were brought to the Makuti army base in Eastern Zimbabwe, and that a number of road blocks were thrown across the Sinoia-Makuti road following upon a series of ambushes and surprise attacks. In the North, on the Zambesi River, a police patrol officer was injured and his boat holed by rifle fire.

With actions in the East, West, and North of the country, there are ample signs that the people of Zimbabwe are supporting the guerillas with food, water, shelter and information. The repressive forces on the other hand meet with nothing but cold stubbornness in the villages so that they have to set aside large numbers of troops and police to control movement and suppress political activity.

In the midst of these events a supporting bugle was sounded in Zambia, the country that is joined to ours not only by geography but also by the processes of the unfolding African Revolution. Independent though they are, they too are enmeshed in this vortex of political and military action and counteraction so that President Kaunda has had to warn his people that Western supplies of Buccaneers, Mirages and other armaments to South Africa will be used against Zambia as much as against Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique.

In a highly significant statement (reported in the Star 10/1/70) President Kaunda told the Zambian Parliament that Zambia could claim no moral authority for preventing freedom fighters from continuing their struggle and using whatever means were at their disposal. He added that the situation was becoming worse and that there was now a more serious threat to international peace.

The Zimbabwe confrontation is therefore becoming ever more complex, drawing into its sphere all the countries and peoples of the region. The African National Congress is proud to be there too, giving its weight to the grinding wheels of social change. As brothers-in-arms we extend our fullest solidarity to the people of Zimbabwe and their courageous leaders - Joshua Nkomo and James Chikerema.



CAPTURE THE CITADEL

Comrades in arms and fellow fighters in the struggle for freedom,

On December 16, 1961 a national army – Umkhonto we Sizwe was born to resume the armed resistance of our fathers, this time against the modern oppressor and his allies. Already that army has won historic battles in the battlefield against armed enemy forces. Thus, the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe joins together three periods in our history: the first, the period of wars of resistance waged by our forefathers against the white invaders of our country. This lasted for centuries. The next began with the formation of the African National Congress which meant the birth of a new united African nation in South Africa. The third is the emergence of Umkhonto we Sizwe itself. This signified the resumption of armed struggle under modern conditions for the restoration of our land to its rightful owners.

The last 8 years have seen the steady unfolding of armed guerrilla struggle throughout Southern Africa. The people of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia are at war with the racists and colonialists. FRELIMO, MPLA, ZAPU, SWAPO, these are familiar names in international and revolutionary circles. In this war our own Umkhonto we Sizwe, in alliance with our ZAPU brothers has already performed great deeds in Zimbabwe where the soldiers of white supremacy were made to bite the dust. But, the supreme challenge to our nation, to the African National Congress, to all democrats in our country and to the Umkhonto we Sizwe, indeed the challenge to all Africa and all anti-imperialists still remains; this is the capture of the citadel of white supremacy, South Africa, and its conversion into a fortress of true democracy, peace and progress for all our people and for mankind.

This is the formidable challenge in the face of which many fighters will flee the ranks of revolutionary forces and join condemned platoons of counter-revolutionaries and traitors. A challenge, in the face of which governments, once counted among militant opponents of colonialism and imperialism, will abandon their positions in the imperialist front, and crawl cap in hand for crumbs under the neo colonialist table. But the oppressed and freedom-loving masses of our country are equal to that challenge. Like their counterparts in Guine-Bissau under the leadership of PAIGC, in Palestine, in heroic Vietnam where the FLN of South Vietnam has trounced the imperialists, in Latin America, like their counterparts in the United States and elsewhere, our people under the leadership of the ANC are now poised for large-scale guerrilla warfare against the usurpers of the peoples' power and we too shall defeat the racists and exploiters.

REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS

Our Morogoro Conference last May sought to accelerate our progress towards this armed confrontation with the enemy. It examined in detail various aspects of our struggle,

it carried out a thorough review of our strategy and tactics, our programme and our policies, it called for the closing of ranks, for unity and for vigilance against splitters and wedgedrivers and against conscious or unconscious enemy agents in our midst. We are called upon to work very hard and faithfully to achieve the goals set by the Morogoro Conference. We have to redouble our efforts to eliminate flaws in our work and create and maintain an increasingly more efficient machine for the prosecution of our struggle at all levels whether we operate in South Africa or from outside its borders. Already the distribution of thousands of leaflets and the broadcasts in East London, Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth under the fascist nose of Vorster and his execution squad – this has already demonstrated the determination of the ANC and our people to outclass the forces of reaction in the struggle for the seizure of power and for the liberation of our country.

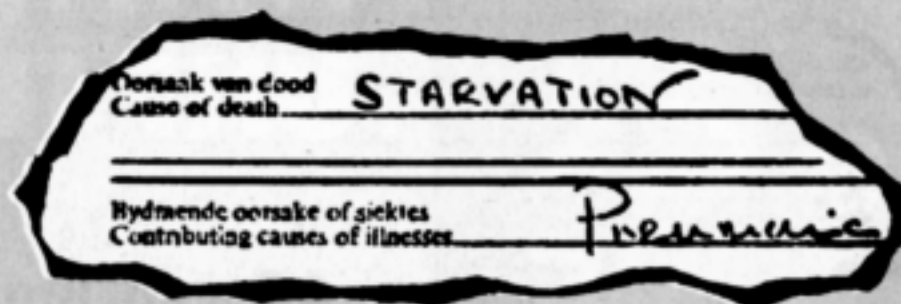
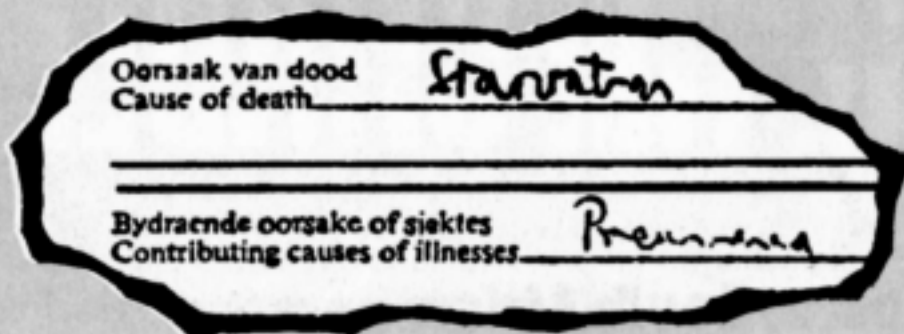
UMKHONTO SHALL AVENGE

To say this is not to underestimate the strength of our enemy. The South African white minority regime has vast resources which have been mobilised against our people. It has made great efforts to corrupt our natural allies in independent African States. Already some states have fallen for the blandishments of apartheid and have succumbed to its bullying and blackmail. The enemy has powerful allies in the imperialist countries such as America, Britain, Japan, France, West Germany. In no other part of the world and at no time in history has an oppressed people been confronted by such a formidable combination of imperialist powers and fascist forces. In spite of all this, however, the enemy is headed for inevitable and ignominious defeat.

The South African Supreme Court which in the course of our political struggle has ordered the murder of so many of our people, which has sent thousands of our leaders and activists to prison, including Namibians, and which is at present sitting in farcical judgement over Winnie Mandela and others, this entirely white-skinned institution has become a notorious instrument of persecution manipulated by a clique of fascist criminals whose hands have for long been dripping with the blood of the innocent. Who shall avenge the blood and settle accounts with the murderers? Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC, the masses of our land, backed and supported by the united might of progressive and anti-imperialist forces.

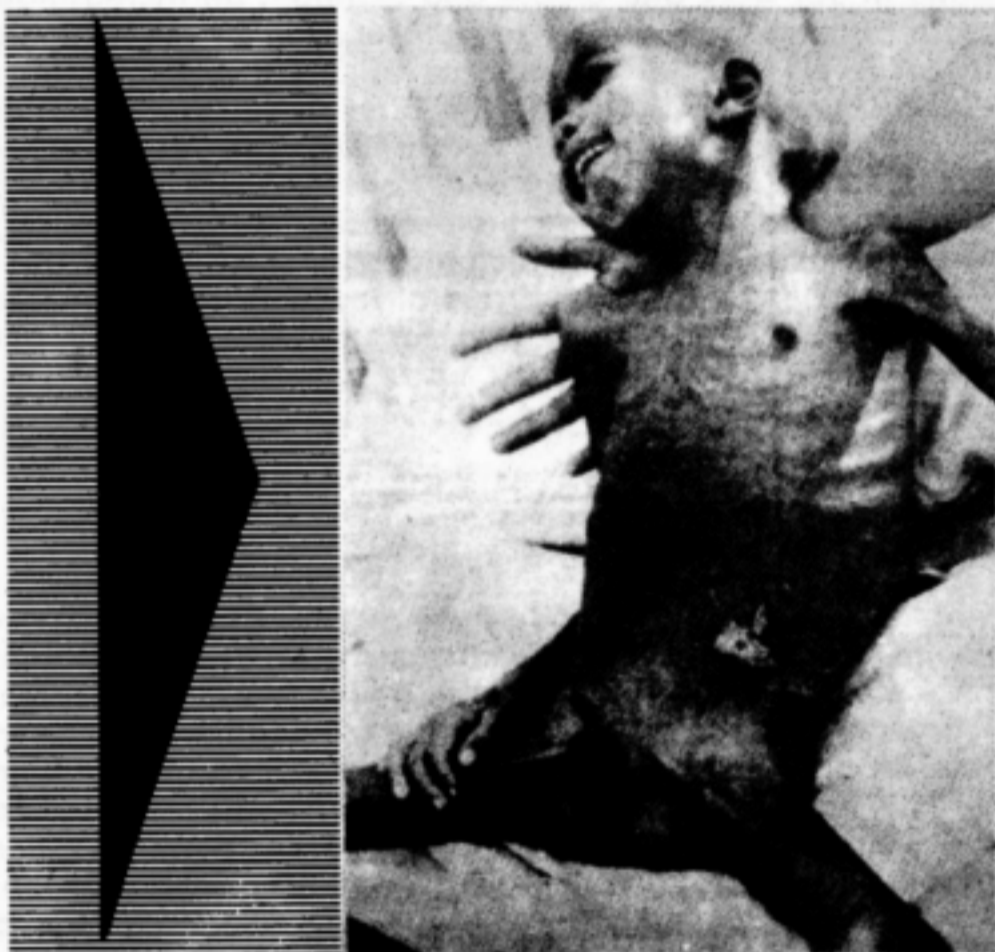
LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION MAATLA KE ARONA

16th December, 1969



STARVATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

As "Black spot" removals bring in more and more people to an already depressed part of the Tswana Bantustan, malnutrition diseases and plain starvation increase. Of 22 children who died recently in the area's only general hospital, 13 were suffering from malnutrition or starvation.



HOW OUR DEAD CHILDREN ARE BURIED BY LIES

While all-American murderers massacre men, women and children in Vietnam, the South African government does the same thing at home in another way: by their policy of starvation, imprisonment and oppression of the people. What is more, they are killing the people in the name of progress.

