

Sechabana



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Official Organ of the
African National Congress
of South Africa

TUCSA EXCLUDES AFRICAN WORKERS

Another shameful surrender of trade union principle took place in South Africa on 12 December 1967, when a special conference of TUCSA — the Trade Union Council of South Africa, dominated by white craft unions — voted by 51 votes to 13 that African unions should be excluded from affiliation.

For many years now the main function of these unions has been to co-operate with the state and the employers to preserve the industrial colour bar.

White workers comprise only about a third of the labour force in industry — and far less in mining and agriculture. Yet they enjoy a monopoly of skilled and well-paid jobs.

The average monthly earnings of a white worker amount to £ 123½; of an African £ 17½. In mining (still the largest single employer) the gap is still greater: White miners average £ 130½ per month; Africans £ 8. (Official figures from the S. A. Bureau of Statistics, August 1967).

CRIME TO STRIKE

In addition to racial discrimination in employment, legally sanctioned and enforced by most white unions, Africans suffer from severe restrictions on trade union organization. It is a crime, punishable by heavy prison sentences, for Africans to strike. Their trade unions (unlike those of other workers) do not enjoy legal recognition; and trade union members and leaders are subjected to constant harassment and victimization by both employers and the state. Some, like the dockers' leader Vuyisile Mini, have been executed; others, like the President of the S. A. Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) Stephen Dlamini, are undergoing long jail sentences, or — like Sactu General Secretary Mark Shope, are in exile.

The main white-dominated unions have a sorry record in the face of these sufferings of their exploited African fellow workers. TUCSA was set up in 1954 to replace the old Trades and Labour Council, which had no formal colour bar. To satisfy the government, TUCSA excluded African unions from affiliation. But its constitution was revised in 1962 to allow such affiliation — partly because their brazen adherence to a colour bar lessened their hopes of gaining recognition abroad by the ILO and ICFTU; partly because it was hoped they would be able to undermine the militant SACTU by drawing away its affiliates.

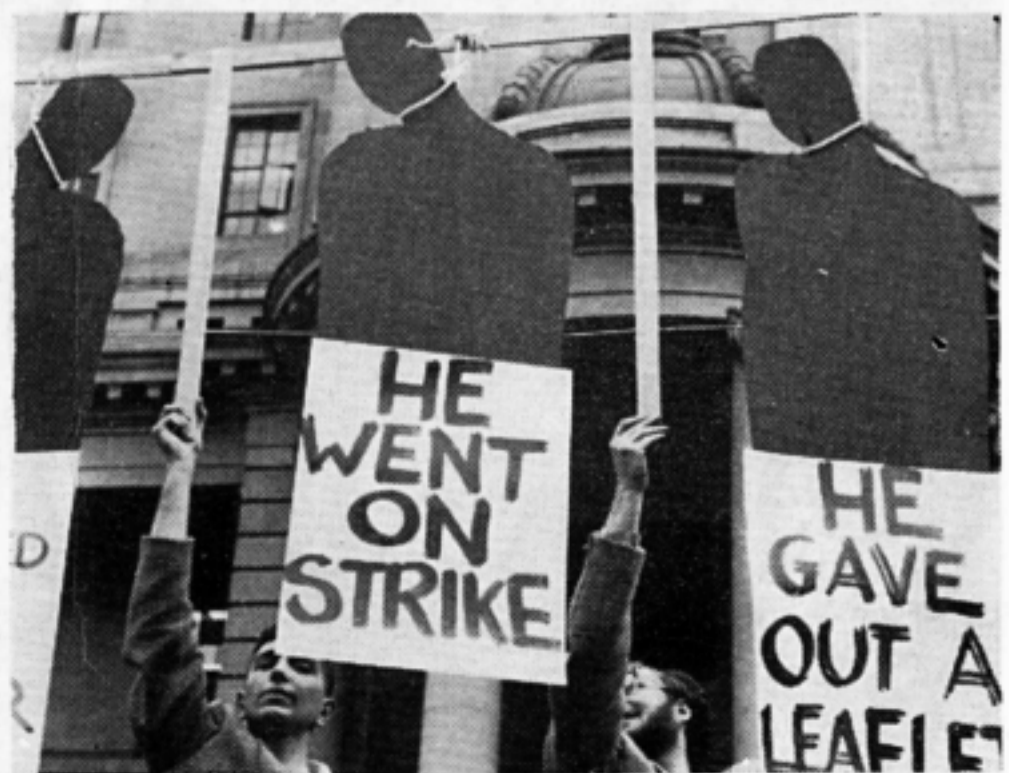
Neither of these two objectives met with much success.

WHITEWASHING APARTHEID

It is true that TUCSA representatives have travelled extensively in recent months in western Europe and North America, and have made certain contacts with trade union circles. They have used these contacts to 'explain the special conditions' in South Africa (i. e. to try to whitewash the evil practises of apartheid and the fascist South African regime), and to plead against measures of international solidarity with the oppressed majority, such as sanctions and trade boycotts. But though their 'trade union' label has given them the entry to circles which would be closed against official representatives of the regime, they have not been able to overcome the repugnance universally and correctly felt against the vicious theory and practice of apartheid.

After 1963 TUCSA offered financial inducements to African unions to try to get them to affiliate. But, although nearly all African unions have been reduced to an extremely difficult position by police interference and intimidation, few of them could stomach the racist and pro-apartheid po-

Photo left: The solidarity salute is given at a concert in Port Elizabeth held to raise money to pay costs of the trial of busmen who went on strike and were taken to court for it. Management reinstated all men and recognised many of their claims. Later, the regime detained many of the strikers, tried them, and sentenced them to long terms of imprisonment. Photo right: Johannesburg demonstrators protest anti-strike measures, including death.



policy of the right-wing leaders. At the time of the last special conference, only three African unions remained affiliated; several had resigned earlier in protest against racialist policies.

COWARDLY RETREAT

The new decision to exclude African unions altogether follows criticisms of TUCSA by the Minister of Labour, Viljoen. Faced with these criticisms, the TUCSA leaders retreated in the most cowardly manner. They withdrew the traditional demand for recognition of African unions, a position on which the trade union movement under varying leadership has stood since 1926. Instead they proposed that Africans should be allowed to join registered unions (i. e. recognised unions of non-African workers) "on the basis of restricted rights." This can only mean that the African workers should be allowed to pay union dues but not have any say in policy or elections.

To such a sorry state have the white trade unions of South Africa been reduced by their acceptance of the anti-working class precepts of apartheid. It is a proof, if any were needed, that racism is poison to the labour movement.

The great majority of South Africa's workers remain true to the non-racial principles of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), which is dedicated to the removal of all forms of race and colour discrimination and the winning, in alliance with the revolutionary liberation movement, of a free South Africa.

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Oliver Tambo, Acting President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, replies to questions on

SOUTHERN AFRICA, SOUTH AFRICA AND THE A.N.C.

Question: Mr Tambo, you have just completed a tour of some African countries; what was the aim of this tour and what are its results?

Photo above shows Oliver Tambo speaking at the first Africa Day, in April 1959.



Mr Tambo, you were Nelson Mandela's legal partner in Johannesburg. Is there a hope for the victims of the Rivonia Trial?

"Our delegation has been to Algeria and Tunisia. Other ANC delegations have visited other States. The need for the delegations to undertake these missions arises directly from the unfolding crisis in Southern Africa. After all, we are not fighting an individual cause. Africa has committed herself to the total liberation of the Continent before any individual independent state can consider itself truly independent. At the moment the greatest problem facing Africa in terms of liberation is in Southern Africa. And within Southern Africa itself the hardest core of reaction is the South African regime. It has always been clear to us that an armed struggle against South Africa poses immediate dangers and threats to the entire continent of Africa, if it supports that struggle. We have always warned that South Africa's annual military budget which now stands at £ 128,000,000 has designs not only to the ruthless suppression of the Liberation Movement in South Africa, but also for the support of all reaction in the rest of Southern Africa and for the invasion of the African Continent itself. We think it dangerous to minimise the threat to the independence of the African states. And as it is part of our plan to intensify the revolution, we feel it incumbent on us as leaders to discuss the implications of the revolution with African leaders.

In Algeria, for example, we took the opportunity of our meeting with the President of the Revolutionary Council, Colonel Houari Boumediene, the Director of the External Relations of the FLN, Mr Taibe Larbi, Commander of the FLN Hoffman Slimane, and other leaders to discuss the situation. We have also benefited from full discussions with President Habib Bourguiba, Vice-President and Secretary-General of the PSD Bahi Ladgham, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Habib Bourguiba Jr, Minister of Defence Mr Mestiri, and Director of the PSD Mr Mohamed Sayah.

These missions have been most successful and we feel they will serve to guide us in our conduct of the revolution which we have taken upon ourselves not only for the freedom of our people, but for the whole of Africa and as a contribution to the victories of the peoples in the international struggle against racism, colonialism and imperialism.

