

SECHABA

**official organ
african national congress
south africa**



**A GUERRILLA SPEAKS
WORKER - FIGHTER**

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Fighting Talk

THE TECHNOLOGY OF VIOLENCE

Bogside, that short explosive-sounding name, is destined to be remembered for a long time. The rebels of Bogside, living up to the proud history of Irish militancy have risen in defence of their dignity with such uncompromising ferocity that they have shaken the urbane calm of British Government equanimity. They have also brought about a significant examination of violence as an instrument of political action. In a world where violence is an ever increasing feature of social protest, Bogside has shown that those who turn to violence cannot be dismissed as "irresponsible" students, or Black "extremists". Violence is gaining recognition as a genuine social phenomenon - as the ultimate weapon of those who have no other means at hand. Even die-hard imperialists are being forced to admit that there are deep social roots in a violence-ridden situation. Since the African National Congress is involved in armed struggle and committed to the violent overthrow of Vorster's racist regime, this growing awareness of the legitimacy of violent struggle is of great importance.

The question of violence was recently raised in theoretical form by none other than Enoch Powell, racist propagandist and Conservative Member of Parliament in Britain. In a deliberately-worded speech, Powell dealt analytically with the resort to violence by the Irish people linking it with events in the universities and cities of America and the student revolt in Paris. Mr. Powell argued that in all these cases, violence was artificially injected into an essentially normal situation to inflame popular feeling and provoke police reaction so as to bring about public condemnation not of the protestors but of the forces of 'law and order'.

The London Times, in a surprising piece of clear-sightedness, took Mr. Powell to task. "The efficacy of the technique (of violence) lies in its power to exploit a situation of potential strife, not in any power to conjure one up. It is for that reason that a simple 'law and order' response to the new phenomenon is insufficient." And, the Times concedes, "It will be equally surprising if they (the Scarman Tribunal) do not find that the violence took effect in the way Mr. Powell describes because of the presence of real grie-

vances, deep-seated animosities, and vivid fear." Whether the Times would have been equally understanding in the case of a Black revolt is doubtful but one must be grateful for the correction in this instance.

How is it that Bogside, that previously unknown suburb of Londonderry, in Northern Ireland, brought the spokesmen of British Imperialism's Establishment to examine so frankly the place of violence as a form of protest? The answer lies in the extraordinary effectiveness of the techniques used by the Bogside, in repelling wave after wave of police assault in conditions amounting to civil insurrection.

Neither the 1000 strong gas-throwing, baton-wielding Royal Ulster Constabulary, nor the armed B-Special police reserve were able to penetrate the barricaded one square mile defended by the Bogside.

The fighting men of Bogside developed superb tactics to cope with the police. Apart from the barricades defended by rocks from street level and rooftops, they used to great advantage the tops of large blocks of flats from which they rained down a ceaseless barrage of petrol bombs made in milk bottles with a mixture of two parts petrol to one part of oil (to make the petrol stick) and a sprinkling of washing powder (to produce a chemical explosive effect). They attacked police units, cars, lorries, and even armoured vehicles, to such effect that the Observer (London) correspondent noted (17th August 1969) "it was, in short a model for successful insurrection that will be noted in Frankfurt, Paris, Berkeley, and other centres where these matters are studied."

The Observer might well also have mentioned Johannesburg, for the technology of violence has long been a subject of intense analysis there. We too have had our own variations of Bogside, although the circumstances were very different. There were the occasions when the police were unable to enter Sophiatown in Johannesburg for the very fear of their lives at the hands of the young militants who moved in the shadows after nightfall to defend their territory against police raids, ready to hit back at the men in uniform who ruled by violence in the day. There was also Alexandra Township, where when feeling was running high, youths littered the roads with burning tyres and police did not dare to enter even in their high-speed police vans for fear of a revolver shot that would bring their passage to a sudden halt.

The Government replied with the crackle of military-type hardware announcing that the regime had resolved to shoot without hesitation, regardless of massive loss of life, and the activities of the police have come to resemble more closely the aspect of military occupation than civil control. But we are not standing still and the proof thereof lies in our hard core guerrilla forces which have begun their slow but sure exploitation of that most valuable of all sciences, the Technology of Violence, in its most advanced form.

And when all is over, and our people are free, it will be said of us, as the Observer says of the Bogside, "It was done by a people who believed themselves pressed too far, and despite their violence they are not wholly unreasonable."

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A Complex Interacting Struggle Pattern is Developing in Southern Africa. On the one Hand our Guerrilla Actions have brought about a Dramatic Change in White South Africa's Defence Preparations. On the other, the Frequent Outbursts of Protest by the People has forced the Government into Wild Indiscriminate Retaliation. In its Totality Official Responses bear the Character of a War Neurosis. In the following articles we show the Cause and Effect of this Condition.

A GUERRILLA SPEAKS

South African propaganda over a number of years has been directed towards showing all and sundry that the white minority government is all powerful and that its military and police strength is such that it could destroy any political or military opposition.

While continuing to boast its strength, press and radio propaganda, statements by leading military, police and government spokesmen, have dramatically changed since the first confrontation between the A.N.C. – Z.A.P.U. guerrillas and Smith-Vorster forces in Rhodesia. Little has been admitted by the enemy about the actual fighting that has taken place, and is continuing in Zimbabwe. We are now in a position to give our readers some details of one of the early encounters with the enemy. The details have been made available to Sechaba by a militant of Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) who participated in what has become known as the Eastern Front. We reprint this statement as it was made to us omitting some details for reasons of security. In our next issue we shall publish a statement by a guerrilla who participated in the Wankie battles.

ON THE EASTERN FRONT

by Umkonto Guerrilla, J. M.

I was in the first platoon of guerrillas who set up a base in Rhodesia. In the setting up of our base we were assisted by our Commander-in-Chief and officials of ZAPU who had reconnoitred the area ahead of us over a period of some days.

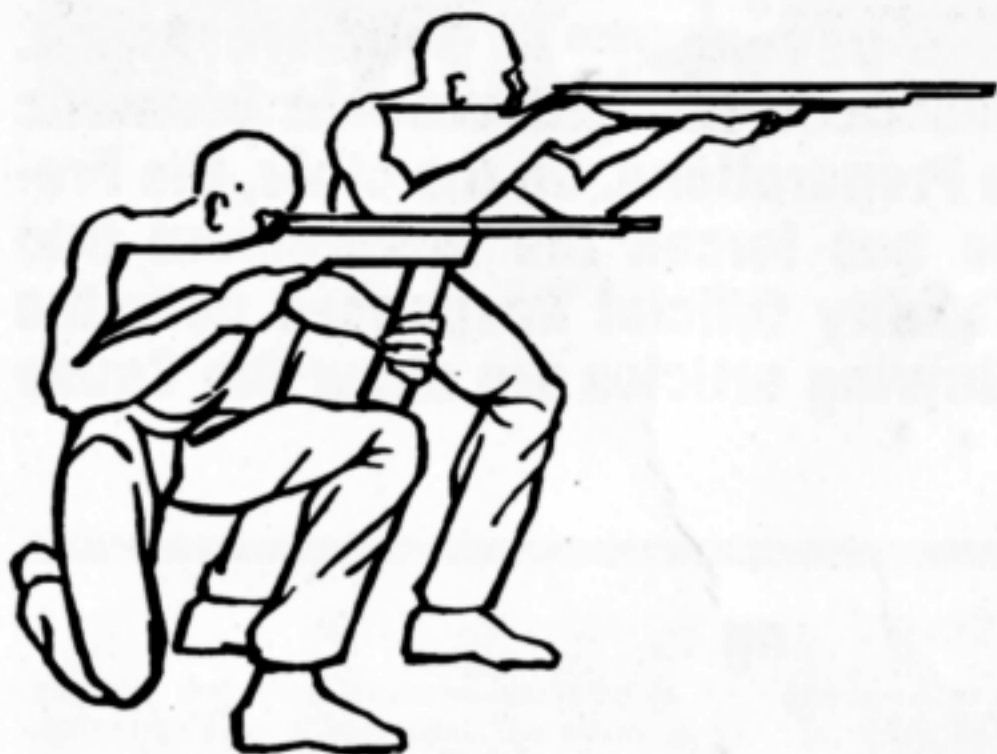
We were later joined by more platoons. The whole detachment was re-organised into four platoons for the purpose of reconnaissance and to establish further bases. Within a few days three more bases were set up and at each base our engineering units prepared hideouts and storage places for our equipment and provisions.

At this stage we had very good communications between our bases and Headquarters. Our radio equipment was good and our operators were well trained.

Meat was in abundance. We shot a lot of wild game which we cut and dried. We had a long wait at our main

base as local organisers who were to have met us had not as yet contacted us. During this period our reconnaissance groups continued with their task of finding new spots to set up further bases.

Bases five, six and seven were established. They were all manned by small units and the material was also transported to these bases, particularly base five which was at the foot of the 'X' Mountain, which was high with yellow and reddish cliffs on its eastern and southern side and had a flat top. This mountain became a good landmark. Coming back from base six and seven, to base five became easier. All along these bases the terrain was bushy and hilly. Up to the end of the second month the enemy was not seen anywhere until we saw a road being constructed from Town A to Town B which we later discovered from the local people was to be used by the



army. This road was about a few miles from River C. A few days later we learnt that this road was already used for patrolling and that two land-rovers with army men were patrolling at two hour intervals.

EXPOSED TO THE ENEMY

Because of our movements to and from the base, crossing some dirt roads used by game scouts and hunters, one of our comrade's shoe-marks were left on the ground near the road-side and this, I think, was discovered by the enemy. Soon we found that the enemy was mobilising its forces around the suspected area. As this was happening, the HQ platoon had already gone further across the enemy's defence belt to our final base from where we had planned to make our assault. But unfortunately they were spotted by the enemy from the air.

The enemy, in the meantime, was mobilising some 24 miles ahead of us or more correctly between the main detachment and HQ platoon (i. e. Reconnaissance, security and engineering groups). We decided to cross over the prepared lines of defence to join or wait for the messengers from the HQ platoon to lead us to their new base, without knowing that they were already fighting and some of them like comrade P. M. had been killed and some captured.

Our radio equipment had broken down and we in the main detachment knew nothing about what was happening except that paratroopers were dropped about 24 miles away from us. All the same we crossed the enemy's defence lines up to base six where we found a few of our comrades waiting and we immediately organised all our defences. This was about six in the morning. At about 1.00 p.m. our scouts reported the approach of enemy troops to the commander.

