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# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



## Vorster's New Image Exposed

# SECHABA

Vol 9 No 4 April 1975

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

## CONTENTS

	Page
<b>FIGHTING TALK:</b>	
Don't be Duped by Vorster	2
<b>VORSTER'S TEN WHITE LIES:</b>	4
<b>INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA:</b>	
The Scourge of the Passes	7
<b>NO PEACE WITH APARTHEID:</b>	
Premier Chissano of Mozambique lays it on	9
<b>DEAR MUHAMMAD ALI:</b>	
What are you up to?	10
<b>THEY DIED FOR FREEDOM:</b>	
Profiles of 2 MK Militants	11
<b>MARABASTAD:</b>	
An Urban Hell-Hole	12
<b>APARTHEID HEALTH SERVICES:</b>	14
<b>INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA:</b>	
Trial, Detention, Torture	16
<b>PORTRAIT OF A FASCIST:</b>	19
<b>DECLARATION FOR A NEW SOUTH AFRICA:</b>	20
<b>SMITH PREPARING HIS EGG NEST</b>	22
<b>US AND SOUTHERN AFRICA:</b>	23

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## Fighting Talk ♦ Fighting Talk

# Don't Be Duped by Vorster

The following is the full text of a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity Meeting at its 24th session recently. Copies of the letter written by Secretary-General of the ANC, Alfred Nzo, were sent to the Administrative Secretary and heads of all delegations participating in the meeting

Reports of visits by various delegations from some independent African countries to South Africa and those of representatives of the fascist Apartheid regime, including its prime minister, to certain independent African countries have become too frequent to be ignored. In the interests of revolutionary African solidarity, the African National Congress, representing millions of oppressed people of South Africa, considers it its inescapable obligation and duty to draw the attention of the current Session of the OAU Council of Ministers to these developments.

Whilst it is not our intention to enumerate the growing number of African countries that have to date sent their delegations to South Africa, nor those that have been visited by the representatives of the fascist regime, we feel however, that it is necessary to point out that the information media of the Western imperialist countries, especially those of the South African regime, have attributed the absence of the delegation from the Central African Republic from the current Session of the OAU Council of Ministers to the fact that a high level delegation from this sister Republic is at the very moment paying a "goodwill visit" to South Africa.

You will certainly agree, dear brother, that these negative developments, taking place so soon after the events of the recent 29th Session of the UN General Assembly which forcefully highlighted the international isolation of the fascist regime of South Africa, must give cause for serious concern.

It is common knowledge that the main contributory factor to the high prestige of the Organisation of African Unity in the sphere of international politics has been its commendable ability hitherto to adopt a common united approach to all problems that affect the vital interests of not only the African peoples but also of mankind in general. This united African approach has vastly contributed to the success of the Afri-

can Liberation Movements in mobilising democratic world public opinion behind the just and heroic struggles of their peoples. This factor has also contributed to the maintenance of the combat morale of the fighting peoples in the colonially and racially dominated African countries at a very high level indeed.

One other example is growing Afro-Arab unity. The isolation of aggressive Israeli circles has been growing from the time of the imperialist-inspired Israeli aggression against the Arab Republic of Egypt, Syria and Jordan in June, 1967. The high water-mark of this development was reached in the wake of the October 1973 Israeli aggression which ended up in a resounding defeat of the aggressive Israeli state. The solidarity of the independent African countries with their beleaguered Arab brothers in the wake of the October war which was marked by concerted united action of the Member States of the Organisation of African Unity, is a matter of an indelible historical record. One African country after another broke off diplomatic relations with Israel until a stage was reached when the diplomatic isolation of Israel on the African Continent was complete. It must be emphasized that this has been a mortal blow, not only to Israel but also to reactionary imperialist circles as well, whose aim has always been to bolster the aggressive Israeli state against the Arab and African Liberation Movements.

### Total Rejection

We need hardly emphasize, dear brother, that the monolithic unity of the Organisation of African Unity has always been a source of deep worry for international imperialism and its aggressive circles. They cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that practically no important international issue can be decided without the stamp of this prestigious Continental organisation of African peoples.

The history of numerous attempts by imperialist forces and their reactionary placeman on the African Continent whose aims have been to disunite and disintegrate the Organisation of African Unity is too wellknown to be recounted here.

It must be pointed out that the ruling circles of the Apartheid South African regime have been particularly active in

this field confronted as they have always been by the impregnable wall of total African rejection of their criminal Apartheid policies. As is well known, manoeuvres concocted under the fraudulent "outward looking policy", "the dialogue policy", "bridge-building policies", etc. etc., have in the past achieved little or no success for the racist regime. South Africa remained isolated as ever as was observed at the last session of the UN General Assembly under the Presidency of the illustrious son of Africa, Brother Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Foreign Minister of the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Algeria.

It is, of course, true that, panic-stricken over the revolutionary developments in Southern Africa which the fascist regime and its supporters were incapable of stopping, Johannes Vorster and some of the Chieftains of Apartheid have lately made statements designed to hood-wink world public opinion into accepting the possibility of progressive changes inside South Africa. Accompanying these statements, Vorster has been intensifying the regime's efforts of clothing the reactionary Bantustan policies with a certain amount of respectability. The recent meetings between Vorster and the Bantustan puppet chiefs, and also leaders of the puppet councils of the Coloured and Indian communities were designed to achieve just that.