It is true that I was a legal partner of Nelson Mandela but I was even more importantly his partner in the struggle for liberation. His imprisonment and that of other leaders and members has of course deprived the struggle of an important contribution of a powerful body of leaders. Nevertheless, all reports we get from our colleagues on Robben Island, in Pretoria Jail and other South African prisons, are consistent in affirming the high morale of these leaders and their great expectation for the success of the struggle which has resulted in their incarceration. Needless to say, we involved in the struggle are equally convinced that some day they shall join the free community of South Africa and the world.

At what stage is the ANC? What are its real perspectives and prospects?



Which countries support your Movement?

What is your programme of action?

What are the liberation movements that support the ANC? Is there co-ordination between the ANC and these movements, especially regarding the armed struggle?

For a long time the ANC has been conducting militant struggle relying on non-violent methods. This became particularly intense during the 50s and gradually led to a stage at which the Movement switched over from non-violence to the phase of armed struggle. During 1967 the first armed clashes occurred between on the one hand the combined forces of the Smith and Vorster regimes, and on the other the united guerrillas of the ANC and ZAPU. It can be said that for the ANC this is the beginning of the armed struggle for which we have been preparing since the early 60s.

It is a phase in which we can rightly claim to have scored victories by virtue of the superiority which our fighters demonstrated over the racist forces sending a wave of panic throughout the area dominated by the racist regimes and arousing the masses to a new revolutionary mood. This is, however, only a small beginning in terms of the bitterness and magnitude of the revolution which is unfolding and which embraces the whole of Southern Africa. But it is an impressive and effective beginning providing what I consider a guarantee for the success of our armed struggle.

Although the armed conflicts to which I have referred took place in Rhodesia, it involved South Africa because South African troops, personnel and finance were already involved in maintaining and sustaining the Smith regime. And the problems of the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe and South Africa were becoming progressively identical. An armed struggle in Rhodesia is an armed struggle against part of the racist combine which is the Rhodesia-South Africa axis. This explains why the South African regime was rocked by the striking power of the guerrillas in Rhodesia as violently as if these battles had taken place within the borders of South Africa. And this explains why we regard the clash between the people's guerrillas and the racists as the beginning of the armed struggle for which the masses of our people have been looking forward to.

As a liberation movement we endeavour to secure the support of all countries, organizations and peoples throughout the world. We have been successful, I think, in focusing international attention on the evils of the South African racist regime; and there are many countries, governments and organizations which support not only the struggle of our people against racism and oppression generally, but who support the ANC as the Movement leading the liberation struggle in South Africa. The degree of support of course varies from country to country. In the African continent all the members of the OAU support the ANC, although some are supporters in addition of smaller parties in South Africa. We have the support of all the socialist countries with a few exceptions. Practically the whole of anti-imperialist Asia supports the ANC. And in Europe, America and Canada we enjoy the support of all important organizations. We are supported by leading movements in Latin America and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.

Our programme of struggle is geared to what is known as the Freedom Charter, which is a statement of the objectives of our political struggle. It sets out the kind of South Africa we shall establish upon taking over power. In terms of that programme: we fight for a South Africa in which there will be no racial discrimination no inequalities based on colour, creed or race; a non-racial democracy which recognises the essential equality between man and man. We shall abolish all the machinery whereby a few live and thrive on the exploitation of the many. The wealth of our country, which is abundant, will accrue to the equal benefit of all the people of South Africa. The power of government will rest in the hands of the majority of the people regardless of considerations of race. But our first and immediate task is to win over the power to rule our country as it should be ruled, that is, to replace the regime which consists of a White minority with a people's government enjoying the mandate from all the people. It is the people who will then decide on the methods and the techniques for putting into effect the principles set out in the Freedom Charter.

It has been a cardinal feature of the policy of the ANC from its very inception, to work for the unity of the people engaged in the common struggle for attainment of common objectives. In pursuance of this policy, within South Africa the ANC has rallied within the liberation movement all organizations and parties opposed to the South African racist regime and prepared to struggle for its total overthrow. Thus it is that the ANC embraces within itself a number of progressive and militant organizations who accept its leadership and programme of action; outside South Africa, it has sought to pursue the same policy of unity and

Is there a chance of the revolution breaking out inside South Africa?



Is there no gap between the leaders outside the country and the people inside?

In what form do the United Nations decisions help you, especially those concerning economic sanctions?

co-ordination of activities among liberation movements and has established very close working relationships with the fighting movements of Southern Africa and with the majority parties in other parts of Africa. An example of what the ANC understands by unity and co-ordination is the co-operation between itself and ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) — co-operation which culminated in joint operations involving these parties in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). This is a level of unity and mutual understanding which is possible among all liberation movements and which is to be found in varying degrees among those movements with which the ANC is known to have close relations.

There is more than a chance of the revolution spreading on an extensive scale in South Africa. This is a question which of course does not depend only on our will and determination to wage revolution. It also depends on the existence of objective conditions which taken together with the determination of the people make it inevitable. The political struggle in Africa has not been stagnant nor has it been so in the rest of the former colonial world. The defeat of forces of colonialism and imperialism is a process that is going on, and has been dramatically demonstrated in the victories of the peoples of Africa over colonial rule in the past decade.

The rise and emergence of armed guerillas in Southern Africa is further evidence of this process. Only a few months ago, as I have said earlier, South Africa which has been professing perfect peace within its borders has been drawn fully into armed confrontation with our revolutionary forces. It is clearly only a matter of time before this confrontation spreads itself to the valleys, mountains and bush of South Africa. There is nothing whatever that can halt the spread of the revolution in every part of Southern Africa still under colonialist domination.

In saying this one is not blind to what constitutes the greatest source of strength for the racists and colonialists of Southern Africa, that is, the material and practical backing of international finance flowing from imperialist countries. Nor is one unmindful of the military power of the South African regime built with the active support and co-operation of some Western powers. These are factors which relate not to the question whether the revolution will grow in scope and magnitude but rather to the scale of bitterness and duration of the armed struggle. It has, however, no bearing on the ultimate result which can only be victory for the oppressed people of Southern Africa, and for the complete independence of the Continent of Africa.

The fact that some leaders of the liberation movement are outside their respective countries means that in varying degrees there is a break between them and the leaders involved in the struggle within these countries. It is a gap forced upon the liberation movements by adverse circumstances and constitutes one of the problems which the liberation movements must solve. But it does not represent a total break. There is communication between the leaders outside and those within the country and it is one of the tasks of the liberation movement as a whole to strengthen and consolidate these communications. At a certain stage of every liberation struggle the need arises for the movement conducting the revolution to be in firm contact with the forces outside its country. This involves placing some of the leaders outside the country and the effectiveness of the arrangement always depends on the strength and durability of the lines of communication between the leaders inside and outside the country. It is to be expected that these lines of communication constitute one of the main targets of attack by the enemy.

It was at the instance of the ANC that sanctions as a mode of struggling against the South African regime came to be considered at the United Nations. Thanks to the vigilance and consistent support of the African states as well as Asian and Socialist countries, the UN has taken a correct position in adopting resolutions supporting sanctions against South Africa. To the extent that these sanctions have so far not been applied with any appreciable effect on South Africa, the resolutions have not helped us. But they have failed to take effect precisely because South Africa's major trading partners have persisted in their policy of economic support for apartheid despite these resolutions, and have as a result sabotaged their effective execution.

There are many countries however, in Africa and elsewhere, who have honoured these resolutions and in doing so have helped us not only to weaken the South African regime but also to maintain the type of international pressure which is of



How do you conceive the struggle against the arms race of the South African racist regime and the supply of weapons by the big powers?

considerable assistance to our cause. The decision to apply sanctions against South Africa was vigorously opposed by Britain and is still being opposed. But its correctness as a method of international attack on an evil regime was demonstrated by Britain herself when at her own instance the UN invoked sanctions against Ian Smith. But these sanctions also failed precisely because to succeed they would have had to be applied against South Africa as well. This would be to the detriment of apartheid in the enforcement of which Britain and other powers would play a vital role.

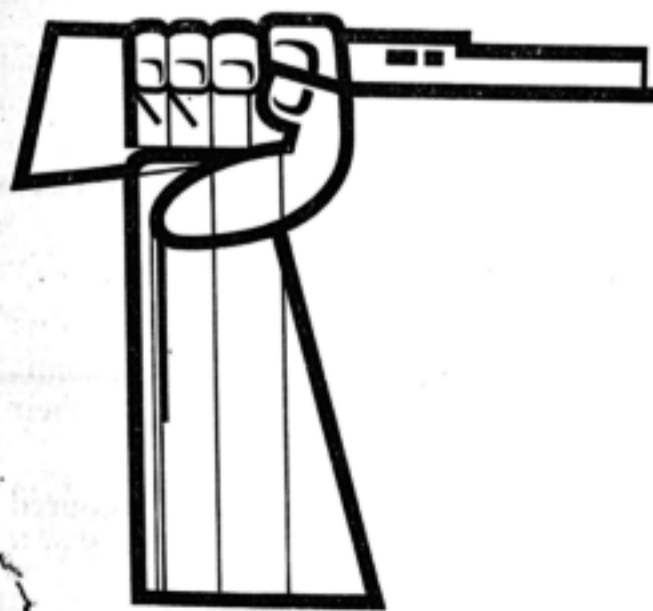
In our view, attention should be focused on those countries which undermine the UN efforts against apartheid. They should be exposed as being parties not only to apartheid as a doctrine but also to its entire machinery and the inhuman effect of that machinery upon the people of South Africa. It should be emphasized however, that we have never regarded sanctions as an alternative to our own struggle towards seizure of power in our own country. Indeed, it is not unlikely that if investors will not withdraw their capital in obedience to UN resolutions, they would nonetheless be compelled to consider their position as the armed struggle intensifies in South Africa.