FIRST ENCOUNTER

The Commander detailed a platoon for watch duties and at about 11 a.m. enemy planes were sighted hovering over the bushes where we were camping. On the same day one of our comrades opened up with light machine gun fire on a small enemy unit and wiped out all except two who managed to cross back a little stream and escaped over the banks into the forest. The enemy tried a second assault and fell into a neat ambush laid for just such an assault. They were dealt a severe blow losing 12 men.

We had one disadvantage. We could not capture their belongings because the enemy was killed on open ground and leaving our camouflaged positions presented great danger from the helicopters which were hovering over us. We could not wait for darkness to capture the arms dropped by the enemy as the area around us was bombed by planes soon after we had routed them.

After half a day's battle the roll-call was called, and we were overjoyed to learn there were no casualties on our side. Our commander decided to divide the detachment into small units of about 18-24 men each and each of the units was given a definite assignment. A meeting place which was a high point near 'I' was arranged and at about 6.30 p.m. we parted. Our unit was to take first a western direction and later a southerly direction to our proposed assembly point. But during the march at night, because of poor topography maps we passed our first point by moving too much to the west and we only discovered this in the morning. We tried to re-orientate ourselves, but it was very difficult.

14 DAY MARCH

At last we found ourselves near Village 'E'. This was after 12-14 days walk and at this time our food was almost finished. Our commander detailed five comrades to go to the village for food, and two others to try and buy anything edible from the village shops. These two were in civilian clothes and armed with pistols and as they were approaching the shops they were intercepted by Rhodesian policemen who demanded to see their passes. They tried to lie their way out of their predicament. They failed and one of them drew his pistol. Before he could shoot, the police ran away leaving their bicycles behind, and the two comrades ran back to try and alert those who were in the fields, but it was too late. The enemy was alerted and they drove them in the opposite direction. They fought a lone battle and one died in action while the other escaped and joined us. In the meantime the four who went to the village returned to the camp late that evening with mealies (corn). We roasted the mealies at the camp that night.

After our meal the Commander decided that the death of Comrade H, who was killed that day, must be avenged.





Early in the morning we were sent to go and see the enemy's positions and other military installations around the area. At 12.30 midday we managed to reach the point and observed it from a high point. The view was good and we sent four of our comrades back to report that the enemy is not so vigilant. They brought back the unit and found us at 6.30 p.m. and the Commander went for on-the-spot reconnaissance. At about 6.45 p.m. the enemy was preparing for their supper. We left a few comrades with our heavy kits and crawled to the enemy.

WE CLASH AGAIN

We took them by surprise at about 7.15 p.m. and we dealt with them before they reorganised themselves and some took to their heels while their truck, which was carrying their food was burning. Within a short while their airforce was lighting up the whole area, and we were forced to retreat without counting their dead nor capturing anything.

That night we started again to try and reach our destination. During the night we came into mealie-fields and took as much as we could.

We proceeded and halted during the morning, and to our surprise the enemy was following us and at about 8.00 a.m. the fight was on again. We lost four comrades – and the enemy left 12 dead and took their wounded covered by their air force.

Air bombardment was on again until 5.40 but this time we were no more at the spot where the battle had raged. We were now resting and packing our bags some 800 yards from the battlefield and late at night we buried our dead comrades and started on the march again. Our only food was the mealies we had gathered in the fields earlier.

Five days later we reached 'P' River which we were longing to reach for months. We discovered that there was

an air reconnaissance along the river. The following morning we crossed. The crossing was very difficult because the river bed was full of stones and the current was very fast. After a long struggle we managed to cross and marched quickly to a safe spot. We rested for some days.

One day we were sent for food in the mealiefields – we were 14 in number.

The detachment commander and seven others were left behind. When we returned the following morning we found that the base was abandoned and our comrades' things were left strewn on the ground. We realised that they must have been forced by the enemy to abandon the camp. We looked around the area, but there was no trace of them. We then decided to shift from the area until we reached a village. We camped some 10 miles away and sent some scouts to organise food, whilst others obtained honey. Our scouts came back without food, because the people had nothing to eat themselves but showed them some houses at some distance away where they said we may be more successful.

THE PEOPLE RESPOND

Here our scouts were welcomed, and of course after some questions from the villagers they were given food, i.e. mealie meal and two chickens, salt and two tins of milk. Here we found an old man who was a member of ZAPU. He promised to help us all he could.

Days passed. We acquainted ourselves with the new area and rested to regain our strength. We reviewed our experiences and received most valuable information about the enemy's activities from the Old Man. He told us that everybody in the area was suspected of being a freedom fighter and that young men who looked dirty were arrested and treated brutally by the police. Tinned food was strictly rationed at the shops in order to try and



check up those who may be trying to help the freedom fighters. A lot of people were being used by the enemy especially pensioned policemen, teachers and some of the wealthier African farmers.

In the meantime, through the help of the Old Man we began organising the people to commit sabotage and to contact old members of ZAPU in other areas. This was coming on well until one day when we came to the Old Man he told us that he had heard that an injured guerrilla was being taken care of in the village. We told him to try and bring him to us and after taking all precautionary measures he was brought to our base.

It was Tswimbo! We were overjoyed! He was one of our men. He told us how he survived the surprise attack of the enemy but could not give us full details.

WE LOSE THE OLD MAN

The villagers with whom Tswimbo had stayed suggested that we see the local Maswikiro (Fortune Teller).

Most of us were very much opposed to the idea but the villagers insisted and some felt that our refusal may offend the villagers.

The arguments that followed were bitter and long. We, who had for months fought together and suffered such hardships faced a serious split. Finally the commander appealed to those opposed to the idea to compromise for the sake of unity. I felt that we were committing one of our gravest mistakes. We could not do anything to convince the others so we agreed. To our surprise the Old Man who would be most exposed if things went wrong also agreed. Tswimbo and a villager went to the 'Maswikiro' on a Saturday evening and reached the place safely. At the place many people were drinking and the villager joined the drinking crowds. Their turn finally came and they were told nothing except a promise that he, the 'Maswikiro' would cover our movement by a thick mist. On their way back on Sunday Tswimbo and the villager were met by members of the Special Branch. The villager was asked who the other man (Tswimbo) was and where he had come from. He told them that Tswimbo was a man from Salisbury and that he had asked him to take him to 'Maswikiro'. The S.B. left them, but the villager was arrested on Monday morning, and after questioning he revealed everything. All our plans were shattered. The

Old Man was shot dead on Tuesday trying to reach our camp. Thereafter the whole area was combed by the police and army. It was difficult to communicate with the people. Civilians who were suspected were brutally shot out of hand. Finally they discovered our base. In the fighting that followed we lost two Zapu comrades, I was injured by a splinter in the foot and could not walk. I was taken to a friend who kindly took me to a safe place in the field and treated me with some herbs.

After some days he told me that it was not safe for me or him if I am around the area and he decided to take me to a relative of his nearby. After some time here he told me that the Unit had left the area and since I could not rejoin them he had better take me to a safe place to recuperate and come back to join other forces. He did this successfully.



ON THE HOME FRONT



More than ever before, in South Africa today, bureaucrats and policemen, answerable to no one, are free to consign hundreds to a cruel half-life under banning orders. They can arrest, detain in solitary confinement and torture, any opponent of Apartheid. They can place anyone under house arrest or deport anyone to barren deserts. **Laws are vague in definition but anything but vague in intention.**

Their sense of decency so dulled by continued assaults on the freedom of the individual, and existing in a lost world of legislation where the fear of doing "wrong" blinds their moral obligation to stand up for what is right, most white people rationalise the situation.

Many visitors to South Africa who contact only whites, come away with the impression that all is well inside the country. They see only the vast economic advances being made and the high standard of living of the white population. They wallow in the luxury that is reserved for whites only in our country and turn a blind eye to the grinding poverty that is the lot of the vast majority of South Africans – the voteless black population.

Non-whites, on the other hand, are only too aware of the harshness of the situation they are in. They have to live with malnutrition, homelessness, pass arrests, lack of civic amenities, and a whole host of disabilities that confront them every day of their life. They have learnt not to speak publicly about their problems. But under the veil of apparent indifference lies deep resentment. A resentment that comes to the surface every once in a while.

AN ANGRY OUTBURST

Dr. W. F. Nkomo is a well known medical practitioner in Pretoria, wealthy by African standards, a member of Moral Rearmament and by no means a rebel. Speaking recently at the opening of an African-owned cinema built on Municipal-owned land (Africans cannot own land in urban areas) Dr. Nkomo, amid tremendous applause, condemned the policy of separate development.

Separation, Dr. Nkomo said, was wrong, destructive and created insecurity among non-Whites. He had been uprooted from Lady Selborne Township and his practice in Atteridgeville was now being threatened because of apartheid.

Dr. Nkomo said that the cinema was a demonstration that Africans were in the urban areas to stay and should stay. It was also an indication that if not hampered by authority, Africans could reach the top. As a Christian, he added, he despised those who used Christianity as a cloak to oppress others.

Another conservative, Mr. A. W. G. Champion, former President of the A.N.C. in Natal, who was replaced by the Late Chief Lutuli, speaking at the same ceremony, also condemned apartheid and said that it enslaved non-Whites.

He asked the audience never to forget leaders who were suffering for them in prison.

In the prevailing atmosphere in South Africa, these are strong words. Angry outbursts such as these by people who have thus far taken care not to upset the Government are symptomatic of a desire to fight back despite the brutal repercussions that may follow

THE HEBRON CASE

On a more organised scale, late last month, six members of the Bakwena-ba-Mokgopa tribe appeared on a charge of burning down so-called tribal offices at Hebron, north of Pretoria, under the Sabotage Act. Alternative charges against them alleged that they attempted to commit murder and arson and that they belonged to the banned African National Congress.

In the course of their long detention in solitary confinement two of their number died – murdered by their Special Branch inquisitors. (see Sechaba August issue).

The trouble arose as a result of a demand by the tribe that a local man should be appointed headman of the tribe without being under any 'supervision' by the Paramount Chief of the Tribe whose headquarters were in Bethanie. This demand was rejected. As a result, according to evidence led in the case, a decision was taken to burn down the tribal offices "as a form of protest." When the case was brought to trial hundreds of tribesmen packed the well of the court daily in demonstration of solidarity with the accused. The accused, Kenneth Tshite, Lot Tlhoak, Abraham Thoane, Bennett Moumakoe, David Komane and Esrom Moumakoe, were found not guilty. **Yet two innocent men died!**

(In our feature Inside South Africa on page 19 we relate a similar incident in which another prisoner died.)

GUERRILLA ACTIVITY

Recently there have been several cases of people charged under the Sabotage Act and for preparing for armed struggle. The most recent being the Pietermaritzburg trial of 12 A.N.C. militants who were found guilty of preparing bases for guerrilla warfare. There was another case in which 8 members of SWAPO were sentenced to life imprisonment for organising a military training camp in South West Africa.