The South African minority government has a notorious policy in terms of which they are trying to move over three million people out of the so-called "white areas" and into the grossly mis-named "homelands".

And when the results of their policy are seen to be misery, starvation, breakdown of family life, poverty, rampant disease and death – it makes not a whit of difference to the authorities. Blinded by a dogmatic belief in an inhuman and unworkable far-right policy, bolstered by their jealous hatred of the masses whom they try to trample on, the White Nationalists storm on like a mad horse that can only be stopped by a bullet.

Their answer to proof of starvation and death resulting from their policies, is to deny it, lie about it, prevent newspapers from reporting it, intimidate people who are trying to tell the truth, and finally to forget about it and to continue with their mission of preserving what they are pleased to call "white civilisation".

There is no exaggeration in what I have written. All that has been said can be proved by investigation of the recent exposure of events at Batlharos, near Kuruman in the Northern Cape. It is a pity that tragedies have to be used to illustrate a point. But tragedies are alpha and zeta in South Africa under minority rule

Israel Sephiri, aged one year, died of Heart failure brought on by Hunger and T. B.

There is one hospital only in the area of Batlharos, which serves a total of 120,000 people. More people are being moved into the area every day, as part of the regime's policy of forcible removing Africans out of so-called "white areas". But there is not enough work for the people in this semi-desert region. Economic necessity forces the able men to seek work in the distant mines, where they must live in barracks without their families and can send only pitifully small amounts of cash home.

INSIDE MAIL

Oorsaak van dood
Cause of death Starvation

Bydraende oorsake of siektes
Contributing causes of illnesses geite - cudruy

Oorsaak van dood
Cause of death Starvation

Bydraende oorsake of siektes
Contributing causes of illnesses

For the past three years the hospital at Batlharos has had only two doctors: Donald and Rachel McKenzie. They came there with missionary zeal from the United Kingdom. Apparently this sort of post is not attractive to South African doctors.

Assisting the Doctors McKenzie was a staff of 100 nurses, trainee nurses and auxiliaries.

The task was, of course, impossible. But they did what they could.

The conditions of life appalled them. Malnutrition, starvation, florrid scurvy, beri-beri and pellagra were rampant. Tuberculosis was so common you were afraid to take X-rays.

In one period of 2½ months in 1969, the hospital's official record book listed starvation as the cause of 13 child deaths. We can only speculate as to how many other starving children were saved by the hospital staff. For three years, Dr. McKenzie listed the short-comings of his state-subsidised hospital in his official report. But not enough development money was forthcoming. Above all, no other Doctors were forthcoming.

Dr. McKenzie made it clear that it was the state policies of re-settlement and migratory labour which was largely to blame for the disease, misery and starvation. He stated that "seemingly little provision" had been made for Africans moved into the area. "The widespread starvation and very real suffering", he said, "can only be described as a disgrace to the country".

What the Press reports, the State Suppresses

Late in 1969, Dr. McKenzie was interviewed by a reporter from the Johannesburg "Rand Daily Mail".

The result was an exposure of the whole ghastly situation in a lengthy article in that paper.

What was the regime's reaction to this proven catalogue of misery caused by inhuman application of an unwanted policy?

Did they investigate it and try to change it? Did they rush relief aid to the area? Did they reconsider their policy?

They did not.

Members of the Security Branch of the police force interrogated the superintendent of the hospital and other members of the staff. A copy of a letter complaining to the Government about the situation, was removed from the hospital files by a Special Branch Officer. Residents of Kuruman who had met the Rand Daily Mail reporter were interrogated for up to five hours by Special Branch men.

Two other reporters who visited Kuruman were followed closely for 48 hours by the security police.

The Minister of "Bantu Administration" issued a preposterous statement denying everything. He claimed that pho-

tos of starving children had been faked. He said reporters had misled hospital staff, claimed that the reported deaths by starvation had occurred somewhere in the dim past, and added that the authorities were unaware of any starvation in the area.

But every statement of this man, who is the Cabinet Minister responsible in this case, was later shown to be a complete fabrication and white-wash.

The "Rand Daily Mail" replied to his statement point by point.

The paper printed the names, ages and causes of death of the 13 children who had died of starvation, not in the dim past but precisely between the months of March and June 1969.

The photographs of the starving children were proved to have been taken in the presence of Dr. McKenzie. As for the claim that the authorities were unaware of the situation, the "Rand Daily Mail" re-interviewed Dr. McKenzie who told them that full reports had been sent to the Departments of Bantu Administration, State Health and the Cape Provincial Administration every three months.

They will go on until the People stop them

The miserable response to exposure of inhumanity is to cover it up and to intimidate those who expose it. The Minister's statement ended with the cryptic sentence: "It is significant that the information in the reports was published a few days before Dr. McKenzie and his wife were to leave South Africa."

In this statement we see his and his government's real position exposed. Here is the rooster sitting on his dung-heap and crowing. For he knows that had they stayed in their hospital, the McKenzies would have been subjected to continuous abuse, mysterious visits by the Security Police, and possibly the loss of their position. In South Africa you either shut up or else you are shut up. And the juggernaut grinds on.

In the desert, the graves of the children are swept over and new graves come to replace them.

Further north, the determined young men and women of the peoples' military wing, product of the peoples' will to live as people, are moving steadily into their country to join with the latent seething revolt for right of the oppressed majority.

In their hands, are the means with which to destroy an evil system. In their eyes, is the burning determination that no more children shall be wasted. In their minds, through their peoples' suffering, lies the unwavering desire for peace, for government by the people, for no more hatred and abuse.

They are prepared to pay the highest price to get these.

The writer examines the relationship between violence and race in predominantly race-centred conflicts. He argues that racism has been used to justify the most brutal crimes in Vietnam, Nazi Germany, the Middle East and of course South Africa.



Nazis and jews

BRUTALITY AND RACE

Yankies in Vietnam

The USA has burst into one of its periodic fits of collective agonizing. Precipitated by the revelation of the murder of hundreds of children, women and old men in a tiny hamlet in Vietnam, the conscience of millions of normally unpolitical and insensitive citizens have been stirred.

Starled commentators and politicians are debating how American 'boys' could behave so inhumanly, while the political establishment shows little sign of taking the only honourable step to mitigate its shame by getting out of tortured Vietnam.

Many argue that war is war and that mistakes can happen with tragic ease and horrible consequences. Others say that war is a grim affair, and if it is to be won it must be fought with all available weapons, and without squeamishness though also without bestiality. Again there are many more who are frankly puzzled and disturbed at the apparent metamorphosis of 'good boys' into butchers.

The mother of one of the accused, Paul Meadlo, mused: "This has made him awful nervous. He seems like he just can't get over it. I sent them a good boy and they made him a murderer." And Paul Meadlo himself with chill simplicity surely spoke for the mass of soldiers when he admitted: "In the beginning I just thought we were going to be murdering Vietcong!"



Naive Youths commit Murder

What is so distressing is that in many brutal situations, the guilty parties are composed in part of boys like Paul Meadlo; naive youths not monsters. Yet they shoot as obediently at Sharpeville as in Vietnam. There is a continuing thread running through the horrors experienced by mankind: through the chaos brought about by the uprooting of 30 million people by the Slave Trade, the millions slaughtered by the Nazis in their paranoid search for race purity, the thousands who have been starved or burnt or blown up in the Far East – all these have been attacked not by madmen but by human beings, indoctrinated and twisted, yet still human.

Cruelty is no novelty in human history, yet it is a fearful and glaring paradox that the technologically sophisticated capitalist states have been responsible for some of the most wantonly primitive violence. Is there some freakish flaw in the nature of western man? Is he a tiger; his brutality so easily aroused and so difficult to control? Or are there social and ideological reasons to explain the recklessness, zest and callousness with which he sets out to destroy methodically people different to himself? Modern mass violence is a symptom of a sick society, and the sickness lies in the belief in race exclusiveness. Genocide may not be a modern invention, but not until the rise of modern imperialist expansion was it used so ruthlessly and consistently as a political means.

Depersonalized Victims

It is not as men that the victims of genocide are attacked. They must first be depersonalized. Men do not enslave other men. They enslave those who they have first deprived of their humanity by labelling them 'Kaffirs', 'Wogs' – subhumans, fitted by their nature to be slaves. It is not just chance that racism as a social theory came into being with the rise of colonialist, imperial expansion with the clear function of justifying slavery and other forms of exploitation. Racists claim that it is the inherited, biological features of human beings that determine their behaviour and



Israeli troops in Jordan





South Africa

their place in the evolutionary scale. Thus is justified the grossest injustice and inequality and the subject people are deprived of their rights on spurious, pseudo-scientific grounds. The death and destruction brought about by the Slave Trade upon which modern capitalism was built is well known. More recently we have witnessed a spate of interventions in Latin America, in the Far East and Africa itself. In our own country, as in the United States, the continuing domination of Black people and the exploitation of Black labour is justified by reference to race. In each of these cases as crises develop in the relationship of oppressor to oppressed, racial ideologies feature largely in the rationale of violence. A group or a nation that is psychologically secure has no need of the spurious defence of racial ideology.

Fear and Greed, Compounded by Racism

In Vietnam recently, a simpler soldier said, "A lot of guys feel that they (the South Vietnamese) aren't human beings. We just treated them like animals." The London Times observed in this connection; "This kind of

savagery is the byproduct of national affluence. The assumption is that no foreigner is worth the life of an American 'boy.'" But the Times is wrong. Fear and greed, compounded by racism does not spring simply from national affluence. It arises from an affluence that is based on a sub-national poverty and inequality; an affluence that depends on there being a world around it to exploit, conquer and dominate.

This is why the race factor is present in the Middle East, why Vietnamese are killed with abandon, Africans hounded into locations like cattle ready for the slaughter. In each case race hatred is the whip, the justification, the motivating force for the heinous crimes committed against the 'inferior' peoples.

Yet our epoch has also witnessed a different phenomenon, the rise of a higher consciousness among the subject peoples. They have thrown back the taunt of inferiority at the 'master race' and developing an internal unity with the ambit of a wider intercontinental unity, the resurgence of 'militant struggle is changing the face of our earth. The persecution of the so-called coloured races is near its end. African people have driven out the oppressor with vigour and determination in many countries; other peoples have shown the most remarkable resilience and resistance

to the violence of imperialist aggression. With the defeat of the conquerors is fast dying the race myth so that the possibility now appears of a new era without the bestiality that accompanies race oppression. Such an era is envisioned in our own Freedom Charter - a blueprint of a just society at peace with itself.



Vietnam conquer



OFF THE CUFF

Sechaba Interviews Ronald Segal

In a wide-ranging discussion Ronald Segal, noted author and publicist gives his views on the growth of young insurgency in the West. He urges a deeper understanding of their attitudes in order to win them to a greater commitment to the South African liberation struggle. Some readers will find Mr. Segal's description of the U. S. as liberal capitalism surprising, others will question his definition of class, but that his views are interesting is beyond doubt.