The counter-revolutionary aims of Vorster's Bantustan programme are directed at, inter alia:-

- placating both national and international public opinion;
- isolating the Liberation Movement;
- legalising the balkanisation of our country through recognition of tribal so-called states and consequently "vietnamising" the problem and dividing the Organisation of African Unity.

The oppressed people of South Africa will at no stage be duped into accepting these manoeuvres because from their own bitter experience, they know that despite Vorster's "broad smiles", the real face of fascism has not changed but that these "smiles" are intended to perpetuate the oppressive regime.

Hundreds of the best sons and daughters of South Africa are still languishing in prisons as political prisoners. We demand their unconditional release.

There are daily arrests of hundreds others under the pass laws and other discriminatory laws designed specially for the African people.

According to the regime's own submissions, it has been revealed that no less than ten and a half million Afri-

cans had been arrested under the pass laws in the last 25 years up to the end of 1973. In 1973 alone over 500,000 Africans were arrested and these figures include women, old men and the cream of African youth, both men and women. Of course, the cost in terms of human misery and suffering is incalculable.

(See also "The Scourge of the Pass Laws" later in this issue - Ed.)

### Freedom Charter

The Bantustan policies have aggravated rather than solved the question of acute land hunger of the African people; tortures of those arrested under political legislation continue. These are revealed every time the victims are finally brought before the courts of law.

It is impossible, dear brother, to expect any progressive changes within the context of and under the umbrella of the Apartheid system. Meaningful democratic changes can only be brought about under majority African rule and within the context of the revolutionary programme of the National Liberation Movement - the **FREE-DOM CHARTER**. Acceptance of any other "solution" proposed by our enemies, such as the Bantustan scheme, is tantamount to a gross betrayal of the vital interests of the majority African people of our country.

The reason for our special mention of the current visit to South Africa by the delegation from the Central African Republic should be clear in the light of the fore-going. The impact intended by South Africa's special reference to this visit cannot be doubted. The fascist regime is proving the success of its renewed efforts aimed at driving a wedge within the Organisation of African Unity to the extent that one of its Member States has paid more attention to a visit to South Africa at the expense of the current Session of the OAU Council of Ministers.

The ruling circles in South Africa are fully aware that once they have succeeded to divide the Member-States of the Organisation of African Unity, the African countries' opposition to the continuing crimes of the Apartheid regime and also their support for the Liberation Movement of the oppressed people will have been weakened.

There is no doubt that such a development would have an adverse effect not only on the progress of the revolutionary struggles in South Africa and other colonially dominated African countries, it would certainly jeopardise the historic gains of the African revolution.

It is, therefore, incumbent on the Orga-

nisation of African Unity to call a halt to the current drift away from the revolutionary principles enshrined in its Charter. This will serve the supreme interests of the political destiny of the entire Continent. It is therefore, the view of the African National Congress of South Africa that a critical appraisal of the current negative developments is vitally necessary and this should be done urgently in the interests of consolidating African solidarity and unity.

### Regime of Terror

We of the African National Congress are convinced, after a sober assessment of the balance of forces both inside South Africa and internationally, that the regime of terror in our country has reached its weakest point ever. It is precisely at this moment that all the efforts of the democratic forces, both in Africa and internationally, must be directed at increasing their all-round support for the revolutionary struggle of the people of South Africa.

Our own course is clear and irreversible. We shall not rest, no matter what obstacles are placed on our path, until the final victory of our national democratic revolution. With full confidence and justification, we shall always count on the unfailing support of the Organisation of African Unity, the world socialist system and the other international democratic forces - all of whom have always unequivocally supported the just and heroic cause of our people.

In addition, we would like to propose the following:

- Re-affirmation by the OAU of the condemnation and rejection of the Bantustan policies of the Vorster regime. The Organisation of African Unity should call on all its Member-States not to establish contact with the puppet so-called tribal states.

- The Organisation of African Unity should contest the legality, legitimacy and sovereignty of the South African regime on the basis that it is a product of colonial conquest. Its membership of the United Nations should also be contested so as to lay the basis for new instructions to the African Group in New York in pursuit of the next move for the expulsion of the Pretoria regime.

We take this opportunity, dear brother, to wish you success in your noble mission of strengthening and consolidating the Organisation of African Unity during your term as Chairman of the 24th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers.

(The major part of this issue of **SE-CHABA** is devoted to this subject - Ed)

# VORSTER'S TEN WHITE LIES



Vorster

Vorster is basking in the glory of unprecedented local and international attention after his recent pronouncements on his policy of "detente and peace" in Southern Africa.

The euphoria amongst sections of white South Africans is almost total. Recently a Progressive Party M. P. in South Africa's allwhite parliament called him a "statesman" and then the British Institute for the Study of Conflict added the further accolade by nominating him "the leading statesman in Africa".