GRIM, BLOODY BUT VICTORIOUS

These activities and the host of other manifestations of open opposition such as the support being given to the newly formed anti-apartheid Labour Party (not to be confused with the now defunct all-White Labour Party) in the elections for a Coloured Council, are indicative of the growing influence of the underground movement in our country.

This, the Government, its police force and army see all too clearly, hence their frantic preparations on a massive scale as reported in the previous article.

We, in the African National Congress, do not for a moment underestimate the power of the South African State. Nor do we over-estimate the ever growing resentment among the non-White peoples that is sweeping our country. From long experience we know that it will only take a spark to ignite the tinder box that is South Africa today. And despite all their preparation, the white fascist regime in our country is doomed to destruction. The struggles to come will be grim and bloody; fierce and long-drawn; but victory is certain.

VERWOERD'S LEGACY - THE CRACKED MONOLITH

Notes on a Case of Schizophrenia



South Africa's Pistol Packing mamas

"The mental events in his world do not seem to follow the same course as they do in yours. You can see only vague connexions, if any, between his one thought and another, between his statements and your questions, between his ideas and his feelings, and between his emotional reactions and the situations. This illogicality, pertinent to the phantasy world but not to the real world, is indeed the essence of a schizophrenic mentality . . . Of course, for a schizophrenic you are the one who is mad, not he!" -

(Dr. Man Mohan Singh in *Mental Disorder, A Problem with Many Facets*).

Dr. Alan Moritz, the American medical expert who gave evidence in the case of James Lenkoe, recently told a UN committee of his belief that Lenkoe had died as a result of electric torture. He commented, at the same time, that he found it 'incredible' that so few people in South Africa were perturbed by either the Lenkoe inquest or

the trial of Lawrence Gandar, for exposing prison conditions.

Dr. Moritz noted that White doctors, lawyers and businessmen whom he met in South Africa were 'not disturbed about the trouble of which the Lenkoe case was a symptom.' He added that the business people he met

believed that South Africa's very affluent economy rests on the cheap, racially-controlled labour force.'

Another doctor also commented recently on a visit to South Africa. This time it was Professor Ralph Yodaiken, a South African pathologist at the University of Cincinnati – and an active apologist for the South African way of life, which he demonstrates by showings of propaganda films issued by the South African Information Office.

Speaking to the *Rand Daily Mail* of his latest trip home to the Republic, he said, 'I have never found White South Africans so depressed, sticking their heads ever deeper in the sand. If an atom bomb fell off the shores of Cape Town I believe their only reaction would be: Will it affect the stock market? . . . And they're all so scared. Their respect for the police – for an innocent White population – is unnatural.'

The indifference to suffering – or even to cataclysm – and the panic – how do these manage to co-exist in this 'innocent White population'?

Republic of Schizophrenia

'Probably the most fundamental aspect of a schizoid personality is the inherent contradiction in its traits. There is ambivalence in . . . thoughts as well as actions.'

(Dr. Singh)

The Republic of Schizophrenia – what started her disease, brought about its onset? Did it begin when the Boers trekked into the interior? Carrying guns and bibles, each evening, after the day's killing and looting, they read aloud from the Good Book. Yet for centuries, they managed to combine these apparently contradictory activities without evident psychological damage. Their isolation consolidated their identification of the brutal *baaskap* they practised with the Will of God.

Was it with the discovery of gold and the subsequent confrontation of their feudal society with the forces of capitalism that the problem developed? The English as practised imperialists had, of course, developed hypocrisy to a fine art. As 'visiting exploiters', considering England their 'home', even when they became South African residents, they were able to preserve a certain detachment and to avoid the intensest involvement which is a characteristic of 'permanent settlers' rather than of colonial administrators. (For the latter, there is always a 'way out' – across the sea.)

Today, the English-speaking citizen identifies more and more completely with his Afrikaans co-oppressor (as Whites in Zimbabwe identify with 'Rhodesia' rather than with Britain). Yet even today, the English-language Press in South Africa (out of tune with almost all those whom it is supposed to speak for) adopts a more 'rational' tone than the Afrikaans Press. In the flowing sentences of its leading articles, we can hear an echo still of the urbane accents of those polished colonial administrators.

Identifying the Bogyman

Commenting on the budget in March this year, the *Natal Mercury* entitled an article, **Who is the bogy that is costing us R270m.?** For a country to devote 16 per cent of its total expenditure to defence was, the paper remarked, rather extraordinary: 'This proportion of allotment for what must be regarded as a military commitment implies either a degree of apprehension which is at variance with the assurances of security given by responsible Government spokesmen or an admission of unpreparedness.'

(Could a Victorian leader-writer have improved upon those sonorous periods?)

The *Mercury* concluded by quoting a professor (British of course), Dennis Austin: 'Who is the enemy against whom it is thought that the Republic must be defended? The forces of International Communism, the answer frequently given by the ruling party, sound like the bogymen.'

'The ability to give a sensible account of what is happening inside and outside is singularly lacking in a schizophrenic, and the questions "why" and "how" are the most difficult ones for him to answer. This is because of his inability to abstract reasons from concrete and observable facts.' (Dr. Singh).

Roots of Conflict

What then is the question that cannot be asked, the problem that cannot be recognized, which lies at the roots of the South African mentally diseased condition? The *Mercury* like the regime it elegantly criticizes (but does not truly oppose) dare not face the answer: the fact of who the bogymen really is. For the 'bogymen' is the reality of oppression – and this can never be recognized or admitted – since the Whites are not prepared to reduce oppression by one iota. If they admit that they are oppressors, the whole force of their cause – its morale – is destroyed. (Hitler recognized this when he sent his troops into foreign territories, never to oppress – but to 'relieve oppressed Germans'; a claim supported by a barrage of propaganda in all media.)

Accordingly the fact of oppression of the African masses is never in any circumstances admitted – and correspondingly the Africans inside the country are carefully not referred to as a danger. They are contented, enjoying the White man's peace. It is International Communism and (explaining the guerilla forces) Africans indoctrinated by 'foreign' influences which are the stated enemy. Yet the Whites know well that the Africans are oppressed, and that they hate their oppressors. But this is what can never be stated or recognized. From this follows an impersonal way of speaking of 'the Bantu' – typified when Froneman, the Deputy Minister of Justice, recently spoke of the removal from White areas of '3.8 million superfluous appendages' (i. e. people who are not active members of the slave labour force). Africans must not only be seen as dangerous but must not be seen as human – otherwise the reality of oppression might become more apparent, even to the Government's blinkered followers. For the old-time Boers, of course, this problem had not existed. On the farms, the bible remained – and the sjambok came to be substituted, in most cases, for the rifle. But when, in 1948, the Afrikaners came to power – they also came inevitably . . . to capitalism. And the *baasskap* of Malan and Strijdom was an insufficient weapon in their new role as capitalists: the permanent subordination of the necessary massive 'cheap, racially-controlled labour force' required for industry. There was also the problem of attracting investment from Western powers whose ordinary citizens were obstinately repelled by the inhumanity of apartheid. Thus, Afrikanerdom's first sophisticated leader, Verwoerd (a psychologist by training, and one who, ironically enough, wrote his doctorate thesis on the topic of the Blunting of the Emotions in Schizophrenia), developed the concept of Bantustans. This, of course, involved an even more brutal form of oppression than straightforward *baasskap* – the herding of all those not useful as controlled and directed labour into a few tracts of barren and already over-populated

land, and the removal of all rights from the labour force in the White areas. This policy, the cause of ever-growing starvation and misery has, paradoxically, also been the basis of ever-growing propaganda by the regime and its Western supporters. And so intensive has this propaganda become that some of the Governments own supporters have actually been alarmed by it. The *verkramp* (*baaskap*) Nationalists have long felt uneasy that too much is being done for the Blacks. And with the latest developments in policy formulated by the Vorster regime, this alarm has increased immeasurably.

Imperialism – a New Factor

Few developments could illustrate more clearly the logic of economic motivation than the new *verligte*, 'out-going' line. For South Africa is now logically developing from capitalism to imperialism and strains towards the markets (and resources) in the rest of Africa. She is now making overtures to African countries which, a decade ago, her spokesmen derided as 'kaffir states'. And as the recent *verkramp* *verligte* furore shows, many Nationalists are as yet emotionally totally unprepared for such a situation – especially, of course, those *backvelders* who are not personally involved in capitalist activities.

... the patient himself remains unaware of any change in himself, not to say of knowing any reasons for it. Lack of insight into their illness is a general characteristic of schizophrenia.' (Dr. Singh)

The schizophrenic conflict here has become particularly

S.A. police, ladeys and dogs in action



intense. Against the enemy without (the unadmitted enemy within, to whom the guerilla forces will act as a mobilizing catalyst) the barricades are built ever higher. Children receive guerilla training – it has now been proposed that, from Standard 7, this should be increasingly adopted. Doctors are educated in 'field medicine'.

Women are taught to shoot. Every loophole (however minute) in every 'security' law is darned by elaborate new legislation. At the same time comes an uneasy recognition that the enemy must as far as possible be limited. African countries must (though not all admit this) be wooed – and threatened. Israelis, formerly hated as 'Jews' are viewed as a struggling White nation (to whom the Government has allowed sympathizers to export R20 million). The Portuguese, formerly despised as 'dago fruit-vendors and cafe-keepers' (and Roman Catholics, to boot!) have become brave allies for whom a special Mozambique Soldiers' Comfort Fund has been set up, and whom the Nationalist Administrator of Natal praises in glowing terms as 'those who are keeping 3,000 miles of South Africa's borders clean of terrorists'.

What will happen next, we wonder – and we hear a Nationalist Durban City Councillor telling the Clare Estate Indian Ratepayers' Association that Indians should not be surprised if they are called upon for military duty, so that they can fight 'side by side with the Afrikaners' (those Afrikaners who have, ever since they came to power, systematically robbed Indians of their rights – and of their homes).

Yet such gropings for friends remain autistic. 'One type of schizoid . . . is unpredictable, hypersensitive, touchy and easily offended . . . tends to withdraw into himself when frustrated, sulks when annoyed and is suspicious and hostile to everyone – the "paranoid" type . . .' (Dr. Singh).

A speaker in the Durban debating club (a lecturer in sociology) said recently: 'We have become so stridently anti-intellectual and so pathologically hostile to criticism that we equate even sound, well-informed and constructive criticism with disloyalty and subversion.'

South Africa cannot listen to criticism. She cannot read foreign books or see foreign films. She cannot be allowed television (which one Nationalist recently declared would be 'the end of the White man' because 'the heroes of British and American films are always Blacks' ! ? !). She can do none of these things because her schizophrenia does not permit them.