In your latest book "America's receding Future" you give an account of the rise of intellectual and student movements as a dynamic internal to the capitalist system. Would you elucidate your views for Sechaba readers?

The development of current young insurgency in the United States, which is what I deal with in particular, starts effectively with the Civil Rights Movement. Students who went from the North, white students, to work in Mississippi, discovered there the associations between Northern big business and racial discrimination in the Deep South, and discovered also how remote were the democratic pretensions of the American Government from the reality of its indifference to race rule. They went back to their universities after the summer of 1964 and began reacting to the mutilations of the American system which they encountered there, on their own campuses. The most celebrated example was that of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California in Berkeley. Students returning from the Deep South to propagate their invigorated opposition were immediately prevented from doing so on the campus. They organised a protest movement for the right to operate political organisations within the university; and in asserting this right, they began to criticise the involvement of the university with government and business in the United States, through its defence studies, grants from foundations for specific projects, and their own enormous financial investments. The response of the university was so authoritarian that what had begun as a protest movement, in which even "Youth for Goldwater"

was formally associated, became increasingly radicalized. And from this, and similar movements on other campuses – I am abbreviating a great deal, of course – there developed much of the organised opposition to the Vietnam war. So what you have in fact now is a largely co-ordinated protest movement that sees as different aspects of an integral corruption, the war in Vietnam; the extraordinary bureaucratization of the American university, in which the student is treated like an IBM punch card; the racial discriminations of American society; the steady pollution of the environment; the breakdown of the individual and the traditional collective personality.

And are the same sort of factors operative in other capitalist states, in Britain, France, Germany; or would you say these are specific to the United States?

No I'd certainly say that they exist in a far more advanced form in the United States than they do in France or in Sweden or in Britain; but this is because the United States is a far more advanced form of capitalist society. The very problems – more than problems, the intrinsic challenges – that are developing in American society are visible in other societies already. For instance, the United States is at the moment being psychically shattered by private violence; but there isn't a country under liberal capitalism – to give it its proper description – which is not faced by a rapidly rising psychical challenge from this. Of course, all countries in the system are not the same. There is not, for instance, a large coloured community in West Germany;

OFF THE CUFF

• SECHABA INTERVIEW •

but there is a large foreign labour force there, suffering various forms of discrimination, similar social stresses.

Let us discuss for a moment the types of response that we find among the groups and organisations which are taking protest action. They are mainly middle-class in origin and composed largely of intellectuals and yet they resort to group action. Why this emphasis on mass action and why is it direct action against institutions of all kinds?

The simple answer is that these groups pursue mass action as a way of experiencing something which their society denies altogether by its essential operations: a human commitment. What they are basically reacting against is the kind of ultimate self-centeredness and social estrangement that competitive consumption promotes. But when you describe them as middle-class, which they largely are; or intellectual, which they largely are: you must not imply that they are peripheral or numerically trivial. When you are talking of students in the United States, you are talking of some seven or eight million people; and this is a massive constituency of opinion. When you talk about intellectuals, how many millions do you mean? And when you talk about the middle-classes, these now constitute the bulk of liberal capitalist society. How do you define a worker in the United States; or indeed, in Britain, a rather less advanced form of capitalist society? Isn't an American automobile or steel worker earning ten thousand dollars a year, middle class by income and property ownership? Without doubt, his aspirations and attitudes are middle class. And class I think you will agree, is not just an objective reality; it is a subjective one. If you believe yourself middle class, then it is with this class that you will identify yourself.

But it is the sons and daughters of these people who are now moving into this kind of mass protest action. Isn't this in a way a contradiction of their own aspiration?

No, because we are in a unique historical situation here. The American youth – and, to a lesser extent, the youth in Western Europe – are the first in history to have grown up without the experience or remembrance of real scarcity. These kids were born to parents who had arrived; and they turn to them and say, "we look at your society, and we find it sterile and empty and irrational". The parents reply, "You don't know what it was like in the depression". But so what? "No", say the students, "we don't know what it was like in the depression. And whose fault was the depression anyway?" What these kids have been given is the very dream of the poor; and this is important for an international analysis, not merely any view of the United States. What poor societies are looking for is precisely what the Americans have already got: television, vacuum

cleaners, gadgets in the kitchen, more motor cars than they can handle. And young Americans say that if this is all their society is about, then it isn't nearly enough.

This is why, in my experience, the vanguard of the young resistance movement is not merely middle class; it is largely or importantly upper-middle class. And the universities where the most strenuous and effective actions of protest against the Vietnam war have taken place – Yale, Harvard, Columbia – are the best in the country; indeed among the best in the world. You know the old crack about the students: that it is the failures, the dropouts who cause all the trouble. Well, after the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley in 1964, an official commission examined the background of the leading student insurgents and found precisely the opposite: that it was the most successful students, the ones who had the fellowships and medals, who were in the forefront of the protest movement.

A feature of these protests has been an interest and identification with various liberation movements. From our own point of view we would like to see more effective support from these people for our own liberation movement. Is this possible? And how can we go about getting it?

Yes, I think it is a distinct possibility: particularly in Britain and the United States, where there are substantial coloured communities. Certainly in the crucial United States movement, the beginning – and still a central issue – has been against white racialism; so there is a direct connection with the liberation movement in South Africa. On the other hand, it must be understood that this "new left", as it is loosely called, is a protest movement also against bureaucratic power; and this is a kind of power to which the old left is not seldom prone. I think that the liberation movement in South Africa, in approaching this enormous potential in the West for support, must project itself as – and indeed, should be – a movement of individual liberation. We are not simply interested in supplanting white power by a kind of black bureaucracy in South Africa, let alone by black big business. Our revolution is about people; and we ask for the sympathy and support of liberation movements in the West because they are, in their own terms, liberation movements; because they are fighting for what we want. You know, one must be rational and realistic about this. We can't expect Americans and West Germans and Italians to involve themselves in South Africa with the same kind of fervour and commitment that South Africans display. They must feel morally that there is something in it for them; that they are promoting their own struggle in this way; and, of course, we must make much clearer than we have, the essential connection between the sort of authoritarianism that exists in South Africa now and the structure of government in a society like the United States.

Can I take you up on that? How serious is the assertion that the militants in the United States, for instance, take up a revolutionary position against every organised structure? Does this reflect an anarchist tendency, or not? And is it a spontaneous response to the distortions of capitalism? Does it not logically express itself or lead to anti-organisation attitudes, which would be foreign to us, since

we recognise that the building of a standing political organisation is tremendously important?

There is a paradox here. These people are reacting essentially to a liberal capitalism in which vast financial and industrial complexes control – not in any narrow conspiratorial sense, but by their proper functioning – the lives of millions and millions of people, who have no real say over their own affairs. This system produces political parties that stand for office on one set of policies and carry out another; a periodic contest between two political parties that differ hardly at all from each other; a president that less and less constitutes a popular leadership, because he is advised by organisations like the Central Intelligence Agency which are not elected, and whose information he cannot check; and at the same time a President with such overwhelming powers that he can take his country into war without even his Congress seriously discussing it. Now the rebellion against this; the sense that the individual in society is becoming a little screw in an enormous machine, is not only an American phenomenon, or even a phenomenon of liberal capitalism. Our technologies dominate us. People must start asking themselves how they can control the very complex economies that they are themselves producing. The resistance of these movements is, accordingly, one against organisation; but against organisation as it is known now, not against organisation as such. We too, should be concerned to develop entirely new institutions, new forms of government, which are pervasively and profoundly democratic; which put people above property, whether private or state. Our own movement should be a developing one. We should explore democracy in the very process of fighting. We should be much more open to experiments, and we should search out new ways: because a guerilla movement, to succeed, must be democratic; it cannot be authoritarian. Its basis is essentially voluntary: unlike citizenship of a state, where you are born, and it is so difficult to contract out. In a liberatory movement like the South African, you choose to join and it must have a democratic basis or die.

But coming back to the organisation structure in the protest movements, do you feel that there is the necessary stability within their organisations to prosecute their own struggle in a systematic and sustained way?

Well, there is no doubt that the movements have already achieved a great deal; and they could not have achieved this, if they had been in some sort of archetypal confusion. That there are groups within the movement which fight against each other; that there are conflicts over strategy and objectives, there is no question. But on the whole, they tend to exercise an enormous, and incredible degree of self-discipline and often quite spontaneously. Let me give an example that may appear, but is not, off the point. You remember that vast concert on the Isle of Wight. There were about one hundred and fifty thousand people gathered to hear Bob Dyland; and almost all the commentators on television or in the press remarked in astonishment that there was no violence. Our society, which is a highly organised one, expects automatically that when a lot of people get together, there will be violence. But these people were not violent, and this does

OFF THE CUFF

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involve a certain collective engagement. How far is it from what Marx believed to be the ultimate society, where the degree of collective commitment is so great that it requires to be uninstitutionalized?

Taking you up on this point, would you say that the ideological currents running in these movements have any identity with other radical movements? You mention Marx, is this radical consciousness based on Marxism or how else would you identify it?

I think we are reaching a stage now where Marx is so far away in time, and so many Popes have intervened to interpret his ideas, that very few activists in the new left have read Marx themselves; and yet most of them have been influenced by Marxism in one way or another. I think if you were to ask them whether they believed that there is a class struggle, they would say 'yes'; but on the other hand, that there are issues which are no less important and which must not be submerged by it. Will resolving the class struggle automatically do away with bureaucracy, for instance? I myself can easily imagine a society in which the conventional classes have gone, but in which an all-powerful state, supporting a tight political elite, does not represent as much as rule.

You talk about class struggle. To what extent is this pure subjectivism on their part? Have they a mass base and what are their attitudes to getting support from the working class. Would you agree that their commitment to the working class is often merely a matter of theory and not of practice?

I am not sure how strong their commitment to the working class is. But when you ask whether they have a mass base, they are becoming a mass base in themselves. And I must tell you that the working class at the moment shows more possibilities for reaction than it does for revolution. We must reconsider our class definitions. If you examine the social group in the United States that is most reactionary, the group in the North was the backbone of the Wallace campaign, and the group that would be most vigorous in producing the climate for a neo-facist takeover of power, this is the classic blue overall working class in the United States.

Surely a section of the working class, not the working class as a whole?

Yes, of course. But then you see you cannot talk any longer about a cohesive working class, as you cannot talk any longer about a cohesive bourgeoisie. In some ways, the bourgeoisie in the United States is more alienated from the means of production in society than are workers.