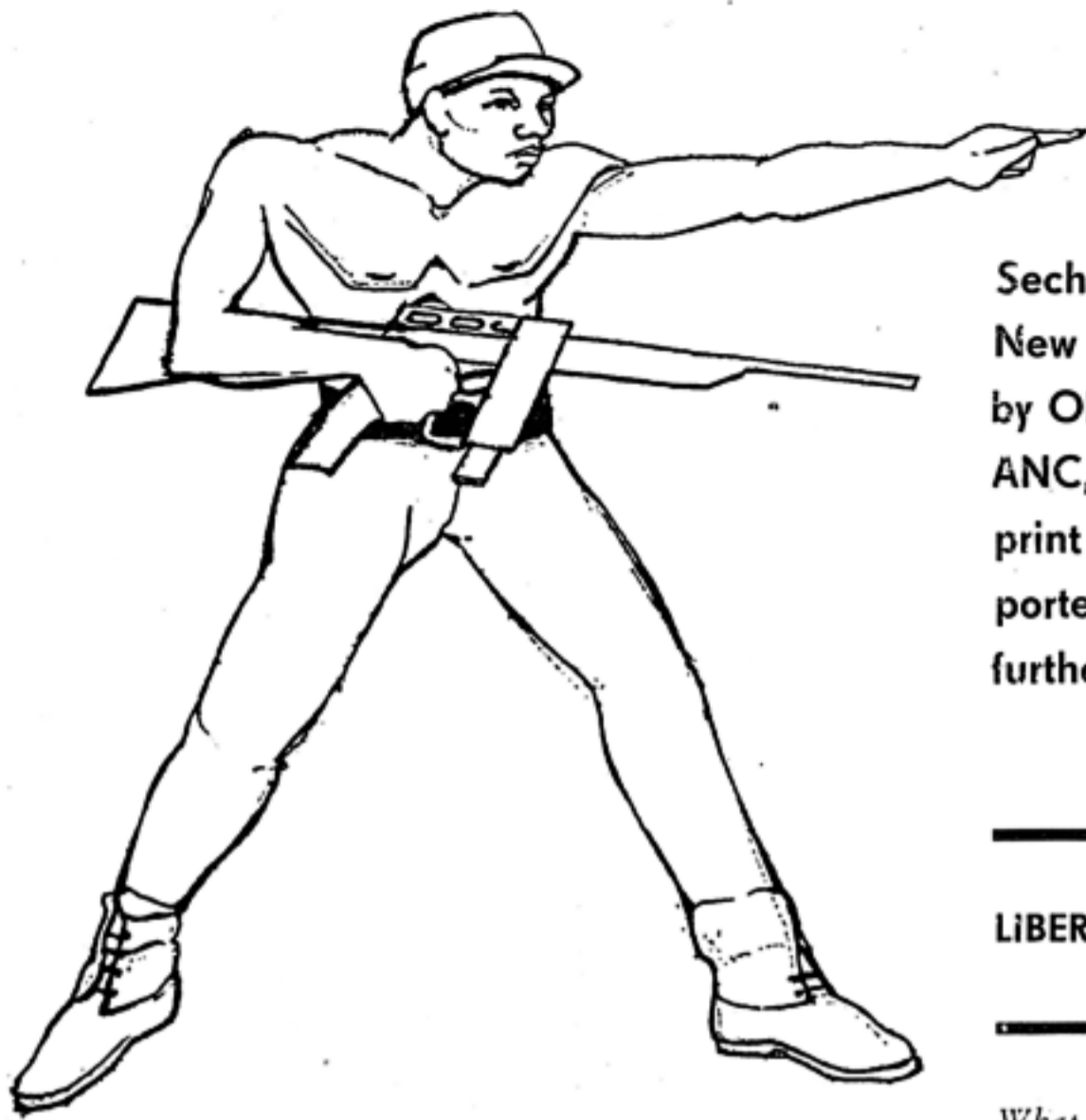
As a liberation movement we are part of an international movement against racism, colonialism and imperialism. We have the support of peoples the world over, including in the USA, Britain, West Germany, France and Japan, the main suppliers of the South African regime. The struggle is one struggle waged by all right-thinking and freedom-loving peoples of the world against the South African regime as being part of and an instrument of the forces that are hostile to the interests of mankind. Our share of this common battle is to fight and destroy the enemy within South Africa with the assistance and support of all our friends; but our international friends have also their own special share of this burden, that is, to get their governments to disengage from South Africa. What is even more important, they should not permit their governments to send arms, which are expressly intended for the liquidation of the people. They must not give their labour to the manufacture of weapons, helicopters, armoured cars and submarines for export to South Africa. To participate in these ventures against the workers whose cause we fight is to commit an act of betrayal against us. At this time in particular, we expect anti-racists, anti-colonialists and anti-imperialists everywhere to play their parts in the armed struggle now spreading throughout Southern Africa.

How do you see the end of apartheid?

Apartheid is a scheme, a device and a machinery for keeping a White minority in political and economic power in South Africa. It is also a machinery which serves the interests of international big business. It hinges on the colour of the skin and has placed the entire African population at the economic beck and call of this White minority which in turn, by holding the reins of exploitation, becomes the agent of colonial and imperial interests. On the African continent, the concentration in South Africa of 3½ million Whites holding 15 million Africans in subjugation makes that part of Africa a big prize for overseas investors.

The end of apartheid therefore must mean the dismantling of this machinery — the elimination of the agents which the White minority are, and the destruction of the means of exploitation of the African people. This is how I see the end of apartheid. It will therefore represent a transfer of political and economic power from the minority of Whites to the majority of peoples of all colours. There will be no racial discrimination because it will have ceased to serve the cause of exploitation. The bountiful wealth of our country will be shared by all its citizens. Here again the detailed process by which these ultimate objectives will be achieved must be left for decision by the masses after victory. But it is important to emphasize that not even victory in the battlefield represents the end of the struggle for the true independence of the people. It is therefore not possible to spell out how the total and final end of apartheid and all that it means and has meant will be attained. But that the people of South Africa will attain it is historically certain.





Sechaba has had a magnificent response to the New Year Message titled **CALL TO REVOLUTION** by Oliver Tambo, Acting President-General of the ANC, which appeared in our January issue. We print here the personal view of one Congress supporter, Caroline de Crespigny; and hope to publish further reactions to the Call in subsequent issues.

LIBERAL PARTY

What then was I to do about it? How could I help to abolish the colour bar? I joined the South African Liberal Party and attended many discussions, meetings and conferences. But — where were the Africans? Why didn't *they* think that this was the answer? A small group of whites endlessly debated how discrimination could be abolished — but the only method of doing this which ever really emerged was by an appeal to the White conscience; the White Christian conscience. To this appeal, white ears, whether Christian or not, remained obstinately deaf — and all the time oppression intensified, became more ruthless and rigid. Wasn't all this debate, I sometimes wondered, a luxury; a method of easing our own 'white consciences'.

It gradually became clear to me that the Liberal Party was doomed to the role of a small voice, reiterating protest at each item of legislation which took South Africa further towards fascism. When a few members of parliament, supported and financed by Harry Oppenheimer the mining emperor, left the United Party and formed the Progressive Party while still retaining their parliamentary seats, I thought I saw a possibility of action (which however I still saw in terms of the white parliament). When the General Election came, I wrote an advertising campaign for the Progressives; a campaign carefully planned to assure white voters that they could retain all their privileges while at the same time granting 'non-whites' a few minimal rights. (That is how I see it now — at the time I told myself it was a 'start'.) I was disillusioned by the election results. The white voters decisively rejected the Progressive Party — and the Nationalist vote showed another large increase.

PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS

It was shortly after this, in 1962, that I moved to Cape Town. There I came into contact with a few white individuals who were currently acting as "white eminences" be-

In a way it was easier for me than the 'Born' South African to start on the road to a positive attitude to the South African situation. I was brought up without specific 'colour consciousness' because 'colour' played no part in the life of the English provincial town where I grew up during the war and in the immediate post-war period. In fact I think the only 'non-whites' I had ever seen were a few American G.I.s standing on street corners in the rain.

On the other hand, the environment into which I was born was intensely class-conscious. Indeed I think I could say that I was as cut-off from the British working class as white South Africans are from Africans. The only ones of "them" as opposed to "us" I came into contact with were (again as in South Africa) servants. I accepted this situation without question.