An Unsuitable Case for Treatment

'Time is probably the most crucial factor in determining the outcome of a schizophrenic illness. The longer a patient has lived in his abnormal world, the less are his chances of getting out of it, because in time the abnormal pattern of behaviour and thinking become habitual and, therefore, incorrigible.' (Dr. Singh)

In this case, the disease is so firmly established that it seems unlikely that any type of cure can be envisaged, for the patient will resolutely refuse to face the cause of the sickness. A nation cannot be tranquillized or hospitalized. The split will remain.

After Sharpeville, after the 1960 State of Emergency, White South Africa was dazed, punch-drunk, bewildered. And her disease, as the struggle increases momentum, as the People, spearheaded by the guerilla forces, move into action, will intensify. The patient, in the final hour, will expire in coma or in frenzy. The monolith will be revealed, as it splits, for what it always was – flawed from the first.

A HOME AWAY FROM HOME



When I was awaiting trial in the Cape Town prison for one of the numerous offences the South African government concocts in the name of "the safety of the state", there were a number of long-term prisoners in the cell next door. They were waiting to appear in court for breaking the law right inside the jails where they had been serving.

They had committed these offences deliberately. The reason? They all wanted to get some respite from the hell-holes where they had been doing time.

Some of them had attacked warders, others had destroyed prison property violently. They had made up their minds to do anything to get away to the relative ease of the awaiting-trial section of the City prison.

But, dear friends and readers, they must have been crazy. Crazy, that is, to want to get away from the salubrious atmosphere of such places as Belleville and Bien Donne or any of the calaboses that beautify the fair landscape of our Republic. They must have been bonkers because according to a report on "Prison Administration in South Africa", published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of all things, everything in South Africa's jails are as rosy as the blush of a wardress caught with the Kolonel's winter underwear.

Why, looking at this publication, one becomes more and more convinced that crime pays and all our clinks are really homes away from home.

There are lovely lawns around South Africa's prisons and the sun lights the suikerbossies and jacaranda with all the brilliance of a South African Airways handout.

There are polished floors that would outdo any state ball-room and lovely shining brasswork, and sun and flowers and hillsides all the time.

But even a prostitute decorates and perfumes herself to disguise the fact that she can give a man the clap; and nail varnish only emphasises the charm of dirty fingernails.

But there are those who have gone to see and wonder – or marvel, I should say.

For example, a Mr. Manion of a TV programme, USA, purred: "I am impressed, EDIFIED is a better word." We admit that the capitals are ours. Somebody else, on viewing the beauties or our prisons: "The dedication of the administration and the staff is most impressive."

Perhaps where they come from the prison staff don't put soft cushions on the electric chair or Chanel No. 5 in the cyanide gas.

Those who come to inspect our prisons are of course told also of the self-inflicted wounds to escape the comfort of the quarries for the rigours of a hospital bed.

The Department of Foreign Affairs, acting as PRO to the Commissioner of Prisons, provides the prospective sojourner with glossy pictures of prisoners playing chess, table tennis and pouring over books in the libraries. All the facilities, and more perhaps, of the YMCA are thrown in to encourage the client to make up his or her mind. For the ladies there are concerts where they can do the can-can if they wish. But the PRO slipped up, he forgot to include the pictures of elephants crossing the road and the surf breaking along the whites-only beach at Durban.

This regrettable omission is compensated for by colour pictures of the tomb of a Malay shaikh on Robben Island and panoramic views of the vegetable garden at Leeuwkop.

To add to the travel brochure effect, this "monograph" by the Foreign Affairs wallahs tells us that Robben Island is practically as good as Hawaii or Pago-Pago, and has all the idyllic atmosphere of the South Sea Island. "Despite its falling into the category of maximum security institutions, DUE TO THE FAVOURABLE CLIMATE, ROBBER ISLAND MAY BE DESCRIBED AS AN OPEN AIR PRISON." If you look carefully at the pictures you might be able to make out the convicts dozing under the picturesque trees and even hear the throb of guitars.

There are guitars, of course. Pictures of convicts plucking away merrily at the strings in the homely atmosphere of their cells, and convict concert troupes serenading - to drown the screams of sodomy and the blows of buckle belts and truncheons, naturally.

"All members of the personnel shall at all times so conduct themselves and perform their duties as to influence the prisoners for good by their example and to command their respect."

The personnel certainly conduct and perform.

I have seen blood fly from the nostrils of a prisoner who did not get into line quick enough for a warder's liking. No doubt the victim was influenced for good.

"The transport of prisoners in conveyances with inadequate ventilation or light, or in any way which would subject them to unnecessary physical hardship, shall be prohibited."

Hmmm. As was the case recently of prisoners crammed into a van like paste into a tube, and the death of several of them through asphyxiation by carbon monoxide fumes. No isolated case. I seem to remember being transported back and forth several times with three other blokes sitting on my lap, my mouth full of shoulder-blades, and my ribs nigh caved in from each side.

Item: "Rules of general application. 6(1) The following rules shall be applied impartially. There shall be no discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

Apartheid has been abolished!

Item: "Corporal punishment, punishment by placing in a dark cell, and all cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment shall be completely prohibited as punishments for disciplinary offences."

Hallelujah! They have abolished "the Hole", rice water is no more, and solitary confinement is all a dream.

Need we say more about the pleasures of prison life in South Africa? So ladies and gentlemen, as the sun goes down on the rolling hills which provide such enchanting settings for the attractive resorts of Sonderwater, Witbank and Cinderella, and the sky fades from royal blue to gentle purple, we turn away with saddened hearts from the merry songs of convicts and the coo-ing farewells of jolly warders. We say a sad good-bye to these scenes of gentle friendship and enervating life, turn once more to the sorry prospect of the outside, knowing somehow, that, given another chance, we would return again outstretched arms to this our home away from home.

PRRRRRRT!

Book Review

WORKERS UNDER APARTHEID

South Africa: Workers Under Apartheid by Alex Hepple. An International Defence and Aid Pamphlet - price 6/-

South Africa's propagandists, like their Nazi predecessors, are constantly casting about for some scapegoat to explain away the mountain of criticism that continues to throw a shadow over this unhappy land. Try as they might, they are unable to conceal that the basis for world criticism lies in the vast machinery of unjust laws which exists for the sole purpose of extracting the blood and sweat, the joy and happiness of millions of oppressed workers.

Even a cursory examination of some of the laws brought onto the statute book by the Nationalist Party since its coming to power reveals an extraordinary network of legal persecution involving the uprooting, restricting, deporting, confining, classifying and jailing of tens of thousands of people on political grounds alone. The impact of these laws on the working people as a whole is staggering in its immensity.

"Workers under Apartheid" is a calm and objective examination of how the structure of state persecution of South Africa's workers has grown to be one of the most notorious in the world. The author, Mr. Alex Hepple was a former Labour M. P. in South Africa, and an expert on its labour problems and legislation. Based on what is obviously painstaking research covering many official documents, Mr. Hepple describes with great authority the labour codes, the pass, work and population laws showing how the various trade unions were affected by these laws.

In a section dealing with labour relations Mr. Hepple describes some incidents involving Non-European Railway Workers in Port Elizabeth when their complaints about discrimination in wage increases in favour of white workers led to instant police action. He also recounts the events of the 1961 strike by African bus conductors in Port Elizabeth in support of their claims for higher wages. Again police reaction was swift. The workers were arrested, and a mass boycott of the buses followed. The company responded by agreeing to arbitration by a judge whose findings were in favour of the workers so that they won wage increases and other benefits, and, a loan from the company to pay the fines imposed on them for illegal strike action.

This was not the end of the matter however. Four years later, ten of the leaders were arrested for membership of the outlawed A.N.C. and for participating in the bus conductors' strike in 1961, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

In recording events like these in the context of South Africa's harsh repressive apparatus, the Defence and Aid Fund has performed an invaluable service to the liberation movement, a service all the more appreciated for the fact that it was carried out by that veteran of South African labour history, Alex Hepple.

P. J.

Where does the British worker stand on the issue of liberation in South Africa? That struggle, taking place five thousand miles away, is remote from his daily life. Yet he is involved in it, because of British imperialism's predominant role in the maintenance of white supremacy throughout Southern Africa. Just as the American worker is involved in the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam. The British working class, with its long experience of class struggle, could be a powerful ally of ours, and an example to organised labour in other Western countries. Or it might be bought off by the hand-outs of big business, the leftovers of the super-profits made by vested British interests from the sweat and toil of our people working for low wages in the mines and factories owned by British businessmen. What role will the British worker play? This article provides an answer.

A Call to Dissociate

The British TUC (Trade Union Congress) meets in annual conference every autumn. To it come the elected representatives of some 9 million workers in every sector of industry, agriculture and mining. Although less than half of all British employees are organised, their combined power is considerable. The TUC is the main contributor to the funds of the Labour Party, and the trade unions alone stand between the individual worker and the overwhelming power of big business – the power to hire or fire, to raise or lower prices and wages, to determine standards of living and national policies on political and economic questions.

So the TUC is important, and all South Africans can take pride in the resolution on South Africa which this year's TUC passed without opposition. Proposed by the Draughtsmen's Union DATA and seconded by the Musicians' Union, it reads:

"Congress declares its total opposition to the system of apartheid practised in South Africa. In supporting the U.N.O. boycott resolution No. 2396 para 11 (December 1968) it urges all affiliated unions to discourage their members from taking jobs in South Africa.

Congress deplores the denial of trade union rights to Africans and demands that all workers in South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed, shall have equal trade union rights."

The significance of this resolution must be seen in context. It was four years ago that the TUC last discussed South Africa, so the renewal of interest was an important step forward. In those four years the armed struggle has

Harry Francis
of the Musicians Union

G. Doughty of DATA



The recent British T. U. C. Conference passed unanimously a useful though limited resolution on apartheid. Our contributor reveals however that a stronger resolution which would have committed the T.U.C. to definite action was suppressed. He urges that lip service is not enough.

WHOSE SIDE ARE YOU ON, BROTHER?

been launched, and the mover of the motion brought out its significance in a strong speech which arrested the attention of the one thousand delegates:

"The clouds now gathering over South Africa are those that herald the great and inevitable military confrontation which will finally sweep the Vorster regime from the political scene. When that day comes, those who go to South Africa now will find themselves on the wrong side with a gun in their hands and probably paying with their lives in attempting to defend the indefensible . . .

History stands on the side of the oppressed African masses. They will be victorious. By supporting them now, we can help in some small way to speed the day when a new order exists."