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The archetypal bourgeois, the man who owns his factory and has his working force, exists less and less. The main-line bourgeois in America has a portfolio of shares in companies the products of which he could not properly identify, because his stock-broker has simply compiled a list of profitable investments for him. Sure enough, there are elements in the working class that are essentially revolutionary; after all, the black population in the United States is overwhelmingly working class. On the other hand, the most potent force against power in the United States at the moment is coming from the middle class. I think that the confrontation which is going to take place in the West may well be inter-class against inter-class, with those from the middle and those from the working classes joined on either side. And this follows from my feeling that we may well have a counter-revolution in the United States to preclude revolution. The historical significance of the break-up in the liberal consensus, which has governed the United States for so long, cannot easily be exaggerated. The possibilities of revolution in the United States now – by which I mean a fundamental restructuring of society – are very remote. But a counter-revolution, aimed at securing the social structure through much more authoritarian controls, will produce its own reaction.

Let us turn to other questions. The students protest movements often speak of internationalising the struggle. What is their perspective?

There are certainly those who see an integrated international struggle; who see Vietnams draining the power and popular appeal of traditional authority in the United States, and therefore making it easier to confront that authority at home. There are very large numbers with a moral commitment to struggle outside and inside the United States alike; who see what is going on in Vietnam as, after all, only another side of what is going on in the United States. In general, there is, I think, a recognition among the young American insurgents that the system of liberal capitalism is an international authoritarianism, which cannot properly be confronted only in one place.

Well, we are certainly involved in a confrontation with the United States since it is one of the major supporters of the Vorster regime. This of course creates an identity of interests between ourselves and the protest movements in America. But somehow it seems to be difficult to bring the two into greater practical unity. What do you suggest can be done?

Well, first of all we should take the people of the United States, and especially the young in rebellion, a great deal more seriously than we have. We haven't understood what they are about and we haven't really paid attention. We

can make no more destructive mistake than to sell the United States short; it is, in important ways, the most exciting country on earth, with a potential for human good commensurate to its potential for evil. We need only consider the sort of world we would have if the United States were the monolithic repression some of us suppose it to be. We should on the contrary, recognise that the struggle within the United States is as much a part of our own, as ours is of theirs. We must persuade the many disaffected there that we see the world as a moral unit; that we are committed, as a South African revolutionary movement, to the liberation of people all over the world. They will respond to the kind of investment in humanity that we ourselves make. And it is the easier for us because the struggle specifically against racism is so central to the whole struggle in both South Africa and the United States.

Do you think that the possibilities for greater joint action is becoming more feasible with regard to issues like the Cabora Bassa scheme and various major investment projects in Southern Africa as whole.

Yes, though it depends how one sets about this. In a campaign against Cabora Bassa, there is an obvious relationship to be established with protest movements in the countries where large corporations are involved in building the dam. I think that in West Germany, where a number of companies are crucial to the project, one could stir considerable sympathy among the young, who are, like their American counterparts, increasingly concerned with the total social function of business. Because the resistance to this function is crucial both to our struggle and to theirs, we could, I believe, effectively promote a joint campaign. The same, of course, applies to other countries and especially Britain, France, and the United States, where large financial and industrial concerns are part of the domestic repressive processes and, relatedly, intrinsic to the survival of white supremacy in Southern Africa.

A final question. Would you say that the struggle of the liberation movement in Southern Africa has made an impact on the imagination of these protest movements in Europe and America, and that they have come to admire the tenacity and courage of the guerilla fighters for instance?

I don't unhappily, think that South Africa has entered the imagination of these young protest movements in the West at all significantly. And this is more our failure than it is theirs. They have tended to concentrate on Vietnam and on Cuba, because they have found no reason, or been given none, to take us seriously enough. They are, of course, influenced in varying degrees, by the existence of guerilla movements, to recognise that certain situations require violence as the only feasible means of change. There is, however, a substantial pacifist streak in these movements of protest; and quite understandably, because these are movements of protest against the violence and wars of the very societies in which they live. It needs a long analysis, therefore, to explain how far these groups distrust violence, and how far they are prepared to employ

it themselves. For instance, I think that young Black intellectuals in the United States are far more prepared to employ violence, on the model of the guerrilla movement, than is the broad mass of white radical protest. On the other hand, violence is far from the only technique that a movement of resistance can effectually adopt. Dogmas of ideology and of strategy are alike destructive. People themselves make the proper instruments of protest from the material of their experience.

What do you think are the perspectives in Southern Africa as a whole?

I believe that we are entering into a very difficult period, but I think that we have committed ourselves to the strategy that the structure of power in Southern Africa has made inevitable. I think that various African Governments, for instance, which were prepared to assist us when they did not take us seriously, will diminish their assistance, are diminishing their assistance already, now that our struggle has become more real. And I think that our leadership in these years should resist sinking into a sense of futility but consider what it is that we want out of the revolution itself; rather as the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau has grown up in the process of struggle. But I also think that we must recognise – because I don't think that we have any future if we do not – that we are an intrinsic part of a human engagement. I personally object to the whole concept inherent in the phrase African Nationalism. I am not a nationalist, and I don't think that people should be nationalists. I think we must realize that we cannot hope to achieve revolutionary success; or even if we do achieve one, to secure it, if we do not do so as part of a movement by the whole of humanity, for a different kind of society. And it is not merely because we need help – obvious material and propaganda help, – from elsewhere in the world; it is because all over the world there are other movements at work serving what should be our purpose. The stronger such movements become, the less force can be brought to bear by our enemies against us. And therefore we are part, strategically and morally alike, of a single movement to liberate individual man.

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ANTI-APARTHEID VICTORY IN U.S.



South African apartheid's first major setback at the hands of a growing U. S. public opinion was revealed this week when it became known that the 10-bank revolving credit of \$ 40 million extended to South Africa since 1959 would not be renewed this year at the request of the South African government itself.

A Committee of Conscience against Apartheid, headed by ACOA co-chairman A. Philip Randolph, spearheaded a drive in 1966 for withdrawal of accounts and business from the apartheid-supporting banks. In this, the churches took the lead. Over the years the United Methodist Board of Missions withdrew a \$ 10 million investment portfolio from First National City; students and faculty of Union Theological Seminary organized the withdrawal of accounts from the First National City branch near the seminary; the Episcopal Church decided to withdraw from all banks that continued in the consortium; and most recently the United Presbyterian Church voted to end business relationships with all involved banks. Smaller groups such as the magazine *Christianity and Crisis* also withdrew accounts.

Student concern about university and other institutional support for the banks and about their investments in South Africa has also grown in the past few years. Cornell dropped the banks from its investment portfolio. Princeton undertook a study of investment policy. At the University of Wisconsin, Rutgers, Brown, Antioch, University of Chicago, University of California (Santa Barbara), Boston Theological and many others, the issue was raised in various other ways.

As a result of these campaigns, questions were often raised at stockholders' meetings, in particular the annual meetings of Chase Manhattan, First National City and Morgan Guaranty in 1967 and 1968. On several occasions, demonstrations were held at the time of meetings, or to emphasize planned withdrawals. More recently N. Y. State Assemblyman Franz Leichter urged State Controller Levitt to remove funds from banks loaning to South Africa, and nine U. S. Congressmen urged in letters to the banks' presidents non-renewal of the loan.

The latest stage of the campaign last year was focussed by ACOA on the presence of a branch of Chemical Bank New York Trust Co. at the United Nations headquarters. After ACOA called the attention of U. N. delegations to the presence of Chemical Bank, the General Assembly passed a resolution calling on the UN and its affiliates specifically to "refrain from extending facilities to banks and other financial institutions which provide assistance" to South Africa and firms registered there.

PLAYING WITH WHITE SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT PLAYING THE GAME

Calling for an end to all concessions to White South African sportsteams the writer recalls the Black athletes who get left behind. There can be no substitute for the abolition of all colour bars in South African sport, only then will South African teams be truly representative.

Nobody foresaw that the British people would come out in their thousands to protest openly against a racially selected rugby team touring their country.

While the racist press in South Africa fumed and raged at the treatment their boys were getting in Britain, the forces of reaction in Britain itself were not asleep.

Vigilantes and other heavies were brought into play to attack demonstrators at the matches. Thousands of police were called in for each game. Reactionary sections of the press (no doubt representing the point of view of those with vested interests in South Africa, providing cheap labour), slandered the demonstrators or else acted as apologists for racist South Africa.

Since some sportsmen still appear to feel there is some value in sports exchanges with white South Africa, and since the Nazi-dominated regime in Pretoria has released a flood of whitewash in an effort to keep the doors open for white sportsmen, it might prove worthwhile to examine the arguments for and against, once and for all.

SPORTS FACILITIES AT HOME

The Pretoria regime often claims that they have provided wonderful facilities for non-white sportsmen in South Africa itself.

It is true that outstanding facilities

exist for the white minority, as will be attested by any touring team that has been white enough to be allowed into South Africa.

But African, Indian and Coloured sportsmen are prohibited by law from joining white sports clubs or using white sports facilities.

They must make do with archaic fields poorly kept up, without any changing rooms, showers, stands or other such "luxury" items. Furthermore, there are so few fields that the existing ones are in hard use from sun-up to sunset and what turf there is, is soon gone. But the physical realities of apartheid are too notorious to need repeating here. It would be surprising indeed if sports facilities for the oppressed majority were any better than all the other harshnesses of day-to-day life.

If your system is one in which 80% of the people live in ghetto conditions, earning £75 per head per year as compared with £800 per head for the whites, then you are a racist pure and simple, drawing sustenance not only from the increased dividends of cheap labour, but also from notions of racial superiority learned from the genocidal madmen of Europe who nourished Nazism.

The rest of this article will demonstrate the true attitude of the South African rulers to the question of sport in a racial context.

TWO FACES

Quote: - "Sport in South Africa has always been played on racial lines. The Bantu play their sport, the Indians play their sport, the Coloureds play their sport and the Whites play their sport. And this has always been the case and will always be the case." What does the above statement mean



to say? (It was made by Vorster, the present South African Prime Minister, who was interned during the anti-Nazi world war because of his fascist sympathies.)

The statement is merely a rhetorical way of saying: "We Whites will not play sport with Blacks."

When Vorster says there are good facilities for African sportsmen in South Africa, he is covering up the real issue (ignoring the fact that he is lying anyway).

In a country where less than 20% are Whites, why are all touring teams composed entirely of whites?

Why is it that some of the greatest South African sportsmen have had to leave South Africa to gain the recognition they deserve, simply because their skin is black?

STARS WHO EMIGRATED

Let us examine some case histories in this respect. As long ago as 1948 Ronuf Eland, South Africa's top weight-lifter, was spurned by the white selectors for the Olympic Games. Eland emigrated to England, and qualified there to represent Britain!

Among the stars of Leeds United football team are Gerry Francis and Albert Johanneson, non-white South Africans who helped Leeds to win promotion into the First Division some years ago. They too left home because there was no opening for their talents there.

There is the notorious case of Papwa Sewgolum, a South African who won the Dutch golf titles two years running. After beating Gary Player in South Africa, the racist hold on sport was tightened and Papwa was later banned from competing on "all-white" golf courses!

Non-white sportsmen who had to leave racist South Africa to achieve well-deserved fame include: -

Kaiser Motaung, who played in the American Football League and was voted "Footballer of the Year";

Jake N. Tuli, who became British Bantam weight Boxing Champion.