APARTHEID AN INTENSE SHOCK

Yet, when I came to South Africa at the age of 22, apartheid was an immediate and intense shock. From the first it aroused in me a spontaneous, horrified rejection. In England I had assumed that any workers 'who wanted to' had the opportunity to achieve education, to 'succeed'. But in South Africa — the truth was naked. Colour prohibited a man automatically from the acquisition of money and skill. Colour condemned him to manual labour, to miserable living conditions, to poverty and yes, as I soon saw, to *hunger*.

I had not been conditioned, like most white South Africans, to accept this oppression (on grounds of colour) as the natural order — and to justify it on the basis that "natives" were stupid, lazy, and anyway contented with their lot. In the university circles I was living in, it was still possible in those days to meet Africans. My own observations showed me that all the justifications of apartheid had no basis whatsoever in fact.

HAS COME TO BE COUNTED

hind the scenes of the Pan African Congress. This puzzled me. The P. A. C. based its appeal on a blatant anti-white racialism which, as a white — or indeed as a human being — I could never accept.

CONGRESS MOVEMENT

It was at this time that I had the good fortune to meet a group of supporters of the Congress Movement; people who supported the policies of the ANC (banned in 1960), the Coloured Peoples Congress and the white Congress of Democrats — which was also to be banned a few months later. Here for the first time I realised it was not a case of "us" planning for "them." All these people were united in a common cause. On what basis? I turned to the Freedom Charter — and found a plan for a new society.

I read the words of Nelson Mandela. "The Charter is more than a mere list of demands for democratic reform. It is a revolutionary document precisely because the changes it envisages cannot be won without breaking up the economic and political set-up of present South Africa."

So I came to realise that I had been blinded by seeing apartheid solely in terms of 'colour prejudice'. I had ignored the fact that it was in fact the systematic *economic* exploitation of the mass of workers and peasants by a ruling minority. (It is in explaining this blindness that I believe the sketch of my background at the beginning of this article is relevant.) The only way in which a different South Africa could be achieved would be, again to quote Mandela, by "the organization, launching and development of mass struggles on the widest scale." This was a task which only the African National Congress could, and did, undertake.

For the first time what had previously been, as far as I was concerned, two separate areas 'economics' and 'morality' — came into focus clearly (and finally) as one.

PROTECTING FINANCIAL INTERESTS

I realised that the Liberals and Progressives were, for different reasons, concerned to avert a catastrophe which they saw to be inevitable. But they did not wish to change the nature of the society. The Progressive Party was attempting to incorporate an African elite into the existing machinery as a method of protecting its financial interests (those of monopoly capital), while the Liberals went further in visualising a total African integration — again however in terms of the economic status quo. Both parties were, and remain, totally opposed to the Africans bringing about change by the only methods available to them; those of armed struggle. The Liberals consistently repudiate "violence" — while the Progressives stated their complete opposition to the guerilla Freedom Fighters at the moment of their first emergence. Both parties have failed to realise that the white parliament has become a total irrelevance. The

whites who support the P. A. C. do recognise this — but are moved by a concern that overseas interests, both economic and diplomatic, should not be affected (as they might be by an African government with a positive programme as regards the re-distribution of wealth), and also by a determination to do everything possible to keep South Africa wholly committed to a non-socialist course.

WAR HAS BEEN DECLARED

Two things moved me to write this article on my experiences as a person of British birth and upbringing who lived in South Africa and was eventually able to identify with the struggles of its people. One was Oliver Tambo's appeal in the January issue of *Sechaba* to people all over the world who value democracy to openly support the Freedom Fighters in Southern Africa. The other was the leaflet recently distributed in South Africa which calls "on white South Africans to take their place on the side of liberty and democracy, the side of our freedom-fighters — now before it is too late."

It seems to me that this is a time for all whites to stand up and be counted; outside as well as inside South African territory. The patience of the African people has been extraordinary, as is evidenced by the fact that they are still prepared to offer "equal rights for all people" and still to declare that "the African National Congress has a message of freedom for all."

War has been declared. As the downfall of South Africa's Portuguese allies draws nearer every day, as the ANC-ZAPU coalition prepares to advance deeper and deeper into the South, surely the last chance has come for us — the whites? Outside the country, we must work through every means in our power to express our total rejection of the concept of white supremacy and white domination. Inside the country we must take the decision whether to die in defence of a cruel and despicable doctrine held in horror by all humane people, or to seize the opportunity which, amazingly I feel, is still being offered us — the opportunity to live in a South Africa which, in the words of the Freedom Charter: *belongs to all who live in it.*"

CAROLINE DE CRESPIGNY came to South Africa in 1954 and was a member of the Liberal and Progressive parties before becoming a Congress supporter in 1962. In 1965 she was detained in solitary confinement for 144 days under the 180-Day clause. Now in England, she says: "Though I was born in this country, I find myself an exile here, awaiting the day, not too far distant I believe, when I can return to South Africa."

UNDER THE BANNER C

(The first part of this article, from a member of the Transvaal Indian Congress, detailed the hardships suffered by the Indian community since their arrival in South Africa in the late nineteenth century. In 1893 Mahatma Gandhi came to South Africa and fought for and with the people. Many campaigns of passive resistance were carried out and Indian mineworkers and farm workers went on strike. Gradually the Indian community came to realise that the only real solution to the problem was a unified fight together with the majority of the people, the Africans. In 1950, Dr Yusuf Dadoo and Dr G. M. Naicker entered into a pact with the late Dr A. B. Xuma, then President-General of the African National Congress, to work together in the fight against white oppression. In 1952 unity was demonstrated in the Defiance Campaign when over 8,000 volunteers were jailed. In 1954 the Congress Alliance was formed, further strengthening the unity of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, and including also the Coloured People's Congress, the S. A. Congress of Trade Unions and the Congress of Democrats. Aware that the unity of the people posed a great threat, the government introduced even more drastic repression. The Indian community found itself of necessity moving together with the African majority away from Passive Resistance and towards Active Resistance.)

The unity of the freedom-loving people of South Africa manifested in the Freedom Charter at Kliptown on 26 June 1955, provoked a vicious response from the authorities. The police raided offices, homes and even schools — and finally in the early hours of 5 December 1956 there were widespread arrests.

156 South Africans of all races faced charges of treason. Five years later the last of these 156 were found Not Guilty and released. In those five years much had happened — protests, boycotts, passive resistance, stay-at-homes continued — and on the government side new draconian measures were enacted. Police violence increased, and the name Sharpeville

An Indian shop-owner is evicted under the Group Areas Act, after 20 years on the premises.



rang throughout the world. Violence became open, and newer forms of repression were devised.

And we, the people, sought and found new forms of resistance.

Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi the Indian people had introduced satyagrah to South Africa. Disenfranchised, denied the right to work and travel freely, deprived of a share of the wealth they had helped to create, declared aliens in a land where their forefathers were born, they nonetheless for half-a-century sought by moral force to persuade the government to change its policies.

But that government recognised none of the values and morality of civilized societies.

In the meantime discussions between the leadership of both the South African Indian Congress and the African National Congress for joint struggle materialized, and the first of many joint actions against the fascist regime began with a general strike in May 1950. This was followed by another joint strike on 26 June 1950 and the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign 1952—53.

But defiance and peaceful protest were met with newer and ever harsher legislation, The Public Safety Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the various Criminal Laws Amendments Acts, restricted still further the meagre 'freedom' left to the people — the right of free association, the freedom of movement and the freedom of expression.

GROUP AREAS ACT

For the Indian people, most vicious of all — the Group Areas Act. Its tentacles spread into every farm, dorp, township, location, city; affecting every family and threatening their very right to live. Officially, the purpose of the Act is to divide our country into thousands of areas, where racial and ethnic separation will be completely maintained, except that the authorities will permit the continuation of those associations considered useful by them. These associations as we know only too well are of the master-servant type.

The African people had faced cataclysmic upheavals with the introduction of the Land Act in 1913, and later in the urban areas faced the loss of homes and lands they had lived in for generations. Now the Coloured and Indian people as well, joined the ranks of the dispossessed 15 million human beings moved around like pawns on a chess board, in a game played to preserve the white minority's privileges.

Trying to divide the people, government propaganda has projected an image of the Indians as a wealthy group seeking only to preserve its commercial interests. But this picture bears as little resemblance to reality as does another of the propaganda office's projections — of happy smiling Africans giving daily thanks for the protection of "The Great White Chief" and all the health, wealth and happiness his government has brought them.

What is the reality? The hovels in Natal Province shelter many a sari-clad mother desperately concerned with the lack of food for her family, the impossibility of education and jobs for her children, and the despair of where to go and how to live when they are all forced to move into another area.

The genuine leaders of the community have been gagged, banned, imprisoned, tortured and even killed, and no one can appoint others in their place.

DOGS ATTACK WOMEN DEMONSTRATORS

The Indian women demonstrated their contempt for the Minister and his Council when hundreds of them came to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to voice their lack of confidence in the Minister for Indian Affairs at the end of 1963. The gates leading to the Cabinet Ministers' offices were barred and guarded. The police in strength tried to break up the demonstration, and the government showed its concern for democracy by turning dogs loose on these women, who were armed only with letters of protest.