The resolution rightly focussed on immigration into South Africa. Over half the skilled workers (whites only, of course), who immigrate every year, exploiting the advantages of apartheid and becoming partners in the oppression of the black majority, come from Britain. They are already helping to build Vorster's armaments industry, the new aircraft industry, and other projects designed directly or indirectly to strengthen the apartheid state. So it is a timely, if not overdue, step for the British TUC to con-

denn emigration to South Africa, and it remains for the TUC and its affiliated Unions to take appropriate measures to ensure that their members do not enter the arena of our struggle in support of our enemy.

Pre-Conference Manoeuvres

How important was the resolution to the conference itself? They applauded it but did not discuss it. It took twenty minutes in a four-and-a-half day conference. It was part of a short international session which it shared one afternoon with almost equally brief debates on Vietnam, Spain and Czechoslovakia. Clearly South Africa is not a priority of the TUC. But the true significance of the occasion did not come out into the open; it was hidden in the pre-conference manoeuvres whereby the General Council, the 39-man "Cabinet" of the TUC, seeks to wield its influence over the course of debates and use the considerable knowledge, experience and authority of its large bureaucracy to temper the radicalism of the grass-roots of the trade union movement.

In reality there were two resolutions on South Africa on the agenda, and the stronger, more comprehensive one was the one that was **not** passed. This resolution would have demanded that trade unions stop investing their funds in South Africa, that they should support the ban on the sale of arms to South Africa and look after those (few) workers whose livelihood might thereby be jeopardised, and that the TUC should recognise SACTU as the representative, non-racial and genuinely anti-apartheid trade union body. In thus highlighting other areas of collaboration between organised labour in Britain and the status quo in South Africa and seeking to end such collaboration, this resolution went much further than the one adopted. It went to the heart of the matter, which is that British workers are already supporting apartheid in ways that they do not realise, or do not know about, or which they are misled into believing cannot be changed. This support takes many forms. Buying South African goods is the commonest. Making arms for Vorster, like spares for the Buccaneer bombers that strafe our freedom fighters in Zimbabwe. Allowing their trade unions to invest in companies like I.C.I. and Courtaulds and other industrialists who pay our people starvation wages.

T. U. C. Collaboration

Yet, this is only half the story. We applaud those thousands of British workers who have responded to the boycott appeal, and who have fought for it in their Co-operatives and Town Councils. We thank those whose demands have at least ensured that the Labour Party adheres to the principle of the arms embargo – whatever gaps in it the Labour Government condones. And we recognise that not all trade unions, possibly even the majority, do invest their members' funds in firms operating in South Africa, and many members of those that do so would cry out against it if they knew.

Thus we find in the ranks of the British labour movement both those who support our cause, and those who support our oppressors. And it was from amongst the latter that the opposition came to the motion recognising SACTU. The General Council of the TUC, meeting before the Conference to decide its attitude to all resolutions, apparently expressed itself against the recognition of SACTU. No reasons were made public, but they are not hard to find. The truth is that some leading members of the General Council, and the International Department of the TUC give *de facto* recognition to TUCSA. For example,

Sir Fred Hayday, one of the General Council's international experts, visits South Africa frequently (in breach of the boycott) and visits TUCSA officials. Mr. John Newton, this year's President of the TUC, personally proposed the affiliation to the International Textile and Garment Workers' Federation (closely connected with the I.C.F.T.U.) of one of the TUCSA-affiliated trade unions. TUCSA officials are received at Congress House, and TUCSA policies reported in TUC publications.

The TUC has frequently condemned apartheid. The value of such condemnations must be seen against the reality of the TUC's open collaboration with TUCSA. TUCSA has never represented the vast mass of African, Coloured and Indian workers, has never condemned apartheid as such, never organised any significant numbers of African workers or defended their interests, never spoken out against the ruthless exploitation of our people, against the laws which deny our humanity or the brutality with which they are enforced.

SACTU Must be Recognised

So the question of the recognition of SACTU raises in the sharpest form the vital question for British workers: Whose side are you on? And the right-wing leaders of Britain's TUC gave a clear answer this year – they are not on our side. They were happy to make yet another token condemnation of apartheid. But they would not break relations with its white working class practitioners in South Africa itself. Thus it was that the strong resolution was withdrawn from the floor of Congress and the weaker resolution adopted unanimously.

A week before the British TUC met in Portsmouth, TUCSA itself met for its own conference in Durban. Unabashed by the naked racism of its February decision to exclude all African workers from its ranks, TUCSA went one step further in pledging support for the 'outward' policy of Prime Minister Vorster. Not content with the fruits of apartheid within the boundaries of the Republic, TUCSA has climbed on to the band-wagon of Vorster's imperialist drive to subvert independent Africa, to undermine those countries like Zambia and Tanzania which stand resolutely opposed to white supremacy in the south, and to rob the liberation movements of their temporary refuge north of the Zambesi. And while TUCSA proclaims such fascist policies of its own, the respected leaders of the people, SACTU organisers like Steven Dhlamini and Billy Nair, together with hundreds of African workers, languish in the prisons of the apartheid regime, their plight a standing reproach to those in Britain and elsewhere who pay lip-service to their cause and shake hands with their gaolers.

The Workers would Declare for Us

Will British, French, Italian workers stop emigrating to South Africa? Will trade union leaders in these countries recognise the justice of our case? We believe that, if the truth were put before the millions of workers in these countries, they would declare for us. Their fight against fascism has not faded from their memories. But who will carry the truth to so many people? J. B. Marks, beloved and respected member of the N.E.C. of the ANC, and former President of the African Mine Workers Unions, attended the TUC conference in Portsmouth. He aptly observed: "The harvest is plenty, but the labourers few." Here lies a challenge to all who would help to end the injustice and suffering in Southern Africa today. Let us hope that our friends in the British trade union movement will rise to that challenge.

OFF THE CUFF —

A SECHABA INTERVIEW

THE WORKER AND THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

**For the worker the Economic
and Political Struggle
are One says veteran
ANC leader J.B. Marks**

Comrade Marks it is many years since you last visited London, where are you based and what are your duties?

Yes, I have not been in London for a long time. I am attached to A.N.C. Headquarters in Morogoro, Tanzania, and work on the secretariat. I have been on a European trip and took the opportunity to stop off in London.

You are a veteran leader of our Liberation Movement with a special interest in urban workers. What can you tell us about the character of the South African working class, and its specific contribution to the liberation movement?

Yes, comrade, I am one of the foundation members of the contemporary African Trade Union movement in South Africa which is concerned with the organisation of industrial workers. It has been a very difficult task since unions are not recognised and strikes are illegal. Nevertheless, despite non-recognition and violent repression by bosses and Government, there have been successes in getting a series of industries organised into trade unions.

How is it that industrial strikes have almost always turned into political actions?

Because of the setup in South Africa strikes organised by Africans grow from economic struggle into a political struggle immediately the workers withdraw their labour from any particular industry because they are illegal. Also in terms of the pass laws they are immediately open to arrest because they have broken their contracts by withdrawing their labour.

How has industrial strike action been used in combination with political demands?

To reply to your question it is necessary for me to point out the two-fold oppression that is being suffered by the non-white worker in South Africa. First there is economic oppression, and then there is national oppression. The two are so interwoven that the worker has to play a dual role; he has to fight for his economic rights and simultaneously for his national rights. Hence you find that the industrial worker is bound to play a very important role in the national liberation movement. Also as a result of the participation of industrial workers in the national liberation movement over a period of years, it became more revolutionary and militant. The working class is now a very important sector in the liberation movement.

Can you explain how this happened?

Well, during the last war the government in South Africa was compelled to relax certain restrictive measures, thereby opening the gates for a large number of workers to come into the urban areas for the purpose of city work. A very large number were absorbed in industry, since there was a great shortage of white labour caused by the war. As a result there was rapid growth of African trade unions and it would be correct to say that the war precipitated the growing of the African trade union movement.

How did this affect the A.N.C.?

The leaders of the Trade Unions then realized that it was not possible for them to achieve their objective, economic or otherwise, by mere economic struggles and they were therefore forced to throw in their lot with the National liberation movement. This resulted in a large number of industrial workers joining the National liberation movement which of course led to the revolutionisation of the National Liberation movement.

Now Comrade Marks, these days it is frequently said that the role of the peasantry in revolutionary wars is particularly significant. Do you feel that in the South African revolution the workers will play a vital part?

Yes, I agree that the peasantry is a very significant force in South Africa and is destined to play a very important role as a driving force in the revolution but it will do so primarily under the leadership of the working class. In our South African conditions we have to take into consideration the rate at which the peasantry is disintegrating by a process that is forcing them into industry increasing the numbers of industrial workers. On the other hand the working class is very closely linked with the peasantry by virtue of the fact that they frequently go back to their homes in the reserves to join their families who are prohibited from living in the towns.

So you see two parallel forms of struggle developing? – the Rural Struggle and the Urban Struggle with some connection between them?

I do, but the point I would like to emphasize is this, even if the struggle goes parallel it will be under the leadership of the industrialised workers, and the urban struggles will be very significant in the revolution in South Africa.

Would you care to explain why?

Because that is just where the South African bourgeoisie have entrenched themselves.

Comrade Marks what is the mood in South Africa at present?

Yes, comrade, the mass of the people in South Africa are in a very angry mood. I would like to describe the situation in South Africa as a volcano which must sooner or later erupt. Despite the very vicious oppression taking place this explosion has to come sooner or later as the people fully realize that the only way out of their present misery is by fighting back.

What is the basis for your assertion?

Even if you look at the enemy's press itself you will notice that there have been widespread arrests of people who have organised themselves for struggle of various kinds. It is known that guerrillas have penetrated South Africa and were hidden away by people inside the country. Some of them have survived but others have been arrested and are now awaiting trial in the courts of South Africa.

In any case we know and the police know we have had for a long time a strong network of units all over the country.

You refer to sabotage units?

Political, sabotage, and military. Some of them were organised for industrial sabotage. Some have been eliminated but others are still around.

Comrade Marks, where does the liberation movement get most of its international support?

Before I answer your question let me state most categorically that the A.N.C. is an independent organisation. It is not bound to any particular country in the world and it appeals for and receives support from many countries. But our major support is from anti-Imperialist countries who have everything in common with our movement which is striving for the overthrow of Imperialism. The socialist countries are of course very prominent here.

What progress have you made in developing closer unity of purpose and action with the other liberation movements of Southern Africa?

There is a concrete and positive alliance between the A.N.C. and Z.A.P.U. at present, and there are constant consultations between the A.N.C., Z.A.P.U., FRELIMO and M.P.L.A. The aim of the consultations is to set up greater unity between these organisations with the view to meeting the dangerous situation that is growing in the South.