Precious McKenzie, who won the Commonwealth weightlifting title in 1966 after emigrating to Britain.

These sportsmen made the grade even though they had inferior facilities and makeshift grounds in their home country. How much greater would be the results if all South Africans had the same opportunities which are at present reserved for the minority white South Africans?

STANDING ON BLACK HEADS

There is much talk of "concessions" being made by white South Africa towards allowing some black sportsmen to participate abroad.

This is a hoax. A South African Olympic team which includes a few



token non-whites, or even 20% to 30%, is **not** a South African Olympic team. To be genuine, selections for touring teams must be based on equal trials for all South Africans regardless of race. Furthermore, all South Africans should be given equal training and playing facilities at home.

If concessions are announced by white South Africa, they are not concessions based on the realization that all men can contribute equally to sporting success. They are concessions made grudgingly, with the welfare of White sportsmen uppermost in the minds of the manipulators.

What we want in South Africa is equality: the right of the majority to run their own country for the benefit of all peoples.

This can only be achieved by the hard struggle of the South African people fighting to overcome their oppressors. In the meantime, it is the duty of all people throughout the world to stand up and say "No!" to the racists who try to infiltrate themselves into world bodies at various levels.

There must be no concessions to white South Africa in the field of sports. Any talk of giving them "time to change" is meaningless. The more time they get, the more they apply their rigid race laws in sport at home, while presenting a sheepish face to the world.

An example of increasing application of race in sport is the position of spectators at matches played in South Africa. Some years ago the Caledonian ground in Pretoria used to admit about 1,000 non-white spectators to one

small corner of the stands. Now even this "concession" has gone, and **all** spectators at international matches played there are white. This is protected by law.

RACISM CANNOT BEND

There is a white schoolboys' magazine in South Africa called "Patrys". It has a "Detective Club" whose membership cards are signed by the white Chief of Police. The magazine is widely distributed in white schools, with the blessing of the government.

This magazine describes Africans as "old porridge-lips" and "superstitious scoundrels". Comic-strips show half-naked savages thirsting for white men's blood. Members of the junior police force write letters such as: "I have been on another raid with the police and have again helped to arrest two Bantu." The membership page has a symbol of handcuffs and a baton. Other affiliated boys' clubs incorporate the swastika motif in their badges. Thus the racist authorities inculcate their race hatred into white youths at a tender age.

This is the racism that the oppressed majority of South Africa are entering into a hard bitter fight against. The men and women of South Africa are having to face this fight in the flesh. Their sacrifices will be incalculable. When people outside South Africa stand up against racist inroads into their countries, they are taking a stand alongside the struggling masses of South Africa.

Frelimo ... OPPORTUNIST POLICIES DEFEATED

In a fine direct analysis Frelimo explains the changing pattern of their struggle and the resulting contradictions in their movement. Policy changes for the creation of a new life in the base areas have been resisted by some members holding reactionary ideas leading to their exposure. This article which appeared as an editorial in Mozambique Revolution is republished here as a contribution to the enrichment of the theory of national liberation.

Contradictions are inevitable in any liberation movement engaged in a protracted armed struggle. They are particularly inevitable when the movement has already defined a clear ideology, and even more so when that ideology is a revolutionary one. Without this definition it is always possible to conceal contradictions beneath the cover of "differences of opinion". But when a clear and inflexible revolutionary ideology has been drawn up and there are militant comrades to ensure that it is followed, then contradictions are inevitable.

This is the lesson we have learned over seven years. We started with a heterogeneous group of people remotely linked by the idea of independence and the philosophy of "nationalism". This idea was not present with the same intensity in all of us and varied in substance. As the Chief of the Army in his message to the fighters on the occasion of 25 September said:

"We come from a society where the mentality of the colonialists dominated. We came to the revolution loaded with vices and defects. Some Mozambicans came to the revolution led by ambitions, in order to have high positions in an independent Mozambique. Others came because the Portuguese did not allow them to freely exploit the work of their fellow-Mozambicans. The Portuguese wanted to be the only people to exploit. So these people came to the revolution to expel the Portuguese and take their place in the exploitation of the people . . . These Mozambicans came to the revolution with this spirit. And when they saw that the revolution does not allow the satisfaction of their personal interests, that responsibilities are given in accordance with the abilities of each person, that exploitation is completely banned, that discipline is strict and rigid – when they saw all this, these Mozambicans start vacillating, they formed



groups of discontent, ready to act against the truly revolutionary forces as soon as the first opportunity appeared. And when the enemy agents arrived and started looking for elements to organise against the revolutionary leadership of FRELIMO, they found a fertile field among these discontents. This is the explanation of the difficulties that FRELIMO has had to face during the last two years; contradictions even at the top level of FRELIMO . . ."

A new Situation in the Liberated Areas

Thus, at the beginning we had no ideological line; it was impossible to formulate an ideology broad enough to encompass all the different tendencies represented by the various social, political, economic, religious, cultural groups. The idea of independence and nationalism was the only thing they had in common – and in the beginning this seemed sufficient to ensure the struggle's advance. But with the evolution of the struggle there developed a new situation. We started having liberated regions: we had to plan the work of national reconstruction – production schools, hospitals.

This gave rise to certain problems: How to structure the economy in the liberated zones? How to organise the school services, the hospitals? Should we copy the colonialist – capitalist model which had just been removed, or should we adopt a system based on the needs and will of the people? The contradictions now came to the surface. Those who had come to the revolution to become wealthy, motivated by their personal interest, wanted the system to remain the same – we should just expel the colonialists, reestablish the structures created by the Portuguese, and take their place in the positions of control. The revolutionary comrades took a diametrically opposed position. They knew that if this happened there was no justification for the struggle. Why fight if everything will continue as before? They wanted a completely different system where all the vestiges of colonialist and capitalist influence would be eliminated. They wanted a system that would really serve the interests of the people and which could never resemble, not even vaguely, the system of the exploiters and oppressors.

An internal Struggle Developed

After this the division became more acute. A struggle began, between the groups representing the two lines. And all the problems, all the difficulties we have had since then are the result of this division.

But it was not admitted and openly discussed until the last meeting of the Central Committee. In that meeting we finally identified the existence of two ideological lines. The elements opposed to the interests of the people, the corrupt, the opportunistic, were unmasked and criticised. Those who had made themselves completely unacceptable to the revolution were expelled. Those who indicated regret for their activities, and for whom there seemed even the faintest possibility of reintegration were not expelled for it was believed that there should be a unifying spirit in the movement strong enough to lead misguided comrades, through education and discussion, back to the true revolutionary path. Some who were known to have taken part in subversive activities were disciplined and removed from their posts of responsibility, while others were severely criticised and subsequently promised to follow closely the policies laid down by the Second Congress.

At the end of that meeting of the Central Committee, we declared that a certain unity had been achieved. But we had certain reservations that "we do not deceive ourselves with the hope of an easy path". And indeed, shortly afterwards, several of these people showed their true colours by deserting and running away to the Portuguese, thus proving what the true militants were already well aware of – that Position meant more to them than the Revolution. We knew that someone who is basically ambitious, op-

portunistic, exploiter, does not automatically correct himself by the mere fact of saying that he recognised his errors. That same idea was stressed in the message of the Chief of the Army mentioned above: "This does not mean that all the counter-revolutionary elements that we have characterised have been neutralised completely. No, the struggle in our midst continues. It is a long and difficult struggle, almost interminable which must start with ourselves because the vices we brought from the colonial society will not disappear if we do not fight strongly, if we do not try to correct ourselves at every step within a revolutionary perspective".

There is no Crisis, only Contradictions to be Resolved

Thus the contradictions did not finish. Certain elements of FRELIMO, even with positions of responsibility, continue to desert the struggle inventing varied justifications. They give themselves up to the enemy, they choose to live as simple refugees, they try to form parties following the line that they preach. Others will presumably desert in the future: as long as the struggle is being fought, the desertions will not stop. And even after independence: the example of certain independent-African countries shows us that when a truly popular ideology is adopted and implemented, the reactionary elements cannot conform and run away – they "ask protection" from the capitalists, their spiritual mentors. Thus, to those that say that the desertions in FRELIMO means that there is a crisis, we answer: **No, there is no crisis.** These are contradictions which are solved by the struggle itself; the revolution itself ensures the rejection of the impure load it carries.

Open a second front

The Vietnam struggle has taught us a lesson important to the fight for freedom the world over – that an alliance between a liberation movement fighting in the field, and the forces for change in the metropolitan countries, can transform the situation not only in the colonial battleground but on the homeground of the imperialist power itself. The U. S., greatest power in the world, has been shaken to its very foundations by such an alliance and the end of the process thus set in motion is not yet in sight.

Britain is not only indirectly involved in Vietnam, it is directly involved in its own Vietnam-in-the-making, the revolutionary struggle in Southern Africa.

Already some 400 British companies have subsidiaries in South Africa, over 100 have subsidiaries in Rhodesia and both include many of the biggest names in industry: ICI, Unilever, BMG-Leylands, Shell-BP, GEC-AEI etc. Britain has a 'defence' agreement with the Vorster regime over the Simonstown Naval base, and pressure is mounting for Britain to help South Africa defend the Cape sea route for the West. Parallel with this pressure is a mounting campaign to denigrate the liberation movements as a Communist menace to Africa. As the guerilla successes mount, all the ingredients are present for an international conflict of the scale and significance of the struggle in Vietnam.

Open a second front!

The time is now for the opening of a second front for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, to forge an

A call from the London Dam Busters Mobilising Committee for a major international solidarity campaign against the Cabora Bassa Dam project.

alliance between the freedom fighters there and the forces for progress here and in solidarity with the war, to declare war on the great monopoly and multinational corporations which seek to maintain the status quo both there and here.

These corporations are an international force, an international problem. Many are involved with the US in Vietnam; their counter-parts in France, Germany and Italy are playing the same role. They are the enemies of social change both domestically and in the Third World. The solidarity front of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa is therefore an international one, and harmonises with movements of social change throughout Western Europe.

We have chosen the Cabora Bassa Dam as a symbol of the role of those corporations in Southern Africa, as a target that can be hit before it is ever completed. The Dam itself is not only an economic venture, but a crucial part of Portugal's colonial strategy and South Africa's political, diplomatic and military offensive in Africa. It is part of the design which seeks to hold the guerilla struggle north of the Zambesi river, at the same time increasing the economic and political pressure on independent African states to erode their resistance to white supremacy and their support for the liberation struggle.

We call on all who value freedom and progress to join us in a campaign to rouse the public, to defeat any attempt to involve Britain in the dam, to expose and attack key collaborating corporations, and to cooperate with similar efforts in Europe and America.



DR. PIET MEYER CHIEF OF RADIO

Dr. Piet Meyer is not one of the internationally known like John Vorster or Chris Barnard or Gary Player the mention of whose name will bring a nod of recognition from newspaper readers and telly watchers in most countries of the world. For all that, he is one of the most powerful men in South African political life, with ambitions to reach the top of the tree.