The author of the 90-day and later, 180-day detention in solitary confinement law, which has claimed at least 22 deaths through torture has indeed come a long way since he and his party came into office 27 years ago.

Vorster and his supporters at home and abroad are claiming that "wholly new vistas have been opened with the prospect of detente in Southern Africa and the promise to end race discrimination in South Africa".

Even the most optimistic of his supporters, we are certain, do not believe that these vistas will actually be attained. Following Frelimo's victory in Mocambique and Angola's march towards independence, Vorster has not only seen the writing on the wall, he has read it, and knows that what has happened in these former Portuguese colonies can (and must) happen in South Africa as well.

So he plays for time . . . He talks to the Bantustan leaders . . . He talks to the coloured and Indian Council members . . . After each indaba these Black "leaders" come back even more frustrated. He has not been able to satisfy the demands for more land from the Ban-

tustan leaders; he has failed to make any compromise with these leaders for the repeal of the influx control regulations, which has been responsible for over 10.5 million Africans being jailed in the 27 years Vorster and his predecessors have been in power (See special article later in this issue).

He has lifted the ban on blacks at the Nico Malan Theatre which is now open for Black audiences on certain days. Nationalist politicians are no doubt combing the Statute Books of South Africa's catalogue of race laws and practices to find other examples which could be safely discarded to give the world the impression that indeed there is a thaw in White South Africa's thinking.

South Africa is so saturated with racism - legal, as well as through custom - that the Government could assemble a whole package of what it terms "unnecessary" race discrimination and consign these to the dirt bin without seriously impinging on the fundamentals of apartheid.

Who, and for how long, could Vorster bluff in this way. Already resistance to his so-called liberalisation of race practices is seeping into the Nationalist Party from their Right-wing and we could be left in no doubt that if the pace of change is accelerated he will have to face the whole complex of hostile conservative forces within his Party - from political groupings and cultural institutions to religious groups and workers' organisations.

## Lies, Lies and More Lies

Meanwhile, Vorster is finding out the hard way that the international image

he is endeavouring to foster needs much more than a sop here and a sop there to sustain it.

More and more he is being forced to lie in order to safeguard this image.

Let us take the recent discussion he had with President Tolman of Liberia for instance. He was forced to lie on no less than ten occasions during these discussions.

In reply to questions put by the President, Vorster said . . .

**LIE NO. 1** ". . . When the Dutch came to Cape Town in 1652, there were far more Red Indians in what is now the United States of America than Blacks in South Africa. Today, there were far more Blacks in South Africa than Red Indians in the United States. It is therefore untrue that South Africa practiced genocide . . . Blacks and Whites in South Africa had only met at the beginning of the 19th Century . . ."

What is the truth? When the Dutch settlers arrived in South Africa on April 16, 1652, they met the peaceful Khoisan and Khoi Khoi people whom they practically wiped out within a short while. Possessing superior arms the Whites shot down these relatively unarmed people, deprived their survivors of their land and drove them out of the area, took away their livestock and forced those whom they captured to work for them as slaves.

But even before the time of White settlement, as far back as the second half of the 15th Century, there had been several bloody clashes in which lives had been lost on both sides. Those clashes had been between the Khoisan and other African people particularly

the Xhosas, on the one hand, and the would-be Portuguese colonisers on the other hand. One such historically interesting clash took place at a place named the "Bay of Cows" with the would-be colonizers led by Vasco da Gama. The "Bay of Cows" is our present day Mossel Bay in the Eastern Cape.

Vasco da Gama found the Xhosas at Mossel Bay in 1497 and the Dutch invaders found them in the area where the towns of Swellendam – Montaga – Heidleberg stand today and not at the Great Fish River as the South African history books say and as Vorster now repeats.

\*\*\*\*\*

**LIE NO 2** "... Afrikaans children go to Afrikaans schools; children of English descent go to English Schools; Indian children go to Indian schools, Zulu children go to Zulu schools, but the standard is all the same ..."

The truth is that per capita costs of education for Whites in the 1971-72 year was R990 while for Africans in the same period it was only R133.

If the standard of education is the same for all race groups why is it necessary to have different syllabi for each group?

Over and above this there is discrimination in every aspect of school life. Black teachers and lecturers are paid less than their White counterparts; education is free and compulsory for all White children. It is neither free nor compulsory for Blacks. One can go on and on ...

\*\*\*\*\*

**LIE NO 3** "... Great difficulties have been experienced in getting the respective groups in South Africa to unite ..."

Everyone knows that unity between the races is not only frowned upon by the authorities it is fostered by a host of laws. Just to name some: The Group Areas Act which segregates the different race groups into water-tight compartments; The Separate Amenities Act which allows for separate but not equal civic and other facilities for Blacks; Various proclamations that make it illegal for anyone other than an African from entering an African area etc. etc.

\*\*\*\*\*

**LIE NO. 4** Supporting the existence of Influx Control regulations Vorster told President Tolbert that "there might be 10,000 jobs in a given area and 30,000 applicants coming in for the same jobs.