The government which sets dogs on women has acted with no less ruthlessness against defenceless school children. For many weeks the students at the Johannesburg Indian High School maintained a protest against the removal of their school, and in mid-1963 they marched from Fordsburg to the University of the Witwatersrand to demand that the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) sitting in Conference, march with them and place their demands before the Transvaal Education Department. Nusas and the students marched back, but the protest was of no avail. Despite repeated intimidation and interference by the police, the strikes continued.

Every year since then, the celebrations of the "White Republic" on 31 May have been the occasion for protests in the schools. Arrests, charges under the Suppression of Communism Act, threats and beatings have all failed to break our schoolchildrens' resistance.

UNDER THE BANNER OF THE ANC

The young men of the community have also shown valiant resistance to their oppressors. They have responded in the martial traditions of the Indian regiments that were acclaimed in the war against fascism.

Some are now serving sentences on Robben Island. Others are in detention under the notorious 180-day clause without benefit of trial. Still others have paid with their lives for their peoples' freedom.

BUT MANY MORE ARE PREPARING THEMSELVES FOR THE LONG AND BITTER STRUGGLE THAT LIES AHEAD.

A new phase in which all of us, men women and children, must march together — as we have done before in the many phases of the struggle since the days of Mahatma Gandhi — is here. But now we must go with arms in our hands.

**SOUTH AFRICA IS OUR COUNTRY.
ITS PEOPLE ARE OUR PEOPLE.
ITS LIBERATION IS OUR LIBERATION.**

Umkhonto Wesizwe (Spear of the Nation) has proclaimed: — "The peoples patience is not endless. The time comes in the life of a nation where there remain only two choices — submit or fight. The time has now come in South Africa."

WE WILL FIGHT! AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

1. S. Africa "no place at Unctad"

The Indian paper *Patriot* reported: "President of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, K. D. Malaviya, on Friday expressed his disagreement with and disappointment at the provisional legal ruling on the question of South African participation at UNCTAD II.

"He said there were clear precedents when South Africa's participation in several international conferences of specialized agencies of the United Nations had been prevented, the most important being the ILO from which South Africa had been permanently debarred.

"Dr Malaviya said that even as the UN recommended a total trade boycott of South Africa until the Government of that country fundamentally changed its racist laws, it had been allowed to attend the UNCTAD which would deal with the possibilities of expansion of international trade.

"He appealed to participating member countries to insist on a vote on the question of South African participation in the UNCTAD."

2. ANC in India Expresses Regret

The *Hindustan Times Weekly* reported: "Mr Alfred Nzo, chief representative in India of the African National Congress of South Africa, yesterday deeply regretted that legal provisions had been invoked to protect the participation of South Africa in the second UNCTAD.

"In a statement he said that there were precedents for the exclusion of South Africa from UN agencies. This did not require any prior action by the UN Assembly.

"He congratulated the Ugandan delegation for its effort to prevent South African participation."

Mr Nzo also said: "The demonstration by the youth and the students of India and Africa on the opening day of UNCTAD was indeed a profound manifestation of the strong bonds of Afro-Asian solidarity, and a clear sign of the deep resentment against the universally condemned apartheid policies of the racist regime of South Africa."

3. Nearly 1,000 Walk Out

Nearly a thousand delegates, representing practically all but the West, walked out of the second UNCTAD when a South African representative, W. C. Naude, took the floor, reports *The Times of India*.

Following a strong Algerian protest, the S. A. delegate came to the dais — but not one African, Asian or Socialist delegate stayed in the hall to hear him.

One of the Cuban delegates was on the steps to inform the Press of his delegation's participation in the walk-out. No other Latin American delegate could be contacted to check whether their group as a whole had walked out or not.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Starvation Wages (2)

In a study conducted by the research branch of Johannesburg's Non-European Affairs Department (on wages paid to its employees), shows: —

In 1964 nearly 83% received a starting wage of less than £ 15 a month. In 1966, nearly 60% were still receiving a starting wage of less than £ 15 per month.

The average monthly basic wage in all sectors of their employment needs rose from £ 13.49 in 1964 to £ 15.82 in 1966. The survey points out that the increase in cash wages in itself does not necessarily mean that *real* wages have risen also.

Shipping Corpses

A South African firm's scheme to ship the frozen corpses of destitute Africans to West Germany for medical research foundered because West German medical institutes demanded "white corpses only." A Johannesburg shipping firm thought up the scheme to export the frozen and preserved corpses of Africans. Several research centres were interested — until they discovered that most of the paupers who died in South Africa were Africans.

"We couldn't help them with white bodies from South Africa, so we have given up the whole idea," their managing director stated.

"Removal Scheme"

Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban attended a meeting to discuss methods to alleviate the suffering of Africans being moved to 'homelands' and dumped in the veld at Limevill, Natal. The Archbishop said priests had originally become interested in the move to Limevill when it was realised that preparations for the move were minimal.

He had been at Limevill on the first day of the move. Four or five families were brought along and just dumped in the veld under a blazing sun. They were bewildered and did not know what was going to happen to them. Nor did they know how to erect tents left with them.

The Africans were supplied with two bags of maize meal and were told they were to ration it to 3 pounds weight a day per person for three days.

The first night it rained and the tents leaked. The furniture could not be got into the tents and it was damaged.

U. N. On Prison Conditions

Prisoners and detainees in South Africa are kept in inhuman conditions and are subjected to physical violence, torture and racial discrimination, says a report published by the United Nations in New York. For people opposing apartheid, South Africa is becoming a giant prison, says the report. The laws and regime of apartheid and the treatment of political prisoners and detainees show that the Republic has become a Police State. The application of these laws has placed South Africa on the same level as the Hitler regime in Nazi Germany. Prison conditions are made especially inhuman for non-white prisoners, it added. The Vorster regime denounced the report as intervention in its domestic affairs.

South West Africans Tortured

Joseph Helao Shityuvete who was arrested in South West Africa in March 1966, said in a statement to Court that 68-year-old Gabriel Mbindi was assaulted during interrogation by Special Branch officers.

It is alleged that he was handcuffed to an iron waterpipe so that his feet hardly touched the ground, blindfolded and struck in the face, kicked and threatened with death.

Shityuvete said he heard of the assault from a prisoners who shared a cell with Mbindi and was able to communicate by shouting loudly from his cell.

He was told that Mbindi's face was swollen and his ears painning. The police said that a previous statement from Mbindi was false and they wanted the truth.

"I have every reason to believe that Mbindi is truthful in his allegations, because I and many of my co-accused have been similarly assaulted by members of the Special Branch during our detention," he added.

Man Tortured, Released

An African alleged in the Magistrate's Court in Sasolburg that two policemen applied the plug of an extension telephone to parts of his body and gave him shocks.

The African, Aaron Sekhabi, was giving evidence when the two policemen, Lucas Marthinus Mienie (21) and Marthinus Venter (20) appeared charged with assault.

Sekhabi said in evidence that Mienie and Venter questioned him about some missing clothes. He was taken to the Sasolburg Charge Office, where he was handcuffed. The plug of the telephone was first applied to his stomach and the handle was turned. He got a shock and flung the plug aside. He was again shocked when the plug was applied to his neck. Then he was told to put it in his mouth. The handle was turned and he spat the plug out. Later, the plug was applied to his neck again. Afterwards, he was hit in the stomach. Later, his room at the hostel was searched.

He was brought back to the Charge Office and released. He returned to his work and "could hardly work properly." He was attended to by a doctor and visited the district surgeon the next day. The District Surgeon told the Court he had examined Sekhabi. He had abrasion marks on the neck and a definite burn mark near his shoulder. His pulse indicated that he was upset and nervous.

Starvation Wages (1)

Official S. A. Government estimates say that by the end of this century the African's share of the total domestic product will have risen to about 30%. (Africans are at present about 70% of the population and this figure will increase over the years.) By the turn of the century, their per capita income would by then have attained the figure of about £ 165 a year — about £ 13½ per month.

REPORT AND COMMENT

COMMENTS ON SOME RECENT ISSUES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS

APARTHEID & MEDICINE

While South African medicine has attracted the world limelight for the sensationalized heart transplants in Cape Town, a Durban newspaper has been complaining that the Natal Provincial hospital services are close to "breaking point" because of the desperate shortage of medical staff. Natal has 14 provincial hospitals, but only two of them, according to the *Graphic* (5 December 1967) have a qualified pathologist on the staff! And where is the shortage of doctors most acute? In the non-white hospitals and in the non-white wards — naturally.

There are altogether some 8,500 white doctors in South Africa, and only 120 non-white, to serve a population of 3,395,000 whites and 14,437,000 non-whites respectively (12,162,000 Africans, 1,742,000 Coloureds, 533,000 Asians, according to mid-1965 estimates). According to the Administrator of Natal, speaking in October 1966, "possibly half of the combined working time of white doctors is spent on non-white patients."