Dr. P. J. Meyer is chairman of the Board of Governors of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. He is also chairman of the Council of the new Rand Afrikaans University opened in Johannesburg in 1968.

These two jobs would be enough to rank Dr. Meyer amongst the leaders of South African society – yet strangely enough his name does not even appear in the latest issue of the South African Who's Who. Perhaps the compilers of that publication are a bit nervous of Dr. Piet Meyer, for according to the "Sunday Times", he is also chairman of the Broederbond, the secret society which masterminds Nationalist Party strategy in all spheres of political, cultural and religious life.

For good measure, according to the "Sunday Times", Dr. Meyer is also chairman of the Afrikaner Orde, the secret society formed by Dr. Albert Hertzog to promote the interests of the verkramptes (conservatives) inside the Nationalist Party. The Afrikaner Orde was at one time ordered by the Nationalist Party to disband because it was regarded as a growing threat to the leadership of John Vorster with his new "outward" verligte (liberal) policy.

Who was given the job of dismantling the Afrikaner Orde? Why, none other than Dr. Meyer. Not surprisingly, the "Sunday Times" reported on January 28, 1968: "Although the Orde may be officially put out of action, it is to be doubted whether its activities will stop altogether."

At any rate, it is clear that Dr. Meyer is an arch-verkrampte, and in recent months he has been observed in attendance at meetings of the Hertzog group, though he has not so far openly identified himself with them. Meyer's sympathy for Hertzog's policies is long-standing. In the 1930's, when Dr. Hertzog was working night and day to convert the Mine-workers' Union to the Nationalist camp under the direction of the Broederbond, Dr. Meyer was one of his ablest lieutenants.

Meyer had joined the ranks of the Nationalists on returning to South Africa from his studies overseas, serving at first as one of the officials of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (F. A. K.), the public front of the Broederbond. With Hertzog he was one of the founders of the Nasionale Raad van Trusteas, which financed the Nationalist drive to subvert the trade union movement. As head of the S. A. B. C. Meyer has been assiduous in converting the broadcasting services into the pro-

paganda arm of the Nationalist Party. His captive audience, English and Afrikaner, pro- and anti-Nationalist, Black and White, have been treated to unadulterated Nationalist Party propaganda of the most verkrampte kind, especially in the "Current Affairs" programme which has become a notorious point of controversy because of its poisonous attacks on everything liberal both in South Africa and overseas, and especially its broadsides against the English press. Dr. Meyer has gone outside his strictly professional sphere in helping to promote the anti-communist and anti-liberal volkskongresse organised by Antikom, the Dutch Reformed Church organisation headed by the Prime Minister's brother Dr. J. D. Vorster. Addressing the symposium on Communism held in Port Elizabeth in October 1968, Dr. Meyer said the fight in South Africa was fundamentally a fight against Communism, against spiritually neurotic and backboneless persons, against phraseologists, pleasure-lovers and appeasers who prepared the climate and humus for Communist world domination. It was especially, too, a fight against the liberalisation, proletarianisation and provocatisation of man.

The fight to defend our spiritual, intellectual, emotional, volitional, family and national (volkslewe) life against the Communist agitator and the terrorist must be increased in every sphere, he said.

"Our fight against Communism is especially also a fight to see that the mass media are used as a positive force for the strengthening and expansion of Christianity and not Communism".

As the biggest and in many ways most influential of the mass media, the S. A. B. C. has become a stronghold of verkramptes. It has given no obvious support to Vorster and his verligte cohorts. On the contrary, in many of his public speeches, Dr. Meyer has delivered stinging attacks on so-called liberal elements in the Afrikaans press. "Dagbreek", "Die Burger", "Die Vaderland", "Die Volksblad", "Die Beeld" and "Die Oosterlig", amongst others, have in the last couple of years been compelled to defend themselves and to call on Dr. Meyer to desist from his splitting tactics of turning Afrikaner against Afrikaner.

Sooner or later Mr. Vorster will have to deal with Meyer, and purge the SABC of the "hostile elements" which at present dominate it.

As head of the S. A. B. C. Dr. Meyer has been one of the strongest oppo-

nents of television for South Africa. He told students at a congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond in July 1969 that he hoped South Africa would never get the kind of television system that Europe and America had, which highlighted and exaggerated protests by students, magnified shortcomings and projected them into people's homes, and was permeated by the "liberalistic spirit". Yet he has now been appointed head of a Commission to consider T. V. for South Africa! Dr. Meyer is at his most verkramp in the sphere of race relations. On white unity, he said in March 1969 that while he stood for political co-operation amongst the Whites, there was no question of English-Afrikaans unity in the cultural sphere, "for in this sphere the Afrikaans and the Eng-

lish ideas stand diametrically opposed". The Afrikaner was a principled Calvinist while the Englishman was a pragmatic humanist.

At the A. S. B. conference in July, he said on this point that it was "traitorous" towards South Africa for Afrikaners to allow themselves to become diluted in a broad South Africanism. He was given a standing ovation by the delegates at the congress who described him as "an intellectual colossus" and thanked him for his services to Afrikanerdom and the S. A. B. C.

As for the blacks, Dr. Meyer told a meeting of Rapportryers in Pretoria in November 1968 that the problem of co-existence was not the fault of the Afrikaner, but "the Bantu's reluctance to meet effectively his

duty in all spheres of life to his own community growth in co-operation with the Afrikaner".

In fact, said Dr. Meyer, it was time we got rid of words like "white" and "black" and "race", which only caused trouble. The names Coloured, Indian and Bantu should be used for those groups, and a distinctive name for the Whites would have to be invented.

The task of building and maintaining sound "inter-ethnic relations" in South Africa would have to be entrusted to ethnologists and a new breed of racists described by Dr. Meyer as "Bantuologists".

Perhaps he was referring to the Special Branch, or to BOSS. Can anybody tell us what a Bantuologist is?

SWAPO IN CONFERENCE

On the 20th December, 1969, SWAPO activists and militants converged on Tanga, Tanzania.

When the Regional Commissioner of Tanga, Hon. Waziri Juma opened the Consultative Congress of SWAPO the conference hall was suddenly filled with one big chorus of "Yes!" as one of the SWAPO leaders bellowed: "Are you prepared to drive the boers from Namibia by force?"

Among the many friends and supporters of SWAPO who were present, was the ANC (S. A.) delegation led by the veteran South African freedom-fighter, comrade Motsabi, who said: "We are living in a stormy period, when important historical changes are taking place throughout the world. The forces of imperialism, defending the last bastions of redction, are ever more aggressive and brutal.

In conveying our greetings to this Conference we feel obliged to focus attention on the problems which are peculiar to that front of the broad anti-imperialist struggle which is today ablaze - Southern Africa.

The white minority and fascist regimes in Southern Africa have maintained through military force and police terrorism systems which are contrary to the aspirations of the vast masses of our people.

These systems, whether they operate in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique or Angola have common basic objectives; **one**, to exploit the peoples of Southern Africa and their resources; **two**, to stem the spread of the

African revolution; **three**, to subvert it where it has already been successful. The logical consequence of this is, impudent agressiveness and the marshalling of the vile tactics of imperialism.

South Africa and her imperialist allies are vitally interested in strengthening the reactionary iron-belt which stretches from Namibia in the West, Angola in the North-West, Zimbabwe in the North and Mozambique in the East.

These are our problems, very briefly defined.

What is our goal and what should be our task?

***ONE**, to intensify the guerrilla war throughout Southern Africa. This will have the effect of dispersing the forces of white supremacy throughout the region, both in territorial terms and in numbers of engagements.

***TWO**, to establish closer unity of action and confront the alliance of the forces of reaction with revolutionary alliance of the liberation movements.

This is our message; let us consolidate, let us develop the links that already exist among our fraternal organisations: ANC, ZAPU, MPLA, FRELIMO and SWAPO. Let us work towards a genuine common unity against the common enemy.

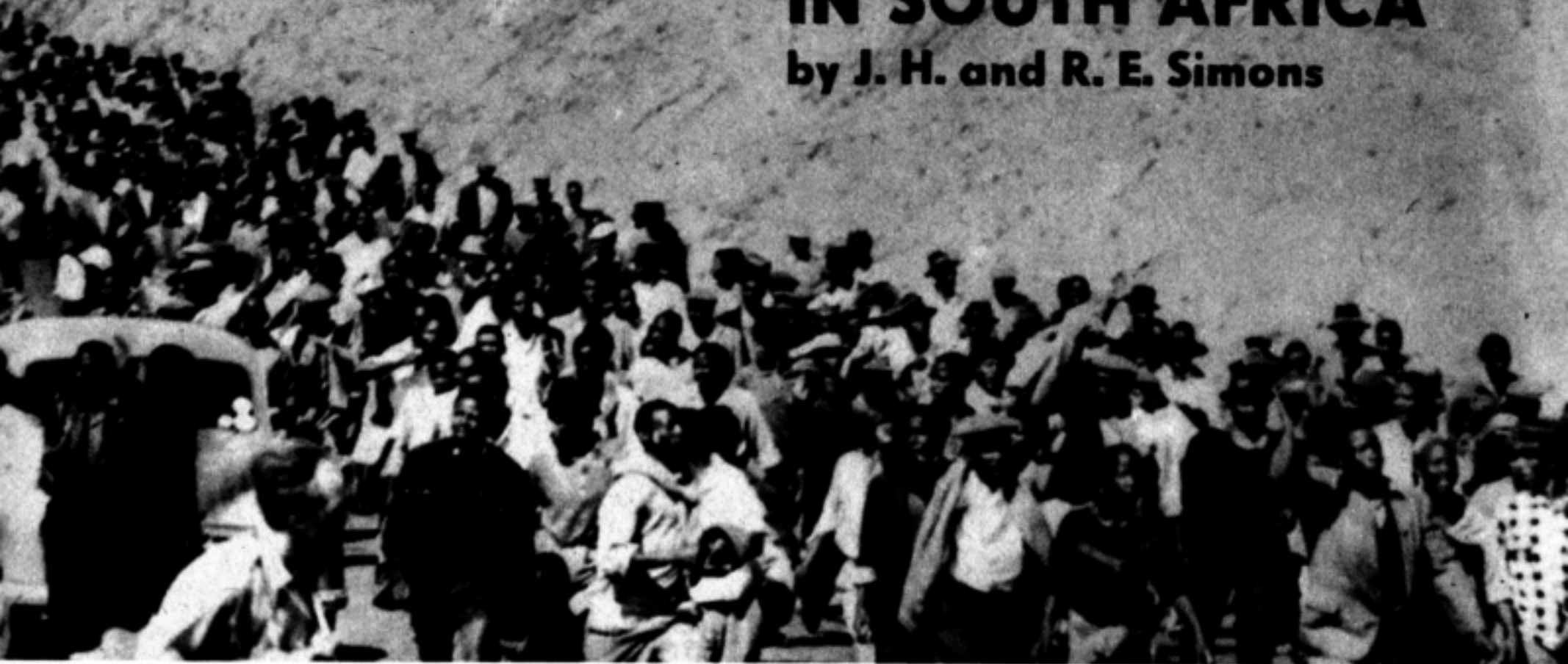
LONG LIVE THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION."