This is an example of the white man's civilising mission in Africa



The floor serves in place of chairs and benches

Demolishing firms became rich overnight as a result of forced removals



Influx Control is designed to limit the inflow . . ."

Lie No. 5 is a good reply to this assertion.

\* \* \* \* \*

**LIE NO. 5** When President Tolbert suggested later in the discussions that such problems could be solved by providing jobs in areas from which the people came. Vorster replied, "My Government is encouraging the establishment of industries in Black areas. **There is a shortage of labour in South Africa and consequently workers come from Mocambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.**"

So much for 30,000 people applying for 10,000 jobs!

However, it must be pointed out that in the so-called Homelands literally thousands of jobless people are living in dire economic straits. Workers from the countries named by Vorster are recruited to work in South Africa only because apartheid economy is based on an ever present reservoir of cheap labour being available at all times.

\* \* \* \* \*

**LIE NO. 6** "... It is true that White, Indian, Coloured and African doctors receive different salaries . . . My Government has said that it is an untenable position which it inherited, and it intends to do something to bridge the gap . . . There is no such distinction in industrial wages. All races receive the same wages for the same work . . ."

The Nationalist Party, ever since it came into existence, believed in the policy

of White supremacy and therefore, for Vorster to say his Government "inherited" the wage differentiation for doctors is a deliberate lie. In any case, Vorster's Party has been in power now for 27 years . . . How long before he does away with wage discrimination for doctors of the different race groups?

On his boast that Blacks and Whites get equal wages for equal work - we agree. But what he does not say is that Blacks do not have equal opportunity to get the better paid, skilled jobs . . . as a matter of fact he does not say that there is a law - the Job Reservation legislation - which denies almost all skilled trades to Blacks. (See later in this issue.)

\* \* \* \* \*

**LIE NO. 7** Although he could not foresee a "homeland" such as KwaZulu ever being consolidated, consolidation of the "homelands" was a process that would go on, said Vorster.

He knows this is not a process that will go on. In order to consolidate the fragmented "homelands" he will have to expropriate White lands and homes and no Government has ever dared to do this in South Africa. They take away land on which Blacks have settled for centuries but never land from the Whites. The reason is obvious. The Whites have the vote and the Blacks have no say in elections to Parliament or other Governing bodies.

\* \* \* \* \*

**LIE NO. 8** "My Government in the last 10 to 15 years has spent millions of rands on development in South West

Africa. We do not want an inch of South West Africa's territory and I would be only too pleased to get South West Africa off our backs."

What utter balderdash! Magnanimous Vorster and his Government have spent millions to develop South West Africa and they would like nothing better than to get out. What is the delay, may we ask? Why not get out . . . now!

**LIE NO. 9** "There is no fighting in South West Africa with SWAPO or any other liberation movement."

We suppose the press reports of what happened in Windhoek recently and other such reports of struggles inside Namibia were figments of the imagination of newspapermen.

\* \* \* \* \*

**LIE NO. 10** "There are no political detainees in South Africa . . . About 300 people had their movements restricted. These people are predominantly White and members of the Communist Party."

What about Nelson Mandela, Herman Ja Toivo and the 26 SASO and B. P. C. men and women being held in solitary confinement and incommunicado this very day!

Stories that follow have been especially written on current happenings inside South Africa in order to expose these and other lies that Vorster is peddling around the Continent and the world . . .



Mandela and Sisulu in Robben Island

While Vorster boasts about his efforts at detente in Africa there is little evidence that he is anywhere near bringing about detente with the Black population inside South Africa. Let us take the application of the infamous pass laws for instance. Nearly 10 500 000 Africans were arrested and prosecuted under the pass laws during the 25 years of Nationalist Party rule from 1948 to 1973.

That staggering figure emerged when pass law statistics in the latest Survey of Race Relations were added to previous totals going back to 1948.

It exceeds the total number of Africans over the age of 14 in 1973 and is roughly equal to the present number of Africans over 16 – the age at which all Africans, men and women, have to carry reference books.

It is a staggering figure and difficult to comprehend. But if we imagine the arrest of all adult Africans, we begin to get some idea of the number of people involved.

Arrests under the pass laws are a daily reality for South Africa's African people, and while they continued, talk about detente had little or no meaning.

When whites talk fondly of detente, we should bear in mind that until the whole system is changed we have not begun to even tackle the problem.

## Police State

If the concept of a police state has any meaning, then that figure shows it applied to South Africa until, and unless, something is done about pass law prosecutions and arrests. The latest total shows that more than 500 000 people were prosecuted under the pass laws in a single year.

The number of pass law prosecutions had risen by nearly 175 000 when the latest figure was compared to that for 1960 – the year of the Sharpeville shootings and the temporary suspension of the pass laws. Since then the annual total of pass law prosecutions has not only risen in absolute figures, but also as a percentage of the African population over the age of 14 (although the percentage increase is minimal).

## Total

The Institute's survey of prosecutions for the years ending June 1972

and 1973, shows the figure of 51 5608 which is equivalent to 1413 trials for pass law offences every day of the year – Sundays and holidays included.

When homeland leaders met the Prime Minister for talks last month, Prof. Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, asked for the abolition of influx control and the pass laws.