Pay scales for doctors in Government service is laid down according to a rigid discriminatory scale, whereby Coloured and Asian medical practitioners receive 3/5 and Africans 2/5 of the salaries paid to whites; salaries for nurses have roughly similar ratios. It is these humiliating conditions that the *Graphic* — an Asian-owned paper with a mainly Asian readership — blames for the tragic shortage in Natal. Senior non-white medical officers are paid less than junior white doctors, and according to one doctor quoted: "There is nothing we can do about it — except resign. Many non-white doctors have resigned from the Provincial service, reluctantly, to go in to private practice because the salary situation is intolerable."

Another Indian doctor is quoted as saying he feels embarrassed when he collects his pay cheque, "and an African doctor, with qualifications equal to or better than mine, picks up a smaller cheque."

One Doctor For 30,000

Early last year a Johannesburg newspaper, the *Sunday Times*, reported a Member of Parliament as estimating that South Africa was short of 2,000 doctors. He said the shortage of doctors in the 'Bantu homelands' was "tragic," and that lack of research workers meant that diseases such as bilharzia — a kidney disease contracted from water-snail carriers — "continued to run rife."

Dr A. H. Tomkin, Secretary of the S.A. Medical Association, quoted in the same paper, said that doctors were badly distributed throughout the country, that in parts of the Cape there might be one doctor for 800 people, and in the Northern Transvaal there might be one for 30,000.

The Registrar of the S. A. Medical and Dental Council reported in 1964 that the scarcity of African doctors was the crux of the manpower problem. Natal Medical School could admit larger number of African students than it did, but there were very few matriculants with the necessary qualifications. On the other hand, he said, of 100 suitable Indian candidates in 1963, the Medical School had accepted only 25. The Medical School at the University of Cape Town could no longer accept African medical students because the so-called 'Extension' of University Education Act of 1959 expressly forbade it.

Loaded Admission Charges

Discrimination exists not only at the level of training and pay of doctors and nurses, thus creating desperate shortages where there is most need,

The Department only started digging latrines three days after the first families arrived. A road was still being scraped across the veld on the day of the removal.

There was no school whatsoever, and elementary lessons were held in tents in stifling heat.

The Africans thus 'removed' are expected to build their own houses.

(Editor's note: A full report of this mass removal scheme and other schemes affecting thousands of people which are now in process will be dealt with in a special feature in our next issue).

An Exam Question

The results of the Natal Matriculation examination announced by the Education Department are the worst recorded over the last four years. The great disparity between the number of passes achieved by White and Indian students has raised the question: What's up?

160 out of the Indian examinee total of 1,599 obtained a Matriculation exemption — 10%. Percentages for previous years are: 1964 — 18%; 1965 — 14%; 1966 — 18%.

Of the 2,500 White candidates who wrote the same examination last year, 1,257 gained Matriculation exemption — nearly 50%.

Of the total number of Indian students who sat for the A-level Senior Certificate last year, 33% were successful, while of Whites who sat the same exam, 80% were successful.

Most students feel there is absolutely no relation between the amount of work they put in and the results they obtained, according to a report in *The Leader*.

Sechaba NEWS ITEM

Strauss in Southern Africa

West German Finance Minister and Chairman of the CSU (Christian Social Unity party), Franz Josef Strauss, will pay a second visit to the South African racist regime at the end of March and beginning of April. A spokesman for the CSU executive announced in Munich that Strauss's five-day visit had to be regarded as "a continuation of the visit which Herr Strauss paid to South Africa in April 1966."

During his first visit Strauss conducted negotiations on the strengthening of military co-operation between Bonn and Pretoria, above all in the nuclear field. Furthermore, he contacted the chemical group SASOL, which possesses licences of the former industrial group IG-Farben for the production of the poisonous gases tabun, soman and sarin. At that time Herr Strauss also visited the Smith regime in Rhodesia.

but in the fees paid by patients themselves.

According to the *Natal Mercury*: "In the scale of admission charges operating at Addington Hospital (Durban), an unmarried white patient earning £ 17½ to £ 25 a month is required to pay an admission charge of 6/—. An unmarried Coloured patient earning £ 17½ to £ 25 a month is required to pay exactly twice as much. Another charge levelled against the Administration's treatment of non-white patients concerns King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban. A non-white specialist has stated that indigent patients are turned away from the hospital if they do not tender the required six-shilling fee for admission. The decision to turn patients away in such cases is left in the hands of clerks — not medical staff."

Poverty Diseases and Deaths

Perhaps some of the millions invested in research for transplant surgery might be better spent on training and paying decent salaries to African doctors; in developing the hospital system (in 1962, for instance, 21,953 hospital beds were available for whites and only 55,870 for Africans, who number four times the white population); and in eradicating the scandalous incidence of the poverty diseases — kwashiorkor and tuberculosis — and infant mortality.

Kwashiorkor, according to official statistics for 1965, was "negligible" for whites, but affected 40 Indians, 410 Coloureds and 980 Africans per 100,000 of population. There were 13,201 cases of tuberculosis among African children up to four years old in 1964. And as for infant mortality, there are no official figures for Africans at all, but medical experts have estimated figures ranging from 250 to 400 per thousand for Africans in rural areas. Official statistics for white, Coloured and Asian infant mortality were 28.6, 119.6 and 56.3 per thousand respectively (1962).

These figures, it must be remembered, refer not to the poorest of the developing states of Africa, but to the most highly industrialized society in the continent, capable of spending £ 128,000,000 per year on defence, boasting its own atomic reactor, and "leading the world" in heart surgery. The following letter appeared in the South African newspaper *The Natal Mercury* on 5 December last year. It is reproduced here without comment.

"Sir,
I appeal to you to print this letter, as I hope the non-Europeans will be-

nefit as at present we are being victimized for our colour when ill.

I have always been treated very kindly at Addington Coloured Section, but lately things have changed a lot. Not our treatment, but the way we have to pay.

For a long time I have wanted to report this matter, but have not had enough particulars.

Sir, I was in Coloured Casualty on 21 November waiting for my card, when a friend of mine said: "Listen to that — in this place it's cheaper to be treated as a European than a Coloured."

I said: "How come?"

"You see that light Coloured sitting there? She has just come from Cape Town, and by mistake went to the European section for treatment. Before seeing the doctor she had to pay

60 cents and had a European card. (60 cents — equivalent to six shillings before Britain's devaluation).

"When she had to book to see the specialist she felt it was not right, so came to our section. She had to start all over again, telling them what her husband earned, how many children she has; and was told she must pay Rl. 80 (18 shillings), and extra for all X-rays and medicines."

Why, Sir, must she pay Rl. 20 more than a European with the same earnings and number of children? Please do me a favour; come to Addington and you will find out what I have told you is true. But do not come as a Coloured.

— J. SEPTEMBER
7 Happy Valley
Durban."

NEW HEARTS INTO WHITE BODIES

This article is published with the kind permission of "PRIVATE EYE," the British satirical magazine. The article itself however is a non-satirical comment on heart transplants, written by Mr Foot in his column 'Footnotes', and titled: "The Man With The Golden Hands." It contains many informed facts which have been largely ignored by the South African and Imperialist press.

The surgeons in America and South Africa who have been enthusiastically replacing their patients' hearts have achieved a remarkable rate of mortality even by the standards of cardiac surgical experiment. Leading the field is Dr Adrian Kantrovitz of New York whose two patients, a small baby and Mr Louis Block, both died within a few days of their transplant (mortality rate: 100 %).

Second is Dr Chris Barnard and his team at Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town. Mr Louis Washkansky, their first patient, is dead. Dr Philip Blai-berg, their second, is still tenuously alive. (Mortality rate: 50 %.) Third is Dr Norman Shumway at the Stanford University Centre, California, whose single transplant patient Mr Mike Kasperak is critically ill. By the time *Private Eye* comes out, the overall mortality rate could well have hit the jackpot 100 %. (Editor's note: Mr Kasperak died making the overall mortality rate at time of Sechaba going to press 80 %.)

This impressive record has inspired cardiac surgeons all over the world to have a go. In Oklahoma, the surgeons

already have a recipient, and are looking around for a donor. In Bristol, cardiac surgeons, egged on by the Minister of Health, are eagerly fingering their scalpels. In South Africa the debonair Professor Barnard, having told the *Cape Argus* of 3 January that there was "no possibility of another transplant operation being done in the near future," disclosed to a packed Press Conference on January 8th: "Yes, we are starting to look for another transplant case."

For the slaughter that is to come in the operating theatres of cardiac hospitals, no one is more responsible than the Press. The British Press, despite belated doubts, heralded the transplant operation with the joyful abandon of a schoolboy at the Farnborough Air Show. In the general hysteria some rather important details seem to have escaped public attention.

The physical engineering of heart transplantation is a relatively simple business, and can be successfully performed by most experienced cardiac surgeons. What makes the operation difficult and dangerous is the probability that the body will reject the

tissues in the new heart. The real advances in cardiac surgery in the past few years have been in the 'typing' of body tissues, the assessment of one tissue's compatibility with another. If accurate, this process ensures transplantation without the body rejecting the new tissues and collapsing. With the recent advances in tissue typing, the chances of a heart being accepted are now five to one against, compared to thousands to one against a few years ago. In other words, out of six cases of heart transplantation, five will fail, and the patients will die through tissue rejection. The odds are narrowing. In a year's time, perhaps even 6 months, the chances of survival could be much improved. But Professor Barnard could not wait.