Comrade Marks you were recently in the chair at one of the sessions of the conference of Communist parties in Moscow. In what capacity were you acting?

I appeared in the capacity of Chairman of the South African Communist Party.

The Conference gave much emphasis to anti-Imperialist unity, how will the decisions of that conference affect the South African Liberation struggle?

The conference was one of the most important events that has taken place in the fight against imperialism, and is bound to have great effect upon all anti-imperialist movements wheresoever they may be. Conference took a series of decisions and amongst them was one that an anti-Imperialist conference be held where all anti-imperialist parties – not only communist parties, will be invited to attend. In my opinion such a conference will give a great impetus to the struggle against imperialism and will lead to increased material assistance to our movement.

Would you like to reflect on any significant political event in South Africa's history during your time?

There have been many events, but to me one of great significance was the defiance campaign because it demonstrated that non-whites, particularly the African people, had decided to cast away their fears of prison

and courted imprisonment openly in order to demonstrate their hatred for apartheid laws.

And this was a new development?

No, but it was particularly important because it was a highly organised campaign and this was the first time, that a nationwide mass disobedience action had taken place involving all sections of the population laying the basis for a united democratic front.

What do you expect of our members and supporters in the present situation?

Well comrade. I would like to make an appeal to members and followers of the A.N.C. This is a very grave moment in our history when South Africa has been transformed into a prison for all those who have a progressive outlook and are fundamentally opposed to the policy of apartheid. I appeal to all South Africans to unite and do everything in their power to assist in the struggle for liberating South Africa, in particular the armed struggle. I also appeal to all democrats and freedom loving people the world over, to commit themselves to the struggle against the present regime in South Africa and do all in their power to express in a practical way solidarity with the A.N.C. which is today leading the armed struggle against South African fascism.



J. B. Marks

J. B. Marks' Biography

Comrade Marks would you give us some details of your life?

Comrade, I'll be very brief. At present I am 66 years of age. I was born in 1903 in a small town in Western Transvaal known as Ventersdorp. I come from working class parentage, my father was a railway worker all his life, my mother a midwife, and she's still alive today having reached the age of 105. I attended school in a country school and then went to a training college where I received a diploma in teaching. The older people in the community I was brought up in all expressed a desire that one day I should become a minister of religion. When I eventually joined the struggle for national liberation I remember meeting one of the oldest residents in our town who said: "My son, my dreams and wishes have come true only that you have not gone to the pulpit, but you are today on the platform to demand what we have been craving for all the time." That was in the early days when I appeared on the platform of the I.C.U. and of the Communist Party and the League for African Rights. I joined the A.N.C. in 1928. I was much influenced by my father who was a staunch supporter of the A.N.C. and I myself had revolted against conditions, particularly those at the institution where I was trained, where the missionaries did not treat the students well. In 1919 I participated in a strike of students because conditions were

not good. We were not allowed time to go visiting, we were punished very frequently, and the food supply was very poor. This strike led to my expulsion from school. In 1942 I was elected to the presidency of the Transvaal Council of non-European trade unions, and in the same year I became the president of the African Mine Workers Union, which grew to a membership of over 50,000. This Union organised the famous strike of 1946 for it commanded the respect of all the African mining workers employed in the mining industry numbering approximately 400,000. The mine strike was a great success, it really exposed the conditions of the mine workers. I was also an executive member of the A.N.C. at this time, both nationally and at provincial level.

After I was banned I continued to be active, and helped to form the South African Congress of Trade Unions which I had to do illegally. I have also had a great deal of contact with the rural areas in South Africa. I knew every nook in the Transvaal, because I travelled with the Native Representative Council which enabled me to establish contact with all the chiefs in the Transvaal, as well as some of the leading figures in the Orange Free State. I left South Africa in 1963 when the National Executive asked me to leave. I came to Tanzania through Bechuanaland and have remained there since.

FRENCH COMPLICITY IN RACIST RULE

Statement by Alfred Nzo,
Secretary-General: AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
(SOUTH AFRICA)

One of the most dangerous conspiracies in Africa today against the National Liberation Movement and the Security of independent African States is the diplomatic, economic, political and military co-operation between France and the racist regime of South Africa.

Only recently M. Debre the Minister of Defence in reply to a question in the National Assembly in Paris stated that as far as France was concerned she would continue to supply South Africa with arms and that this question is a matter of policy which has been decided upon after a careful investigation by a Government commission. M. Debre also stated that France and South Africa had entered into a contract for the delivery by France to South Africa of arms worth £200,000,000 for the next ten years. France had already delivered £100,000,000 worth of arms under previous agreements.

M. Debre was in fact confirming a dangerous and sinister relationship between France and South Africa which has been developing over ten years. It is a policy which is intended to protect imperialist and South African colonialist and neo-colonialist policies in Southern Africa and Africa.



Alfred Nzo
while
under
house
arrest
in
Johannesburg

From the Ravages of Life we Create

by Raymond Kunene

*From the ravages of life we create
And the suns are torn from the cord of the skies
And fall to the ground humiliated by the cluster
of leaves.*

*The eternal feet travel on, on their journey,
The bars of iron pierce through, feeding on their blood.*

*The wedding party walks proudly
And catches a glimpse of the moon disintegrating.
Beyond this aberration in the land of the hostile winds
The tall woman is seized by madness.*

*She covers her face with a black cloth
Imitating the dance of the ecstatic children.
Then the ruined man of time fondles her
Until she gives birth, and gives birth to the infants
of stone.*

*We are their kin whose ribs are wide with their power
We are one with those who wander everywhere.*

*A man enters and marks down our generation
And tells us how suddenly summer has come
And makes us sing though our hearts are bleeding
Knowing how because of us,*

*We who are the locusts with broken wings,
Our shadows shelter the earth from the sun.*

FRANCO - S.A. MILITARY PROJECT

In March this year the South African Minister of Defence Mr. Botha accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief and Chiefs of Staff paid a fortnights official visit to France. The purpose of this visit, according to reports, was to examine a joint French-South African military project whose code name is "cactus". In addition the South African delegation also observed the operation of the Daphne type of submarine which South Africa had ordered from France for the purpose of consolidating what the fascist regime in South Africa call the naval power of South Africa.

This visit by representatives from South Africa was not the first of its kind. Dr. Diedericks, the Finance Minister of South Africa visited France in 1965 and came back and assured the White Parliament that economic co-operation between the two countries would develop. Earlier Mr. Schmittelen who was then the President of a French Chamber had visited South Africa and assured the South African Government that France would never support any act or international decision which was intended to censure South Africa for her racialist policies.

The Paris-Pretoria axis is an important and integral part of the conspiracy of the Western powers, the United States, Britain, Portugal and West Germany, to suppress the National Liberation Movement and subvert African political and economic independence.

The time has come for all those who have the interest of the African Revolution at heart to indict and condemn France for her criminal complicity with the white racist regime of South Africa. The French progressive forces we have no doubt will join us in our struggle against French imperialist intrigues in Southern Africa and Africa.



FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

current news and comment

THE LEFEFE SCANDAL

Mrs. Lefefe is the widow of a man who lost his life by suffocation in a police van at the beginning of April. He was one of three prisoners who died through gross and callous negligence when 89 prisoners were packed for six hours into a hot police van. The three men died a slow cruel death.

Mrs. Lefefe has now been told by the authorities that she could no longer live in her rented house in Diepkloof Township, near Soweto, Johannesburg, because she is a widow and must therefore return to Lesotho.

Commenting on the Lefefe case, the Johannesburg STAR says that Mrs Lefefe's husband died as a result of the State's negligence, yet his widow received no money from the State's agent, the Resettlement Board. "If the Government wishes to proceed on the principle that any pretext is good enough for ejecting people from their houses, so very often, out of the township, then it places itself under the obligation to ensure that there is something for them to live in where they go to."

The Rand Daily Mail saw "a callousness that is inherent in the Government's racial outlook. The whole system of 'endorsement out', of the uprooting of people and destruction of family life shows a dreadful insensitivity to feeling and anguish. It is basically inhuman." Government reaction to these and other comments on the case was sharp. The only pity it showed was for itself. The Minister of Police, S.L. Muller, attacked the Opposition press for publicising its view in the manner they did because this caused adverse publicity for the Government and South Africa.

What do apologists of Apartheid say about this inhuman treatment!

ANOTHER PRISONER DIES -

And Swanepoel Reappears

The night before the start of his trial Jacob Monnakgotla died in prison. He was to have appeared with 9 others under the Terrorism Act. Police sources claimed that he died from 'natural causes' in a trial remarkable for unusual events.

The case arose from an assault with intent to murder on the Chieftainess of the Bakubung Tribe, Katherina Tsitso Monnakgotla, after tribal opposition to its removal from the Boons district to the Ledie area in the Rustenburg district. The Terrorism Act charge alleged that the accused conspired between August 1966 and December last year to 'upset the rule of law and order by terrorist activity'.

Police evidence in court was that trouble arose in the tribe over the proposed removal. Lukas Monnakgotla, a brother of the late captain of the tribe, and who succeeded him only to be deposed by the appointment of the widow, led the opposition to the removal. The struggle against the Chieftainess was fierce and four attempts to kill her were made.

It was stated that opposition to her was for three reasons. She was not of royal blood, it was not the tradition of the tribe to recognise a female captain, and she was not even a member of the tribe.

In the circumstances it is hardly surprising that the tribe should refuse to follow her lead, and there is every indication that she was acting in the interests of the Government and not the tribe.

That systematic Government pressure is the technique constantly used on the tribal leaders was further brought out during the trial when Major Swanepoel, the notorious head of the Special Branch team of interrogators in Pretoria made an abrupt about-face to enter the witness box to give evidence for three of the accused, among them Lukas Monnakgotla. Swanepoel, in tones of sweet reasonableness, pleaded for the discharge of these three men on account of their age and their being 'accustomed to freedom of movement'. Yet they had already spent nine months in detention in conditions leading to the death of one of the accused! The finger points once again at Swanepoel the Torturer.

THE SICKNESS OF VIOLENCE

In the recent Parliamentary Session just ended the following figures emerged starkly illustrating the sick society that is South Africa.

The figures add up to a terrible total. A third of the families in Johannesburg (all African) live below the poverty datum line; 54,899 miners got tuberculosis and pneumoconiosis in 11 years; the Government allocates only £7 per African child per year for education as against £75 for each white child.

In 12 months police handled 5,825 murder cases and a total of 9,347 died as a result of criminal violence. . . . Police investigated 201,569 cases of serious assault.

Supreme Court Judge, Jan H. Steyn, quoting some of these figures said in a radio broadcast that South Africa's penal system is 'radically at fault'. Judge Steyn's remarks come at a time when public interest is centred on South Africa's prison conditions.