According to the official communique issued after the talks, Vorster said influx control could not be abolished as it was necessary for the "protection" of Africans already living in urban areas.

But at the Prime Minister's invitation, homeland leaders – with the exception of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu – agreed to appoint representatives to discuss hardships caused by influx control.

In denying freedom of movement and freedom to seek work the system wreaks such ravages and creates such bitterness that it is beyond defence. In separating men from their women and children it inflicts such misery and traumas that it is beyond excuse and toleration. And all of it, remember, stems from the utterly discriminatory

principle that Africans must be treated differently.

If Vorster is indeed in earnest about doing away with racial discrimination and setting South Africa on a bright new path, let him start by getting rid of the scourge of the pass laws.

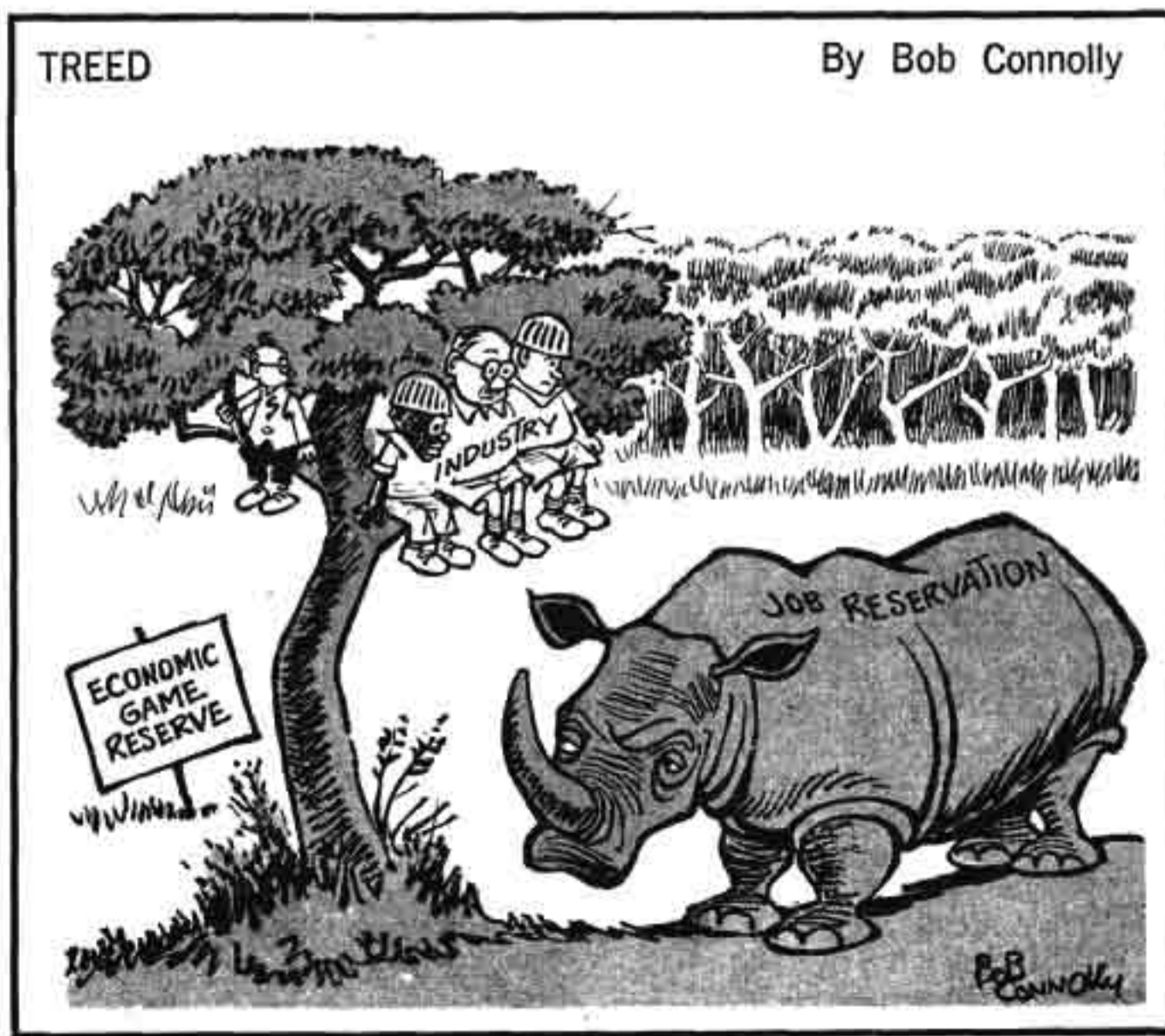
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## Job Reservation goes on

The Industrial Tribunal which investigated job reservation in the building industry, has reported "alarming malpractices in the illegal use of Africans on skilled work."

Officially skilled work on the building sites is reserved for Whites only. But with the serious shortage of White labour many employers are being forced to employ Black workers as plasterers, brick layers, carpenters etc. This, of course, is one other area in which one cannot expect any change from Vorster. Gert Beegte and his White Building Workers' Union will not stand for it. After all, its workers such as these that have put Vorster in power.