The applause with which this message was received was extremely inspiring.

Book Review

CLASS AND COLOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA

by J. H. and R. E. Simons



This is the third of our reviews of this book.
Readers contributions to this discussion are now invited.

CLASS AND COLOUR: THE DYNAMIC FORCES IN S. A.'S HISTORY

Two cleavages run through South African society and history like the gashes of a wound. One is the contradiction between capital and labour, generating class conflicts of the sort that are familiar in industrial capitalist societies. These conflicts take many forms, of which the strike is one of the most intense, dramatic and profound. A wealth of material, much of it new, has been assembled by Jack and Ray Simons to show how much and how significant class conflict has been in South African history. Many a bloody strike appears in these pages, with a violence combining the worst excesses of a frontier, pioneer community and the traumas of rapid industrialisation under the impact of British imperialism at its most vigorous.

The other cleavage is of course that of race. Colour does not itself generate any contradiction, except in the minds of racists like those who built and operate the apartheid state. But racial conflict is, through an accident of history, the form in which the colonial contradiction has expressed itself in South Africa since the advent of European conquest in the seventeenth century. The colonists were white, their colonial subjects black and brown, and the political, economic and social relations of the two have developed within that basic mould through three centuries of social change. Established by conquest and maintained by force, white supremacy and its corollary – the national oppression of the African people – has been a consistent and fundamental characteristic of South African society.

All this is obvious, and elementary – except perhaps to those blinkered liberals who can see only racial conflicts and deny the existence of class struggle in South Africa, or those bookish leftists who maintain in the face of all the evidence the "Marxist" dogma that the struggle of

South Africa is "basically" or "essentially" a class struggle which happens (irrelevantly) to be cast in racial guise.

COLONIAL CONTRADICTION IS PRIMARY

The interesting and important question is, what is the relationship between these two profound divisions in the country? They do not coincide – and they are qualitatively different. It is facile to say that they are interlinked and they interact. What we can say now, in clear historical perspective, on the basis of the Simonses research, is that the colonial contradiction is the primary contradiction, and that between capital and labour is secondary. With the benefit of hindsight we can see that this was the inevitable result of industrialisation taking place after the creation and in the context of a colonial society. But its inevitability was far from obvious to the many and varied activities who had to grapple with problems of organisation, policy and theory as they arose, and much of the Simonses book is concerned with the evolution of the thinking of the forces of progress on both fronts. In particular, they pay great attention to the only political grouping which was deeply involved over a long period in both fronts, the Communist Party, and to the complex and often contradictory positions it found itself in as a result of its involvement.

It is impossible in a short review to do more than illustrate the issues. We shall use the 1922 and 1946 miners' strikes to do so.

The March 1922 strike of white miners, and Rand revolt, was the biggest, most bitter and critical class conflict to have hit South Africa. The Simonses record that: "It cost between 230 and 250 lives, compared with the 113 South Africans killed in the German South West campaign and the 190 Africans killed at Bulhoek. The strike defence committee found that at least 214 were killed in the five days' fighting, of whom 78 were strikers, 76 members of the government forces, and 62 'ordinary' residents. Some 30 Africans were killed by strikers or hooligans. Of 4,758 persons arrested, 953 appeared before the courts, 46 on

charges of murder; of these last, 18 were sentenced to death and 4 were hanged. Sixty-seven were convicted of treason or sedition and fined or sentenced to imprisonment for periods ranging from 10 years to 14 days." (p. 296)

DISASTROUS SEQUEL TO 1922 STRIKE

But for all its drama and bloodshed, this was a reactionary strike – a strike in defence of the colour bar. Although the strike was ruthlessly crushed, and failed in its immediate objective, the Smuts government was so discredited by its handling of it that the path was opened to an alliance between white labour and Afrikaner nationalism. These two disparate forces, the one urban, industrial and British-oriented, the other rural, land-owning and-parochial, had little in common but hostility to Smuts (who represented the Chamber of Mines to the former and British imperialism to the latter), and determination to entrench white supremacy. It was enough of a platform to win the 1924 election. The result, which had been predicted by some non-white leaders, was disastrous for the oppressed masses. Major pieces of viciously discriminatory legislation were passed which laid the basis not only for later and current policies in South Africa, but also provided a model for white colonists in adjacent countries. Thus, for example, the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1924, the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926 (the 'Colour Bar' Act) and the 1927 Native Administration Act. Hertzog's systematic development of segregatory policies set off to a flying start, and the apartheid state grew visibly.

All these results could not reasonably have been foreseen. But in the light of these events, what was the Communist Party up to when they actively supported the strike? Why did Bunting defend the colour bar regulations and try to explain away the now notorious slogan "Workers of the World Fight and Unite for a White South Africa"? No rush to judgment would be wise, though, for this was the same S. P. Bunting who was regarded by many in the white labour movement as the 'Nigger-crank', the man who in defiance of authority and convention and at great personal sacrifice devoted the latter half of his life to pioneering the organization and political education of Africans in and through the Communist Party.

CONTRARY ATTITUDES TO THE WHITE WORKERS

Three of the four executed strike leaders went to the gallows singing the 'Red Flag' With fine irony, the Simonses observe that:

"While Labour mourned its martyred dead, Clements Kadalie and the ICU expressed their confidence in the government 'for bringing to the scaffold resolutely in accordance with our March resolutions those responsible for the outrageous and cynical murder of our people.'" (p. 297)

Whatever their failings in other directions, the Communists would not have been found praising the Smuts government for executing militant strike leaders. And when Kadalie swung to the right himself a few years later, they were the first to fall under his axe.

The Simonses judgement seems fair: "In backing him, i. e. the white worker, the communists put themselves in the position of being identified with white supremacy in spite of their persistent and vehement rejection of racial discrimination. The Party's role in the revolt gave African and Coloured leaders reason to regard communists as the left wing of an exclusively white labour movement." (p. 299)

For purposes of our analysis, it is necessary to stress how, even at that relatively early stage in the evolution of modern South Africa, a genuine multi-racial working class solidarity could not be developed, and to the extent that the communists pinned their hopes on that romantic ideal, they failed to understand the primacy of the colonial contradictions and of the struggle for national liberation of the African and non-White majority. A militant industrial strike was "distorted" by that inescapable historical reality, and the secondary, but acutely antagonistic character of the class struggle stands out clearly from the 1922 strike.

THE 1946 AFRICAN MINERS' STRIKE COMPARED

In 1946, it was the African miners who struck, nearly 100,000 of them, in the biggest ever strike in South Africa, and one which brought 12 mines to a standstill and partially closed down 9 others – unlike the 1922 strike where production continued at reduced levels. Again, communists were at the centre of things. Through the healthy if painful corrective of the 1928 Black Republic slogan they had come to recognise that the struggle for racial equality was the immediate challenge before them; nevertheless they maintained their efforts in the trade union field, most notably in building the African Mine Workers Union under conditions of great harassment. They were assisted by activists in the Transvaal African Congress.

The strike itself was a heroic achievement. Its success in stopping production, and its far more profound political implications compared with the 1922 revolt brought a much quicker, more 'efficient' response from the Government, again under the control of Smuts. Armed police clubbed and hounded the strikers back to work. Several died, hundreds were injured. The Union was struck a mortal blow from which it never recovered, and the police persecution of communists and trade unionists which became such a feature of Nationalist rule was stepped up sharply by the supposedly more benign Smuts regime.

CLASS STRUGGLE BOOSTED THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The 1946 mine strike had a decisive impact on the development of the national liberation struggle. It killed the plausibility of bogus advisory bodies, and by so destroying whatever constitutional illusions remained, it compelled the African, Indian and Coloured leadership to embrace mass forms of struggle, and to evolve strategies and tactics to meet the new, more challenging phase of the struggle. While white South Africa moved to the right under the Nationalist Party and the banner of apartheid, non-white South Africa moved to the left under the new dynamic leadership of the ANC in alliance with the S. A. Indian Congress and the Communist Party. The flowering of the Congress Alliance in the late fifties, the transition to sabotage and later armed struggle, is known to most readers of SECHABA and need not be repeated. (It does not, in any event, form part of the Simonses book). But what does need to be brought out clearly is the way in which the 1946 strike, an industrial class conflict, had its most important repercussions not on the class struggle as such, but on the national liberation movement, raising its consciousness and lifting it to a higher level of struggle. The Simonses have produced a stimulating and valuable work. As chroniclers they have launched things off. Now is the time for the theorists and strategists to carry the light forward into the future.

BOOK REVIEW

A WHITE OLIGARCHY

The rise of the South African Reich,
by Brian Bunting
Penguin Africa Library 15/-.

Coincident with the end of the Second World War, as the tide of decolonisation began to swell, Afrikaner nationalism emerged in all its nakedness at the southern tip of Africa, and thus rendered any hope of peaceful change towards egalitarianism impossible.

Today, white South Africa's infrastructure is one of the most sophisticated in the world, but her standards of public morality, of law, of race relations, have become synonymous with bigotry, intolerance and oppression. A white oligarchy utilises fascist techniques of domination inside her borders, develops her own colonial expansionist ambitions in adjacent states, and holds the rest of the world to ransom because of short-term self-interest on the part of her chief metropolitan trading partners.

Democrats of various shades of political persuasion have been constrained to adopt extra-parliamentary forms of resistance, and the freedom fighters of the African National Congress and her allies have become the vanguard of an oppressed people who are determined to recover long-lost liberties which are prerequisites for living on terms of equality both at home and abroad.

It is a struggle that dates from the white man's first arrival at the Cape, when Nama and Khoi fought against guns and treachery with bow, spear and arrow. Their defeat, and the subsequent absorption of Bantu-speaking peoples - Zulu, Xhosa, Venda, Tswana, etc. - into the white man's order marks, on the one hand, the laying-down of the foundations of a racially-stratified, segregated and caste-like society, while Boer and Briton co-existed, on the other hand, in a atmosphere of mutual suspicion of each other's political aspirations, except when they combined to "keep the kaffir in his place."

BOER VICTORY

A second phase dates from the last half of the nineteenth century. Independent white republics were created north of the Orange river, while the imperial power bestowed responsible government on the "English" provinces of the Cape and Natal, with the result that both groups effectively acquired the powers of a colonial authority. Aided by British troops, they extended their rule over the indigenous inhabitants over most of the region south of the Zambesi. With the discovery of the mineral riches of the interior and the subsequent rapid transformation of the sub-continent from an agrarian and feudal into an industrial, mining and capitalist society, conflicts between Boer and Britain increased both in rate and intensity, until these culminated in open war at the turn of the present century. The defeat of the republics paved the way for unification, and a constitutionally united white South Africa achieved dominion status. Withdrawal of British suzerainty

elimiated the last vestiges of external political control and the military defeat of the Boers became, paradoxically, the anvil on which they forged political victory.