BARNARD'S REAL ACHIEVEMENT

Professor Barnard's "pioneering" has not been in surgical engineering, nor in tissue-typing (most of the crucial tissue-typing has been done in immunological establishments in Switzerland and Holland and in secondary centres in England and America). His contribution surmounted one of the nastiest problems facing the heart transplant surgeon: how to get the new heart into the body before it is irretrievably damaged.

This problem marks the big difference between heart and kidney transplantation. After death — that is after the blood has stopped circulating — kidneys are not irreversibly damaged for half an hour or more. In this time they can safely be removed and put into someone else. Once the blood and oxygen supply has been re-established, the kidney rapidly recovers and functions normally. Thus kidney transplantation has been carried out almost entirely without criticism, and with considerable saving of life.

The heart, however, behaves differently. Within three to four minutes of the blood circulation stopping, the heart is irrevocably damaged, and is quite useless. The business of transplanting a heart takes much more than three to four minutes. It took Professor Barnard and his team five hours.

Professor Barnard and his team have discovered a "solution" to this tricky problem: namely *to remove the heart before it has stopped beating*. In this way the time taken to disconnect the

heart and lift it across from donor to recipient can be kept down to the necessary minimum. And if the donor heart is cooled to ten degrees centigrade, the connecting stitches necessary to secure the heart in its new place, thus re-establishing its blood supply, can be made before the heart is irretrievably damaged.

When Professor Barnard performed his 'pioneering' transplant operation on Louis Washkansky on 3 December last year, surgeons all over the world were astonished to read that the donor, a young car-crash victim called Denise Darvall, had "died from a car crash" (see every British and South African newspaper 4 and 5 December). They were reassured by the following 'revelation' published a fortnight after Washkansky's death:

"It was revealed this week that the operation on Mr Louis Washkansky, the world's first heart-transplant patient, was begun while the donor, 25-year-old Miss Denise Ann Darvall, was still alive. When Washkansky was ready for the transplant, the artificial respiration which Miss Darvall was receiving was discontinued. Twelve minutes later, her heart stopped beating and she was certified dead. It could be argued, therefore, that the moment of death was determined by the action of discontinuing the artificial respiration." (Stanley Uys: *Observer*, 7. 1. 68.)

So Washkansky's new heart was not damaged, and the operation was a success. Why then did Washkansky die? To counter the likelihood of tissue rejection, Washkansky had been filled with 'immuno-suppressive' drugs, which have the effect of killing the body's main, if not only, resistance to infection — the white blood cells. In Fulham Hospital, London, for instance, where immuno-suppressive drugs are used to great effect in killing off a rare form of cancer in pregnant women, the patients are isolated in a 'sterile unit', into which no one comes. Food is eaten off remote-controlled trolleys, and the patients communicate with the outside world through microphones. Sterilization like this is essential if the patients are to survive. Washkansky, however, was subjected to the hectic, and no doubt highly infectious glare, of the international Press and television.

"What was that, Mr Washkansky?" queried one nervous TV interviewer, thrusting the mike further into Washkansky's lips: "Please say it again for us." "The doctor," muttered Washkansky on cue, "is the man with the golden hands." Ten days later, after an attack of pneumonia, he died.

(Dr Blaiberg, incidentally, got a different treatment. He was in an isolated ward, and even his wife had to speak to him through a glass door. "Before her short visit she underwent an intensive sterilization procedure which involved a 'scrub-up' and the wearing of mask, overall, overshoes and surgical gloves." (Cape Times, 8. 1. 68).)

DR BLAIBERG AND MR HAUPT

Old Golden Hands was determined to try again. He had his recipient at the ready. Leaving instructions with his team to report on Dr Blaiberg's progress, the Professor left for a triumphant tour of the United States. The tour was rudely interrupted by a telegram bearing the news that Dr Blaiberg's heart had deteriorated and was on the point of death. There was not a moment to lose. Pausing only to warn his team not to start without him, Barnard left for home, arriving on the afternoon of New Year's Day. That morning Dr Jannie Louw, head of the department of surgeons at Cape Town University, was reported as saying:

"Dr Blaiberg is certainly well enough to last until Professor Barnard comes back, and maybe longer . . . Everybody is conscious of the need to keep a wary eye open for likely donors." (Cape Argus, 1. 1. 68.)

Finding a donor in this case however was not going to be easy as with Mr Washkansky. For Dr Blaiberg's blood group was B-rhesus positive. The blood groups for the two main groups in the South African population break down as follows:

Group	Blacks	Whites
O	46 %	46 %
A	32 %	40 %
B	19 %	12 %
AB	3 %	3 %

Approximately 83 % of the B groupers are rhesus positive. Many more blacks than whites, in short, are of the B blood group, but even among Africans and Cape Coloureds only about one in

six are in the B positive blood group. Small wonder then, that the emergency call which went out to Cape Town hospitals and ambulances to keep a look-out for head injuries, stressed a preference for black ones. The political implications of putting a black heart in a white man were neatly anticipated by Barnard who announced that his team would not hesitate to transplant a heart because of the colour of the donor's skin.

Almost exactly as Barnard's delayed flight from the US landed in Cape Town, a young factory worker called Clive Haupt, who was having a new years day bathe on his favourite segregated beach, collapsed with a violent headache and was taken to False Bay hospital. The False Bay authorities, reckoning that the headache was due to hemorrhage, had Mr Haupt transferred right across Cape Town to the Victoria Hospital, Wynberg, which has better neurosurgical facilities.

The medical reports are not clear at this stage, but almost certainly someone at Victoria Hospital carried out a lumbar puncture on Haupt's back, and diagnosed a massive 'subarachnoid' hemorrhage (so-called because the arteries have broken or leaked in the space underneath the arachnoid membrane, over the brain).

Many casual readers of the reports have assumed that, if Haupt had a brain hemorrhage, he was certain to die. Even today, despite fantastic advances in neurosurgery, coroners and others are inclined to regard brain hemorrhage as fatal. Not, however, so. In Britain, for instance, only 12% of patients die within a few hours of having their first subarachnoid hemorrhage. For this minority an operation is considered dangerous. For the other 88%, operation and survival without serious brain damage is the norm.

The normal criteria as to whether or not the patient's condition is hopeless is his level of consciousness and his ability to breathe on his own. The Atkinson Morley Hospital in London, for instance, where neurosurgery is presided over by the brilliant, if conservative, Dr Wylie McKissock, the normal routine is to wait five days, and, even then, to operate only if the patient is still breathing under his own steam. Other London surgeons, however, apply a less rigid test and operate earlier.

Mr Clive Haupt had only been in Victoria Hospital about half an hour when, according to a memorable passage in the *Daily Telegraph* (3 January): "A doctor, noting that Mr Haupt has little chance of survival, but is otherwise in good health, telephones ward C 2 at Groote Schuur where Dr Blaiberg is awaiting a donor heart."

At that time Mr Haupt was still breathing on his own. Anyone with the remotest knowledge of brain hemorrhages knows that they are made much worse by travelling. Brain surgeons are always reluctant to order even one hospital transfer because of the consequences to the hemorrhage. Mr Haupt had already travelled by car to False Bay. He had then been transferred over a considerable distance to Victoria. He was still breathing on his own, but the decision was taken *within an hour* to transfer him to Groote Schuur.

The *Cape Argus* takes up the story: "The doctor and the Coloured man arrived at Groote Schuur and the highly-gearred heart transplant team started on the preliminary stages. Blood samples were taken and Dr M. C. Botha and his technicians at the Provincial blood grouping laboratory began initial tissue-typing." (*Cape Argus*, 2 January.)

All this shunting around and tissue-typing did not enhance Mr Haupt's health. At 8.30 p. m., some time after he arrived at Groote Schuur, his breathing failed and he was put on an artificial respirator. It is extremely unlikely that a brain hemorrhage patient will survive after being put on the respirator. Very few surgeons, however, would write such a patient off automatically, and most, especially in the case of a young man, would keep the respirator going for a considerable time to see if there were any chances of survival. Professor Barnard, however, after consulting a number of surgeons and physicians, took the decision to operate at 3.30 in the morning, only seven hours after the respirator was attached. Some hours earlier he had told reporters in some excitement: "The heart appears to be compatible." At that time Prof Barnard must also have heard the extraordinary news that Mr Haupt's blood group was B Rhesus Positive!

At eleven that morning the news men were rewarded. The operation took

place. According to newspaper reports, Mr Haupt's "heart failed and he died at 10.43 a. m." The cause of death, however, as with Miss Denise Darvall, could not have been natural. Sometime before 10.43 a. m. Professor Barnard and his band of wizards must have been preparing Mr Haupt's body for the removal of the heart, which must have been still beating at the time of removal. Unlike Miss Denise Darvall, however, Mr Haupt had not suffered any head injuries. He had a brain hemorrhage which, in the vast majority of cases, is not fatal. Mrs Haupt, incidentally, was not consulted about her husband's heart transplantation — a precedent which has been rigidly followed by the American cardiac surgeons who have followed Prof Barnard's lead.