As we have often said: meaningful



change in South Africa's apartheid policy can only come when there is full political freedom for all in South Africa - not only for the Whites as at present. No justice can emanate from a manifestly unjust society such as at present exists in the country.

Even Vorster could not change it if he really wanted to.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Mixed Cricket Bowled

The cancellation of the Australian cricket team visit to South Africa has brought about some dramatic changes in the thinking among some White cricket players and officials.

The White Transvaal Cricket Union recently announced through its chairman, Joe Pamensky, that his union and the Black Transvaal Cricket Federation will push for mixed cricket at club level on a league basis. A similar decision has also been taken in Natal.

However, Piet Koornhof, South Africa's Minister of Sport, despite Vorster's recent statements that there will be "dramatic changes" in South Africa, vis-a-vis apartheid, has come down heavily against these decisions. In a statement he said that mixed cricket at club level was not in accordance with the Government's "policy of multi-national development."

Mr. Pamensky in support of his move

said that there was a growing threat from White cricketers to take matters into their own hands and that this was a major factor behind his union's move to open the Premier League to all races next season.

Arthur Ashe, please note: boycott and isolation of White South African sportsmen does pay off!

\* \* \* \* \*

## Death

In a recent case in Cape Town, the public prosecutor decided to withdraw charges under the Pass Law against Miss Nomtiti Nohashe, whose two month old baby died on the day she was arrested.

Miss Nohashe claimed in an interview that her baby had died in the arms of a man friend sitting in a bus shelter outside the Athlone police cells.

He had tried to bring the baby to her in the cells, she claimed, but police refused permission and would not release her until the body was shown to them.

Col J. Vorster, the District Commandant said: "We regard the matter as closed. All aspects have been investigated, and we could find no criminal offences committed by the police".

In a previous police statement, a doctor from the Red Cross Children's Ho-

spital had diagnosed the cause of death as gastro - enteritis and malnutrition.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Focus on Women

Recently three speakers were invited to speak on "The Legal Disabilities of Women" at the Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg. The audience was almost all white. Among the speakers was Mrs. Constance Ntshona, a Soweto social worker.

Mrs. Ntshona began by asking her audience how they would feel if there were to be a Black Government in South Africa which kept all the existing legislation but applied it to whites.

The audience was asked to imagine: not having any rights to live with their husbands, not being able to join their husbands if the men were transferred to another area (as is the case with Black women from homeland areas) and not being able to have their children under the same roof either.

"This is the cancer which eats away at us as a people, and particularly as women - and yet an official in the Bantu administration department once allowed himself to be quoted as saying that we Black women actually PREFER to have our children brought up in the homelands by their grandparents!

"What utter - dash".

Controlling the seething bitterness behind her description of life as a Black woman under South African law, Mrs Ntshona looked at the "brighter" side and told her listeners that the Black woman had one legal advantage over the white woman - separate taxation.

The "advantage" works thus: A Black woman earning R360 pa pays tax, irrespective of how many dependents she has. She has no medical expense deductions. A White unmarried woman pays tax once she earns R676 pa and a woman with two children has to be earning R1576 pa before she pays tax - and both categories of White women may claim for medical expenses.

Mrs. Ntshona also explained the "hostel" position. "If you are living in Parktown North and the Government declared that all family accommodation there be destroyed and that hostels be built instead, you would be ordered to live in a female hostel. Your children would go to 'the homelands' . . .

## LEG BEFORE WICKET

By Bob Connolly





"Would you find it in your hearts, if separated thus - or separated by a greater distance, like, for example, the wives of the miners - to blame your husbands for taking a mistress? Would you feel culpable if you had an affair with another man when you only saw your husband during his annual leave?"

"How would you feel about the illegitimate children who result from loose liaisons while you sit in the homelands wondering when the next cent is coming for the support of your own children?"

"Try being the sole breadwinner, capable and willing to work, and being prevented from doing so by a law. This is when you have to sit and watch your children starve".

Mrs. Ntshona said that when approached for guidance by an unhappy, persecuted wife she was forced to urge the woman to "stick around until he actually tries to throttle you to death", because once a woman in Soweto is divorced or widowed, she forfeits the rights to the house in which she was living with her husband - even if she can afford the rent. And on notifying the Bantu Affairs Commissioner of her husband's death, the widow also stood to lose as her late husband's nearest male relative would be called in to deal with the estate.

"If he is kind-hearted, he will see that the widow and children get something".

Mrs. Ntshona concluded by stating that she and other women living in the urban areas are 100 per cent behind Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's refusal to serve on a sub-committee to discuss (with an official of the Bantu Affairs Department) relaxation of influx control - "as long as restrictions of the freedom of movement of Black South Africans exist in any form".

"A discriminatory society remains totally unacceptable to the majority of South African citizens", she said.

\* \* \* \* \*

### **Just one big happy family**

Twelve years ago Mr. M. C. Botha, now Minister of Bantu Development, appealed to White couples to help populate white South Africa - and the Swanepoels of Robertson took him at his word.