The third phase - from the promulgation of Union to the present day - is more complex, but two characteristics stand out: firstly, the attempts by the Boers - increasingly adopting the name Afrikaner - to achieve economic domination over the other groups within the common society; secondly, the changing pattern of the white oligarchy's attempts to keep the disfranchised black masses in subjugation. Wars of independence had been succeeded by a struggle within the industrial society for parliamentary democracy, for national liberation, and for socialism, in which national movements of the African, Indian and coloured peoples became inextricably fused with the class struggle of socialists and communists.

THE OPPRESSORS

It is a struggle that has recently been dramatically charted in the Simons' history. But while they were more concerned with the liberators, the present book charts a detailed map of the oppressors. When it first appeared in 1964 it filled a much-needed demand; now, five years later, substantially revised and brought up-to-date, it is, if anything, a greater *tour de force* than the original. That it is compellingly written by a dedicated radical activist who is also an internationally - celebrated journalist and political theoretician, a former parliamentarian who knows many of his adversaries personally, makes this a skilled and authoritative study which should be compulsory reading. One of the great merits of the book is that it shows how white South Africa did not accidentally drift towards totalitarianism, but embraced it by deliberate choice. It shows not only how there were close affinities of thought and action between German Nazi leaders and their South African counterparts, but also how the latter have refined and placed their own unique stamp on the original of their choice; of how they are increasingly developing and consolidating their own colonial personality on adjacent states, and the extent to which they are doing this with the open and active support of their major western allies.

IRON AND BLOOD

The extensively and intensively re-written chapter, *Iron and Blood*, is not only a horrifying portrayal of the use of fascist doctrine in operation, but also proof sufficient that under nationalist rule no possibility for compromise

exists. The alternative to apartheid, separate development, separate freedom, is integration. To the nationalist, integration is death. This is particularly pertinent to the present much-made-of conflict between the so-called *verligtes* (enlightened) and *verkrampte* (fundamentalist) split within the nationalist party ranks. There have in the past been divisions within the ranks, but these have been over how best to manipulate the techniques of domination. The present split may be more or less deep than previous ones, but it is still a family fight. Within the monolith of nationalism, where decisions are made by the Broederbond, the trappings of democracy must not be construed as either being democratic or capable of leading to democracy. The nationalist laager is still intact; but its equipment is undergoing a process of modernisation, especially for international purposes, and for this reason that rump which appears to be obsolete is being discarded. **Fascism is not desirous of or capable to confer democracy.** On the contrary the author shows pertinently how the cult of difference leads inevitably to the cult of violence.

Additionally, he shows that the nationalists are powerful, not merely and not only because of external support, but simply because they possess a well-equipped army and police force, but by virtue of a firm political foundation. They are not a cluster of old-style colonialists or settlers who can be ejected when the metropolitan country withdraws support and protection. Afrikanerdom is sophisticated; it enjoys the support of a substantial section of the white population, and it maintains itself in power because of its own independent strength. But it is also flexible. It has learnt from its mistakes, and particularly in the past few years has been capable of retaining an international personality while at the same time intensifying its oppression.

LIBERATION PRESSURE

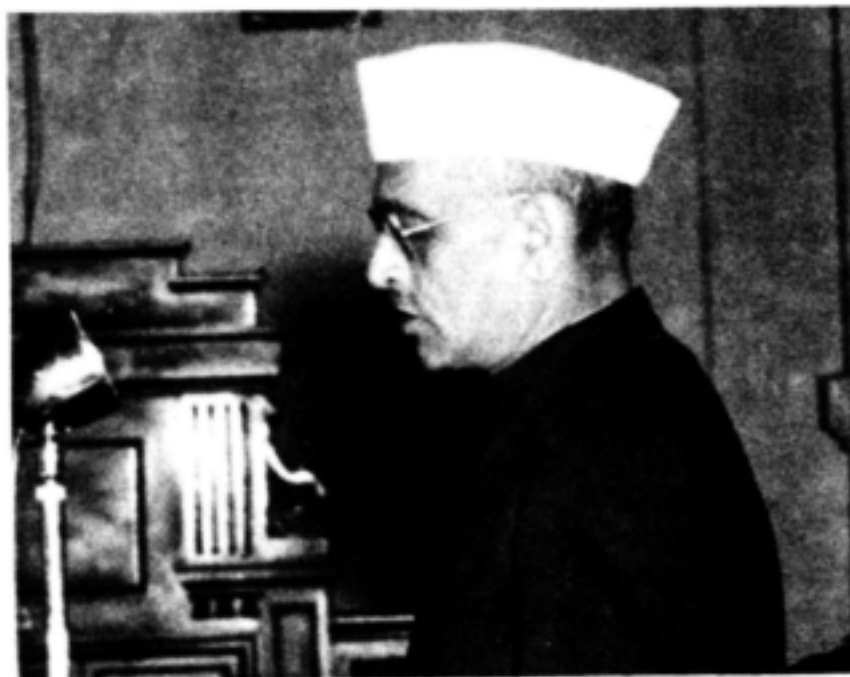
It is, however, important to realise that these measures have been defensive. And the ferocity as well as the extent of these counter-measures reveal the record of achievement, dedication and skill of the liberation forces, which have reduced the State to the level of rule by arbitrary decree, by imprisonment without trial, and by violence. And this pressure is growing.

Dynamism exists in both camps; of the oppressor and oppressed. But while it is self-defensive, self-destructive, in the former, it is radical, liberative in the latter. The nationalist monolith is only apparently invulnerable. Recent expansionist and aggressive postures towards the rest of Africa will not only add to this invulnerability, but will also hasten the day of retribution. The same logic of racism that made Nazi Germany search for *lebensraum* outside its borders, motivates white South Africa today. It took a world war and the loss of thirty million lives to dispose of Hitler and his cohorts – because those who had the power refused to intervene. There are those who in the South African context can not only not plead ignorance, but are capable of intervening. Otherwise the stage is set for a conflict of world-wide proportions and implications. Reading this book makes the situation abundantly clear. There is a powerful and non-negotiable will towards liberation on the part of the oppressed. Not only the enemy but also those who offer him aid and support will have to take this into reckoning.

This reviewer looks forward to the next, revised edition which will include the record of that reckoning.

Kenneth Parker

A LIFELONG FREEDOM FIGHTER PASSES AWAY NANA SITA



Nana Sita, a former President of the Transvaal Indian Congress, passed away recently after a long illness. Nanbhai, as he was affectionately known to his close comrades, first went to prison in 1946 during the campaign of Passive Resistance organised by the Indian Congress against the ghetto laws, restricting Indian people to small, overcrowded areas. This first act of defiance by Nana Sita was followed by others. In a heroic life, full of sacrifice and devotion to the struggle, Nana Sita went to prison seven times.

Towards the end of his life, Nana Sita's fame spread throughout South Africa for his firm resistance to all Government efforts to oust him from his home which he had occupied for 40 years. The Group Areas Act was applied to the area where he lived, but with a stubbornness born of deep conviction, Nana Sita carried out a personal campaign of resistance which encouraged communities elsewhere to follow his example.

Already ill with chronic arthritis, Nana Sita defied several court orders to vacate his premises and move to a ghetto. He refused to comply and was sent to prison, first for three months, then six months, and on two further occasions. In 1962 he said in court: "Sir, my age is 64. I am suffering with chronic ailments of gout and arthritis but I do not plead in mitigation. On the contrary I plead for a severe or the highest penalty that you are allowed under the Act to impose on me." He got three months.

A brave and noble man has passed away. He did not live to see the free South Africa without those race barriers which he detested so much. But the struggle is in full spate and in paying our tribute to a fallen freedom fighter, the African National Congress works for the day when we can remember publicly in South Africa the man who was our comrade and friend.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Spotlight
on a Police State

LIBERALISTIC DICTATORSHIPS

"One of the most difficult problems of our times is man's striving after so-called freedom from all bonds that tie him. This liberalistic spirit has taken possession of many people in many countries and has shown signs here."

MR. VAN NIEKERK, TRANSVAAL ADMINISTRATOR

"A liberalistic dictatorship which was as inhuman as the communistic dictatorships, has emerged in the world, and its demand was that South Africa may no longer send sports teams overseas consisting of whites only."

MR. VILJOEN, MINISTER OF LABOUR.

"Can we believe in ourselves if we still allow ourselves to be influenced by the rapidly changing way of life of countries such as the United States, Britain and France?"

MR. HANS ABRAHAM, COMMISSIONER-GENERAL OF THE XHOSA.

HELEN JOSEPH

Mrs. Helen Joseph who has been under house arrest since 1962 has a new next door neighbour - Lieut. J. J.

Meissenheimer, a Johannesburg police officer. Immediately after moving in to his new home. Lt. Meissenheimer built a treetop house in a tree overlooking Mrs. Joseph's garden and home. Mrs. Joseph has had an 8ft. high, 5-yard concrete wall built between her home and the police officer's.

HUNGRY AND HOMELESS

The citizens Action Committee - a committee of clergymen, laymen and lawyers called on the Government to: "cease hounding people to the hungry and homeless homelands."

In a statement on recent press reports about conditions in Morsgat and in the Batlharos Reserve, the Committee pointed out that people are dying "in today's prosperous South Africa."

"There is poverty, malnutrition, starvation to the point of death. Men were driven to migrant labour, and women, children and the aged were deserted. Food, work and medical facilities were totally inadequate."

The Committee also pointed out that the Government was using smear tactics against those who exposed its evil policies.

HOUSING MISERIES

"Without Coloureds on the City Council, there could be no meaningful representation of Durban's Coloured Community," Mr. Morris told representatives of Government departments and the Chamber of Commerce at a meeting discussing the acute lack of housing for the Coloured community.

The Group Areas Act has forced large numbers of Coloureds out of East Griqualand, Zululand and the Transkei to settle in areas (set aside for Coloureds) in Durban. This has aggravated the housing shortage to such an extent that people live in garages and have inadequate washing facilities. In one case reporters found eleven Coloured families totalling 52 people, crammed into a 12-roomed shack at Greenwood Park, Durban.

MISSING

At their little home near Moroka, Mrs. Esther Mpande and her two children wait anxiously for news from her husband who was "deported".

Mr. Mpande was whisked away to the border after it was discovered he was born in Malawi. He has lived in South Africa for 37 years, and is in possession of a South African reference (pass) book and employment card and a permit entitling him to live in Soweto. He has no family, no home and no job to go to in Malawi.

Nobody, not even the Bantu Administration Department knows where he is.

REPRESSION IS POPULAR

"The Bantu people like being moved. It appeals to them and we have a long waiting list for future schemes. The demand for resettlement is increasing." MR. M. C. BOTHA, MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT in a radio interview discussing the removal of thousands of African from their homes to areas like Limehill, Morsgat and Stinkwater.

Photo: Ernst Cole -
House of Bondage