Fortunately for Prof Barnard, the journalists who have been covering the Great Transplant Drama will not hear a word against him. The Professor's Press Conferences are eagerly looked forward to by all the (white) journalists who can attend them.

The *Cape Times* of 6 January reported the last of these more fully than other newspapers:

"He (Barnard) sat facing the glare of arc lamps, six television and newsreel cameras, and 10 microphones. Twice members of the medical school tried to end the conference after the scheduled 15 minutes.

On the first occasion a man at the back said: "Last Question."

"Give them a chance to finish," called Barnard.

Then he was told there was a telephone call. "Just take it," he replied. At the start someone quoted him in London as saying he might go into politics. Was this true?

Prof Barnard: "I can't believe I said this. Is that what they said I said? Did I say I would become a politician one day?"

A Journalist: "You did." (Laughs)

Prof Barnard: "Oh, well, I might consider it on one condition — if they make me Prime Minister."

One reporter asked what salaries the doctors in the heart transplant team received "from top to bottom."

Prof Barnard: "I have no idea what the bottom doctors get."

Professor Golden Hands enjoys the Press Conferences every bit as much as the journalists.

given by the State Department for the latter action were that he talked openly about African oppression when visiting in other countries, and that he demanded freedom for the countries of Africa. Either of these alone was enough to lose him his passport.

In those years he sang in churches in the Black communities and for small left-wing organizations. The going was not easy but he stood his ground, even when he was called up before the Unamerican Activities Committee of Congress, whom he told: "You are the real Unamericans! Why don't you go down to Alabama and Mississippi and protect the rights of my people down there!"

It took eight years of fighting before Paul Robeson broke through the barriers; the petitions, rallies, delegations to US Embassies in many countries finally brought victory and in 1958 he was able to leave the USA. One of his first actions after reaching Europe was to sing in St Paul's Cathedral in a special service to raise funds for the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, and he remained continuously active in this struggle.

Robeson visited the Soviet Union again and also the other new socialist coun-



At service in St Paul's Cathedral, London, for South African fund for prisoners and defence; 12 October 1958.

tries in Europe. When he came to the German Democratic Republic, he was greatly impressed by the changes in the people here, who had completely broken with the past record of German imperialism, racism and fascism. He was well aware that this socialist German state with its capital in Berlin supported freedom in Africa and considered men like Patrice Lumumba its heroes — while the government across the border in West Germany was on



Arriving in Moscow for the first time. On Paul Robeson's right is Herbert Marshall of England. In front is Mme Arly Titze, American singer who lived in the USSR most of her life, and Mrs Robeson. At the left is Sergei Eisenstein, and below him is Cameraman Tisse.

the side of Portugal, of Verwoerd, and of all other forces of the past in Africa.

That is why he consented, together with his wife Eslanda and his family, to the formation of a Paul Robeson Archive in the German Democratic Republic, at the German Academy of Arts in Berlin, to work further in his spirit.

In Berlin and everywhere he went, Robeson spoke rejoicingly of the march of freedom down the length of the African continent, as he did of the marches of freedom in his own land. Only the long bouts of bad health which have hindered him so much in recent years kept him from visiting the newly independent countries of Africa.

Many people in Africa, and also especially the progressive people of the USA, think of Paul Robeson as a great pioneer of today's struggle. Like his late friend and teacher, Prof W. E. B. DuBois, he never compromised in his demand for Freedom Now, or in his opposition to those who crawl before the rulers in Washington who vainly try to suffocate the freedom struggle in wars against Koreans, Vietnamese and other brother peoples of the world.

"Big Paul" has always seen and pointed out the connections between the battle fronts in Alabama, in Sharpeville and in Hue and Saigon. He has also shown the way to a happy future for all — black, yellow and white. And whether his warm, stirring voice rang out in a call to action, a fighting song like "Joe Hill" or "Ol' Man River," or even a lullaby for a child, he has always moved his audiences and cheered them on. His voice is with you today in Southern Africa!

— Victor Grossmann
Berlin.

"... And twelve South African workers now lie dead, shot in a peaceful demonstration by Malan's fascist-like police; as silent testimony to the fact that, for all their pass laws, for all their native compounds, for all their Hitler-inspired registration of natives and non-whites, the little clique that rules South Africa is baying at the moon. For it is later than they think in the procession of history, and that rich land must one day soon return to the Africans on whose backs the proud skyscrapers of the Johannesburg rich were built..."

— From a speech by Paul Robeson at a meeting of the National Labour Conference for Negro Rights, held in Chicago, 10 June, 1950.



"WE ARE NAMIBIANS, NOT SOUTH AFRICANS"

One of the thirty-seven men tried in Pretoria for alleged "terrorism" in South West Africa, accused the South African Government of ruling his country without the consent of its people. The Secretary of the banned South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), Mr Toivo Herman ja Toivo, was the first to make a statement when the Supreme Court heard defence pleas of mitigation. The trial resulted in life imprisonment for 19, 20 years in jail for nine, and two received five-year sentences. All were members of SWAPO.

Mr ja Toivo told the Court: "It suits the Government of South Africa to say that it is ruling South West Africa with the consent of its people. This is not true. We have felt from the very moment of our arrest that we were not being tried by our equals but by our masters, and that those who have brought us to trial very often do not even have the courtesy to call us by our surnames.

"Had we been tried by our equals, it would not have been necessary to have any discussion about our grievances. We find ourselves here in a foreign country, convicted under laws made by people whom we have always considered as foreigners. We found ourselves tried by a judge who is not our countryman and who has not shared our background. It is the deep feeling of all of us that we should not be tried here in Pretoria."

Addressing the judge, Mr Justice Ludorf, Mr Toivo continued: "You, My Lord, decided that you had the right to try us, because your Parliament gave you that right."

"Not the right, the duty," commented the judge.

"We are Namibians and not South Africans," continued ja Toivo. (Namibia is the name given to South West Africa by Swapo, the peoples organization.)

DETAINED OVER A YEAR

Herman ja Toivo continued: "The South African Government has again shown its strength by detaining us for as long as it pleased, keeping some of us in solitary confinement for 300 to 400 days, and bringing us to its capital to try us. It has shown its strength by passing an Act specially for us and having it made retrospective."

Comrade ja Toivo was referring to the 'Terrorism Act' passed last year by the S. A. Parliament, under which the 30 Namibians were found guilty. The Act has been made retrospective in that it is deemed to have come into operation in 1962 and thus applies in respect of acts committed at any time thereafter, with some exceptions.

Mr ja Toivo: "Your government, My Lord, undertook a very special responsibility when it was awarded by the League of Nations the mandate over us. We believe that South Africa has abused that trust because of its belief in racial superiority.

"The world is important to us. In the same way as all laughed in court when they heard that an old man tried to bring down a helicopter of the South African Police with bow and arrow, we laughed when South Africa said it

would oppose the world." He referred here to the S. A. Government ignoring the UN decision revoking the SA mandate over SWA in October 1966.

S. A. REGIME CREATING HOSTILITY

He said that the South African Government created hostility by separating people of various races and emphasizing their differences. "Separation is claimed to be a natural process. But why then is it imposed by force, and why is it that whites have the superiority?"

"Your Lordship emphasized in his judgment the fact that our arms came from Communist countries and also that words commonly used by Communists were to be found in our documents. But in the documents produced by the State there is another type of language. It is the wish of the South African Government that we should be discredited in the Western world." He referred here to a statement by the judge that the death sentence would not be imposed on any of the 30 accused, since they had been used as 'dupes' by 'the communists'.

"That is why it calls our struggle a communist plot. But this will not be believed by the world."

He said that the judgment of the World Court in The Hague in July 1966 had come as a bitter disappointment to them.

ARMS FOR JUSTICE

"Is it surprising that my countrymen have taken up arms?" he asked. "Violence is truly fearsome, but who would not defend his property and himself against a robber? And we believe that South Africa has robbed us of our country. "My Lord, you found it necessary to brand me as a coward. But during the Second World War when it became evident that both my country and your country were threatened by Nazism, I risked my life to defend both of them, wearing a (South African) uniform with orange bands on it. But some of your countrymen when called to battle to defend civilization resorted to sabotage against their own fatherland. Today they are our masters and are considered the heroes, and I am called the coward."

Herman ja Toivo was referring to the activities of certain pro-Nazi organizations in South Africa during the last war, such as the 'Ossewa Brandwag' (Oxwagon Sentinel). Their supporters were mainly Afrikaners (Boers) who still constitute the majority of the ruling Nationalist Party in South Africa. The present South African Prime Minister, Vorster, was a member of the O. B. and was interned during the war for pro-Nazi activities.

"I admit that I decided to assist those who had taken up arms," Mr ja Toivo said. "My co-accused and I have suffered. We do not feel however that our efforts and sacrifice have been wasted. We hope that what has happened will persuade the whites of South Africa that we and the world may be right and that they may be wrong," he concluded.