Now Mr. and Mrs. John Swanepoel have 16 children. Another 13 babies died at birth or soon after. "But this is where we stop", said Mr. Swanepoel. And Mrs. Swanepoel added: "The Minister told us to populate the country because the Blacks were outnumbering us. I decided this was just what we would do.

Mrs. Swanepoel had four sets of triplets. Only one lived. She had two sets of twins, and one survived. The other children were single births.

Although the Swanepoels made several appeals to the Minister for aid to bring up their family, he has not responded. In fact, in a statement to a reporter he said: "So what if they have 16 children. You can also have 16 children."

He denied he had had any contact with the Swanepoels. But according to Mr. Swanepoel, he has written a number of personal appeals to Mr. Botha, explaining what they had done and why they had done it, and asking for help. This was confirmed by Mrs. Stefne Saayman, the supervisor of the Overberg branch of the Afrikaanse Christelike Vrouevereniging, a charity organisation closely linked with the Department of Social Welfare.

"The Swanepoels are continually writing letters to the Minister. I've personally handled some that came through the Welfare Department", Mrs. Saayman said. During 1965 Mr. Botha, himself a father of seven, appealed to South Africans to "give a White child to this wonderful country of ours".

This appeal was made at a meeting of the Brakpan Rapportryers. Mr. Botha wanted capable White couples in South Africa to celebrate the Republic Festival of 1966 by producing a baby.

Two years later, at the Van Riebeeck Festival in Stellenbosch, Mr. Botha again mentioned his "Republican babies".

**Premier Chissano  
of Mocambique  
lays it on the line ...**

# **No Peace with Apartheid**

Mozambique Prime Minister Comrade Joaquim Chissano has warned the South African government that peace will not prevail if it does not change its racist apartheid policy.

Comrade Chissano, who was speaking on his departure for Lourenco Marques after an official visit to Tanzania recently said his country will not change its policy as far as the liberation of Africa is concerned.

According to the Tanganyika African National Union newspaper, *Mzalendo*, he also warned that Mozambique "will have no political relations with racist regimes".

He added that a new agreement should be reached before his people were allowed to go and work in South Africa. This will stop exploitation which existed when Mozambique was under Portuguese rule.

A new trade agreement must also be reached between the two countries.

On the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric project, Comrade Chissano said this

will continue but an agreement will follow which will include Portugal because firms which built the dam still have interests in it.

Comrade Chissano also said his Government will establish a central bank. At present they have stopped transfers of money to South Africa and Portugal.

And in Nairobi, Frelimo Vice-President Dr Marcellino dos Santos warned that the future of South Africa depends on whether the Government of Prime Minister John Vorster is prepared to listen to "the voice of reason" on apartheid.

Dr. Santos was speaking during a stop-over in Kenya on his way to Addis Ababa for the recent meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity.

"I hope the voice of reason prevails", he told journalists. "But if it does not I am sure the people of South Africa will continue to fight for freedom until victory is won."

# Dear Muhammad Ali

Since he's 'The Greatest' it is possible that the South African authorities—egged on by the Minister of Sport—will welcome the presence of champion Muhammad Ali in their apartheid ring, especially as that cat has also evinced a desire to reside in one of their 'Bantu' locations.

For the purpose of adding a little more whitewash to the international image, it is also possible that his entry into the apartheid gymnasium will be dressed up with all the trappings befitting such a world champ and celebrated poet.

We can imagine the Minister of Bantu Administration standing at the location entrance holding a brand new Reference Book (probably with gold leaf lettering and identity photo in Technicolour by courtesy of Polaroid), ready to hand it over to this newest acquisition into the fraternity of 'temporary sojourners'. He might even address our champ as a 'great black elephant' in the quaint language which the Minister reserves for such occasions.

In addition the municipal 'fuzz' might be drawn up at the gate with their knobkerries at the Present, and the white South African Police will turn out with extra polish on their sten-guns. Even the chief of BOSS might be there, hiding behind the State President. The band of the Security Forces might break into "when the Saints Come — Marching In" or probably 'Ole Black Joe.'

The Greatest is being made welcome.

## Reclassified

But before all this can happen it is necessary for Muhammad Ali to convince the Bantu Administration Department (BAD) that he qualifies as a 'Bantu male' and is also entitled to live in a location in the 'White area.' For this it might be necessary for Muhammad Ali to appear before the Race Classification Board to have his identity changed from US American to membership of a 'tribe' or the concocted 'nations', in which the BAD specialises.

All the rigmarole of the Population Registration Act aside, the classification board might (for the convenience of

Muhammad Ali) decide that according to the regulations he is 'unable to prove that he is generally accepted as a White person' and that he is 'in appearance obviously a Bantu.' Being over 16 years of age, 'I'm the Greatest' now now qualifies for a pass.

Every African over the age of 16 must be issued with a 'reference book'—about ninety pages thick which contains his identity, fingerprints, photograph, a record of his contract of employment and the monthly signature of his employer (the Ministry of Sport?) tax receipts and permits to be in the area, to seek work or to travel for the purpose of taking up employment, etc, etc. Of course there might be some difficulty in determining who Ali's chief or headman is, but being The Greatest there need be no one above him.