HE TOLD REPORTERS IN AN INTERVIEW THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S PRISON POPULATION WAS MORE THAN TWICE THAT OF BRITAIN. SOUTH AFRICA'S DAILY PRISON POPULATION WAS ABOUT 75,000 WHILST IN BRITAIN THE PRISON POPULATION AVERAGED 30,000 A DAY. BRITAIN'S TOTAL POPULATION IS NEARLY THREE TIMES THAT OF SOUTH AFRICA!

In the broadcast, Judge Steyn said that the number of people received into prisons had increased from 284,000 in 1951 to 568,000 in 1967. He added that between 1950 and 1966 there was a 377 per cent increase in murders, and an increase from 2,544 to more than 9,000 in violent crimes.

"I know that our society is unique and dramatically complex. I am aware that there are no simple solutions to the involved problems of crime, but it does not require much imagination to know that there is something radically wrong with a system that produces these startling results", he stated.

Calling for a commission of enquiry he said: "I very sincerely believe the time has come when we can no longer blindly proceed along the road of retribution."

PORTUGUESE NOW COLOURED!

According to reports in the papers in South Africa and questions being asked in Parliament there is a strong move afoot to curtail the entry of Portuguese nationals. A total of 27,000 Portuguese entered South Africa between January 1961 and June 1968, a figure only exceeded by the British and the Germans.

The smear campaign has been aimed mainly at the nationals who come from Madeira and the editor of *Dagbreek*, a government inspired paper asked 'why immigration authorities allowed so many Madeira gardeners in, they are neither white nor are they pure Portuguese'. He went on to add that Northern Portuguese nationals (from Portugal itself) were 'white and acceptable.'

In answer to a question on the subject in Parliament, the Deputy Minister for Immigration made it quite clear that the matter was in hand and that there was going to be much stricter control on immigrants. Dr. Kornoff in reply stated that '... immigrants must be able to integrate with our people or else they are not welcome... the immigrant must reinforce our white nation. He must fit in with the national character'. He went on to explain that future government policy would be to bring immigrants from those countries

from where the Afrikaans and English sections originated.

IMMORALITY?

The Immorality Act is a disturbing law. It turns those involved into criminals for "immorality" across the colour line. Harsh illogical and racial, this law has already brought nothing but misery to many innocent families.

As for its objective in stopping immorality, no one has succeeded in doing that since Jan van Riebeeck set his foot in South Africa. Like sex, "immorality" is here to stay.

And now Radio South Africa's "Current Affairs" wants the name changed to Anti-Miscegenation Act. Will that make it smell sweeter?

TAILPIECE

Contact across the colour line was welcome so long as the Motive for the contact was the greater separation of the races, the Minister of Mines, Planning and Health, Dr. Carel de Wet, said recently when commenting on the move by a section of the Stellenbosch University students to establish contact with Coloured students from the Coloured University of Western Cape.

Needless to add the move by the white students was killed at birth by a widespread outcry of Nationalist politicians and press.

QUOTE

"There are now something like 45 separate African Liberatory movements. Most dominant (and least publicised) among these is South Africa's well-organised numerically strong, powerfully-backed African National Congress, banned in this country in 1960 but still operating, clandestinely but vigorously, inside the Republic and openly on the international field."

From "Personality", a South African monthly - Aug. 14, 1969.



Hertzog

The story of the Fascist infiltration into the South African trade union movement has now been told from the inside by a man who was intimately involved - Louis Naude, a former teacher who gave up his job to become West Rand Organiser of the *Afrikanerbond van Mynwerkers* in the 'thirties. In his book "Dr. A. Hertzog, Die Nasionale Party en Die Mynwerkers" he gives a detailed account of the methods which were used to capture the Mine-workers' Union for the Boer Nationalist Party.

The book is published by Die Nasionale Raad van Trustees, the body which coordinated the Nationalists' activities in the trade union movement. Who constituted the Nasionale Raad van Trustees? What did it represent, and how did it come into being? On these points Mr. Naude is a trifle obscure. He says "Dr. Hertzog and Dr. Piet Meyer decided to tackle the struggle."

Later he adds: "On 4 October 1936 Dr. Hertzog, Dr. Meyer, Mr. Frikkie de Wet and Prof. Nic Diederichs met in Johannesburg to establish an organisation which would create right-minded (reggesinde) trade unions and which thereafter would act as links with the Afrikaner nation. At this meeting the Nasionale Raad van Trustees was born".

Broederbond Leadership

It might help if one explained at this stage that Dr. Hertzog was a leading member of the Broederbond (a sinister secret society of Afrikaners); that Dr. Meyer was then an official of the F.A.K. (*Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings*), and is now chairman both of the South African Broadcasting Corporation and the Broederbond; that Mr. de Wet was Johannesburg manager of the Afrikaans bank *Volkskas*, formed in 1935 on the initiative of the Broederbond; and that Dr. Diederichs, now Minister of Finance, has also been a prominent Broederbonder throughout his political career.

Thus it can be said with a fair amount of certainty that the Raad van Trustees was not a product of chance but the deliberate creation of the Broederbond. "The Nationalist Party won the 1948 election with

POLITICAL THUGGERY IN THE TRADE UNIONS

This review discusses the intrigues of Albert Hertzog and the Broederbond to infiltrate and impose the will of reactionary and narrow Afrikaner Nationalism on the White Mineworkers Union as revealed by Louis Naude in "Dr. A. HERTZOG, DIE NASIONALE PARTY EN DIE MYNWERKERS" (The Nationalist Party and the Mineworkers)

the power of the Afrikaner Mineworker", says Mr. Naude. It took a 12-year struggle with no holds barred for the Nationalist Party to capture the Mineworkers' Union. With the Union and its 12,000 members went control of the Witwatersrand, and with control of the Witwatersrand went control of South Africa. This was the prize at which the Broederbond was aiming.

Hertzog, a Back-room Boy

"In this struggle to win the workers of our country for their people (volk), no sacrifice is too great, no price too high", said Dr. Hertzog in his address to the 1939 Ekonomiese Volkskongres in Bloemfontein. Dr. Hertzog himself, according to Mr. Naude, sacrificed his flourishing legal practice to work for the Nasionale Raad van Trustees for £40 a month. Since those days Dr. Hertzog has been a Cabinet Minister and is today a wealthy man, so from a purely financial point of view one can only say that he made a good investment. Doubtless he worked with devotion for a Nationalist victory on the trade union front. In Mr. Naude's account, however, he remains always the backroom boy. He approached top people for money, and persuaded one wealthy Stellenbosch farmer, Pieter Neethling, to will his entire estate to the cause. He addressed meetings. He settled disputes, gave advice, defended accused mine-workers.

But Dr. Hertzog was never the front man who took the rap. When in 1939 Charlie Harris, the Secretary of the Mineworkers' Union, was assassinated, it was not Dr. Hertzog who was charged but a 22 year old mineworker Moller Hugo who, says Mr. Naude, "took the plight of his fellow-Afrikaners so much to heart that it temporarily unbalanced him. Slowly bitter hatred of trade union officials like Harris and others disturbed his mind. This was the injury inflicted on this young Afrikaner boy in the struggle against alien forces, a struggle which had been waged now for six years and in which the young Hertzog occupied the focus point at the centre." But it was the young man Hugo who was sentenced to life imprisonment, not Dr. Hertzog.

Groups of Thugs

The Nationalist bid to capture the mine-workers first took the form of creating a separate union, the Afrikanerbond van Mynwerkers, but this was defeated by means of the closed shop. The Hertzogites then constituted themselves into a Reform Organisation inside the Mineworkers' Union (Hervormers), and set out on the uphill task of winning to their side the majority of mine-workers, the Afrikaners, on grounds of national sentiment.

That the Reformers succeeded in the end was due to a number of factors, not all of them creditable to Dr. Hertzog and his followers. Not only did they descend to crude anti-semitism and chauvinism in their attacks on trade union leaders like Harris and Solly Sachs. They also resorted to outright thuggery, about which Mr. Naude is more than a little complacent. A certain D.B.H. Grobbelaar, formerly employed by the Department of Labour in Bloemfontein, now a commandant in the South African army, was taken into service by the Raad and given the task of organising the Bondswag, described by Naude as "the 'military wing' of the whole struggle against the communists in the trade unions".

Naude says: "Together with a couple of mates he trained a few hundred intrepid young men in strict military fashion in the technique of street-fighting. They worked out their own fighting organisation in which the basic fighting unit was a section of three men plus an N.C.O. The system worked excellently. The sections could move quickly and go into action and each member had his special task, both in attack and defence. They maintained a strong discipline and in their instruction gave much attention to fitness and the handling of various 'weapons' - naturally within the limits the law".

Lead Pipes, Bottles and Bicycle Chains

Describing one occasion on which the Bondswag went into action against mem-

bers of the Garment Workers Union on the Johannesburg City Hall steps, Naude writes:

"It was strange where all the kieres, lead pipes, bottles, bicycle chains other light weaponry suddenly came from. For about 15 minutes absolute pandemonium reigned. Each one of the Bondswag teams knew precisely what to do and where. The enemy's ranks were broken and each group was dealt with separately. The speakers were chased off the topmost steps and most of them took to their heels".

Is this what Naude means by "naturally within the limits of the law"? These were the same tactics which had been used by Hitler to gain power in Germany, and Naude admits: "These men of Grobbelaar's were later given the name of Black-shirts by the newspapers". Naude also states elsewhere that Dr. Hertzog obtained help in his campaign against the trade unions from Johannes von Moltke, the former Greyshirt leader and later Nationalist M. P. for Karas in South West Africa. Such were the methods by which the Nationalists used to take over the Mineworkers' Union. In 1941 a Government Commission stated that it had "no hesitation in placing on record its finding that the Reformers and the powers behind them, of which they are the puppets, constitute a subversive movement which is detrimental to the interests of the mine-workers, the mining industry and the Union of South Africa as a whole".

That the Nationalists succeeded at all in penetrating the ranks of the mine-workers is due to the neglect and bureaucratic methods of the union leadership, which preferred to rely on despotic use of its powers under the closed shop rather than democratic action to maintain itself in power and to the exclusion of African workers from membership. The toppling of the old leadership (which finally came about only a few months after the Nationalist Government came to power) was followed, not by reform, but by the so called Reformers, who, as Mr. Naude demonstrates, were interested in making the union a pillar of White Supremacy rather than a weapon in the hands of the working class.

B. B.

THE REVOLT OF THE BLACK ATHLETE

The problem of racialism in sport grows in importance. It is no longer the problem of South Africa alone; it has become a global problem and it is no longer a problem to be fought out only in an African context.

Our reviewer comes to these conclusions from a reading of a new and important book: **The Revolt of the Black Athlete** by Harry Edwards.

The fight against sports racialism is now being fought on the cricket fields of Britain, the tennis courts of Scandinavia and the athletic tracks of the United States and a hundred other places. It is the special contribution of the fight against racialism by South Africans that we have helped to bring the problem, internationally, into sharper focus.

For most of the world, the revolt of the Black athletes is known chiefly through the move to boycott the Olympic Games in Mexico City in October 1968, and for many the clearest memory they have of the whole issue is the graphic image of athletes, with fists upraised in the black power salute, on the victors' rostrum – an image seen at the time by some 500 million people and by countless millions in replays since.

But the movement began much earlier (Edwards gives as his earliest document in a valuable Appendix a quote from a Los Angeles paper which described him as "the man heading a campaign to persuade Negro athletes to boycott the 1968 Olympic Games", and Edwards himself uses, as a starting point the publication of Bill Russell's *Go up for Glory* in which the great basketballer showed the sacrifices and hardships a famous black athlete endures. After this came Tommie Smith's hint – much misrepresented – of a possible black boycott of the Olympics and a series of conflicts at various colleges; out of this came the United Black Students for Action and

the U.B.S.A. demands and these together with the National Conference on Black Power in Newark really got the boycott movement going.

The First Challenge

Its first serious challenge, and the one on which it grew, was the boycott of the New York Athletic Club meet at Madison Square Gardens which, fortunately, came in conjunction with the debate on the participation of South Africa in the Olympics – given fresh fuel by the Grenoble decision of the I.O.C. to invite South Africa to Mexico. It was a successful venture – many athletes withdrew, some of them white, and the Russian team who were due to take part also opted out, and that gave the movement impetus. The demonstrations at Mexico (and Edwards gives valuable insights into the debates behind the actions there) were the most dramatic and widely publicised events but far more significant have been the real advances in getting improvements in the treatment of black athletes, in the appointment of black coaches, and above all in a greater recognition of the human dignity of the black American – from which so much more must flow in future.

It is in his clear statements on the role of the Athlete in the struggle against racism, that Edwards is at his best and most valuable; "The exploitation and suffering of the black athlete in America is no more a recent development than the inhumanity and deprivation suffered by American non-athletes. Nor do these recent athletic protests mark the first instance of black athletes speaking out. The difference in this instance is that they are speaking out not only on their own behalf but on behalf of their downtrodden race, and the world and the nation are listening. America's response to what the black athlete is saying and doing will undoubtedly determine the future course and direction of not only American athletics, but will also affect all racial and social relations between blacks and whites in this country." And again: "Undoubtedly in the future some athletes will accept the bribes and token jobs in exchange for their promises to endorse the status quo or to stand silent as humiliation and injustice continue to be heaped upon black people. Other athletes will be frightened off or bow to threats. But for every backslider there will be hordes of new fighters for human dignity and justice in athletics. For as was demonstrated at the 1968 Olympics, repression only serves to create more battles and the rebels to fight them." And finally: "Because of activities such as these, the decade of the 1960's and the years beyond will be remembered as that period of time wherein the black athlete shed his cocoon of trophies, medals, newspaper clippings and photographs and became a major front-line combatant in the war for justice, freedom, and human dignity.

In these statements, the thought and the value of Harry Edwards, himself a valiant fighter for justice, come out clearly.

Excellent Photographs

There are other valuable things in the book – the excellent photographs for one, and the Appendix of records on black athletes – contrasted with the administrative position of blacks in sport – apart from the appendix of documents and press reports mentioned earlier.

But this splendid book is not the whole story. The agonised debates in Mexico for instance, and the ex-

changes between Afro-American and African athletes and officials – from which much of import may yet come; these are not reported. Nor is sufficient account given of the role of other American bodies, particularly of the American Committee on Africa – long a campaigner in the fight against apartheid South Africa on the sports-field. On the whole South African issue, in fact, Edwards is far from adequate. The omission of any reference to the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa – the co-ordinating body for sport in Africa, which set the pace for the whole world in the fight against South African participation (and with which SAN-ROC is associated) this is a glaring omission.

Against White South Africa

In the account of the fight against the participation of racist South Africa – a fight whose outcome Edwards rightly describes as “the significant victory in the international arena”, it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of the South African bodies opposed to apartheid – both sporting and political.

And the Meetings of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa in Lagos in December 1967 and at Brazzaville in March which called on the sports bodies of the world to give support to their position on racism in sport must certainly be accounted as major factors in mobilizing world opposition and so securing the victory over South African sports racism which was won prior to the Mexico Games. But we shall have to look elsewhere for this story. On the hardships suffered by black athletes too (bad housing, non-existent education in athletic “scholarships”, prohibitions on dating white girls) Edwards’ account must be supplemented, terrible though it is, by the much fuller accounts in Olsen’s *The Black Athlete*, which was serialised in *Sports Illustrated*, and to which he refers.

Awkward Question

There is one awkward question which ought to be asked and answered, and which Edwards does not raise. What is the attitude of African athletes to the Afro-American problem, and where do they stand in this fight? This can be partly answered by looking at the issue of South Africa. While for the Afro-American, for whom Edwards speaks, the criticism of South Africa is against the **whole system of slavery** for the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa the issue was simply that of a violation of the Olympic Charter – of Fundamental Principle One, to be precise, which forbids racial discrimination. The African attack was not based on the political and social system in South Africa, but the **sports structure**. The reason for this is partly that the African countries recognise that to win the fight at this stage they have to play it by a set of rules not of their devising; to base their arguments on politics would get themselves ruled out of court at the international federations and the International Olympic Committee. There are some who dismiss this as pussy-footing. But the real task is to win, and if this is the way to win then it can hardly be criticised. The position is harder to defend with regard to the struggle of the Afro-American.

This is how I understand it; The International Olympic Committee exists to bar racial discrimination in the Olympics; it cannot bar racialism in jobs, or housing or education. It can fight in the Stadium; it cannot fight in the ghetto. Thus the African countries would support, wherever they could, the fight of the black American for social

justice, but within the Olympics they could only fight on the Olympic Charter. That the Charter is a screen for much dishonesty, hypocrisy and racialism is generally acknowledged, but the effort is to compel observance of the Charter. Stated thus, the arguments seem lame, yet it was on these premises that the fight was fought against South Africa – and won. But these matters demand further examination, as the challenge to racialism through sport deepens and widens. It may be that we can only win by the transformation of the structure of the Olympic Committee; it may even be that such a transformation would entail the destruction of the Olympics themselves.

These are some of the larger questions that loom. For certain facts are evident. Despite the efforts of those who are fighting racialism in so many fields, it seems certain that racism in America will worsen. Certainly the involvement of the United States in apartheid racism increases apace, as is evidenced by increasing U.S. investment in South Africa and the willingness of U.S. sports officials to bail out apartheid in sport whenever necessary. – e.g. in Davis Cup tennis. As support for racism increases, so the challenges to racism must intensify – always to the point of demonstrations and disruptions.

This, it seems to me, is a position which may be shortly reached in Britain – yes, placid Britain, where there has been little hint of grave racial conflict, and even less serious attention given to it (the articles in the daily papers here, by their accounts of the problem, give a very clear impression that they are on the side of those who are anti-black, and that they regard anti-black manifestations as disappointingly trivial; but then we have legislation here which makes a number of racist practices permissible!) Next year we shall have, it is proposed, a South African cricket team, unashamedly racist, touring Britain. Groups of radicals have announced their intention to disrupt the matches, and the police are being geared to protect the racist sports events. Conflicts seem inevitable. And while law and order will be seen to be squarely ranged on the side of the forces of racism, and the anti-racists can expect to be thumped for their pains, it seems improbable that the matches themselves will be carried through to a conclusion.

And so the last searching – and perhaps excessively sombre question to be asked is: In the growing polarization in societies between the forces of racism and anti-racism, can international sport survive? D. B.



LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Spotlight on the South African Police State



AN URGENT APPEAL

We wish to apologise to our readers for the delay in posting our last issue due to the lack of funds. The demands of Umkhonto we Sizwe are a priority and our subsidy has been cut again in order to meet the needs of our fighting men. There are many condemnations of apartheid, but criticism does not suffice. Show your solidarity in concrete terms...

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African Doctors Excluded

In a circular from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development local authorities have been told not to allow African doctors and professional men to establish consulting rooms and offices in urban African townships. It states that urban African townships, although inhabited by Africans, are in white areas according to the principles of separate development, and professional services should be supplied by whites in terms of Section 42 (F) of Act No. 25 of 1945. African professional men should practise among their own people - in the rural "Bantu homelands".

No Pampering

African mineworkers have had a 6cent (7d.) rise. Their minimum wage is now 40 cents (approx 4/-) for an eight-hour shift; R2.40 (£1.4) a week; R10.40 (£5.4s) a month. The President of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. E. J. Smith, said: "It may be claimed the African mineworker is not earning enough to meet all his needs, but then are you and I paid enough to meet all ours?" I agree an African should get enough to improve his living, social and educational standards, but pampering him will do him no good. He should realize - as we all must - that we live in a hard world and have to fight our own way through it."

A President Declares

The State President of South Africa has been given the power under the Group Areas Act to make proclamations governing the conditions under which domestic (black) servants living in backyard rooms may receive visitors.

350 'Routine' Arrests

About 350 Africans were arrested in a raid by 400 police on the compounds of a new Escom power station being built near Heidelberg. According to Major-General G. Joubert, Senior Deputy Commissioner of Police, the men were arrested during "a routine investigation into document falsification".

Race Madness

Mrs. H. L., a 30-year-old Coloured woman, was born at Kliptown in Johannesburg. She married a non-South African African in Johannesburg in 1956. He first came to Johannesburg 22 years ago and has been continuously in registered employment, except for a period when he was mentally ill. Mr. H. L. has to leave South Africa within a month. They have seven children. Their efforts to get a house in the townships have failed. They are living illegally in one room in Soweto. Although Mrs. H. L. is a Coloured woman she was given a passbok after marrying an African. She was endorsed out of Johannesburg in 1965 and cannot prove her long residence there because she was never in registered employment. She is one of many women who seek advice from the Johannesburg Black Sash office.

4 Million Appendages

In spite of the Transkei's inability to support even its existing population, the Government is intensifying its policy of sending Africans to the Reserves. According to the Deputy Minister of Justice, Mines and Planning, Mr. G.F. van L. Froneman, the "repatriation" of 3,800,000 "appendages" - wives, children, the aged and the idle - is a top priority.