Having been awarded this winning purse—sorry, pass—our newly-acquired sojourner also qualifies for the pleasure of being stopped by the White 'fuzz' at any time, who will demand: 'Waar's jou pas, kaffir?' Should he not have it on him, that cat is in for a bad deal because he'll be hauled off to the nearest precinct where the 'pigs' do not have much consideration for the rules of boxing.

Now 'Bantu male' Muhammad Ali is ready to take up residence in his location, in accordance with his expressed wish.

He should not forget that in general Africans are allowed to enter 'White areas' to work only as 'single' men. If Mrs. Ali is not present, he will be considered a 'bachelor' whether he is married or not. So he will be given a little cell in the bachelor's barracks in the location. He will have to share with several others and they might allow him to use their primus stove for cooking. Since he is now a fellow-African he will see to it that he is home in his elegant abode tucked up in his nice concrete bunk by 9 p.m. curfew time, for if found, wandering around Whitey's area after then will land him in crap with the gendarmes.

If Mrs. Muhammad Ali wishes to visit she may do so for no more than 72 hours.

## Police Raids

There is of course no guarantee that the poe-leece might bust in on the location at any time checking on those passes or looking for unauthorised visitors and Mrs A. would have to produce her own pass and show she is within the limits of the law. It could happen at any hour too, which is liable to be embarrassing

Mrs A. not being in the fight business might not be allowed to live with her man even if she applied since she'd be redundant, idle, undesirable or otherwise unsuitable for employment or residence.

Should Ali himself get clobbered, crippled, handicapped etc in a match (heaven forbid!) he too might be considered useless for further employment in Whitey's area and be slung out pronto.

Well, seeing he's a 'single' man and does not qualify for one of those little two-room cubicles with no ceilings and usual amenities, a feature of the luxury locations such as Soweto, perhaps the local BAD big wheels might give him a place in one of the other nice new locations such as we have in Alexandra.

Newly-built and well-planned. Separate segregated hostels for men and women. The husband is put in one and the wife in another. Neither is allowed to visit each other. These lovely concrete structures are divided into identical wings, three built around a courtyard. The one and only entrance to each 'hostel' is a grilled gate. The gates are electronically operated so in the event of 'trouble' they would close and the entire building divided into three, so separating all the inmates. Of course, a member of the Nationalist government explained that this was for fire protection, although he didn't explain how those trapped inside get out in case of fire.

Between 2,800 and 2,900 people are accommodated in each hostel. 40 people are provided with single rooms, and there are also rooms with four, six or eight beds for men. Each room has one tiny window at eye level and another up near the ceiling running the width of the wall. There is a single electric adapter overhead, no heating or cooling system and electric plugs are forbidden, since, Muhammad Ali will be told, these would be dangerous to him. He will sleep on a narrow mattress placed on a concrete bunk, and everybody's possessions will go into one locker 6 foot by 1 foot without any provision for hanging clothes.

There are no tables or chairs, there are no reading rooms, dining rooms, no lounge or recreation hall. There is one bath or shower and one toilet for every 14 persons. One wash basin is provided for every 11 inmates, and all these facilities are cramped into one small area.

This particular place is 9 miles from 'White' Johannesburg and the climate there has temperatures that go up to 99 degrees (F) and in winter drop to below zero. Under these conditions a good time is had by all who live there and no doubt Ali will find the conditions real cool, man, especially for training purposes, losing weight and gaining vigour.

Really Muhammad Ali should try this place. It is as good as a concentration camp—sorry, man, we meant training camp—and when he's had enough he could come out fit as a fiddle and ready to take on all comers. He might even recite one of his celebrated poems about it.

# THEY DIED FOR FREEDOM

Profiles of Patrick Molaoa  
and Basil February

by Z. Pallo Jordan

This poem best expresses the spirit of youth of our country who have fallen in the struggle for liberation. On this day we remember them all – those murdered in mass struggles of our people since the days of conquest; those who died under torture in the dungeons of apartheid; and those who have fallen in the armed struggle to liberate our people from the yoke of oppression. As we do not have the space to recall them all by name, we have chosen two young men whose lives best express the traditions of struggle among our people and whose death symbolizes the solidarity, forged in the heat of struggle among the oppressed of our country. **Patrick Molaoa and Basil February** might both have quietly submitted to the degradation that is the daily lot of our people, lived their lives on their knees and passed away peacefully in their beds. But like numerous others they chose the path of revolution and the rigours of the maquis.

## Patrick Molaoa

Patrick Molaoa came from Johannesburg and was brought up in Alexandra Township. He was drawn into the movement during his youth because Alex was during the fifties one of the most militant centres of struggle. We need but recall the 1944 Bus Boycott, the May Day and June 26th Strikes of 1950, and the 1956 Bus Boycott in which he actively participated. He was in the forefront of the campaign to organise the Congress of the People. Together with 155 others he was char-

ged with Treason in 1956. Undeterred by this vain attempt to stem the tide of the mass movement he continued in the service of the liberation movement and rose to the presidency of the ANC Youth League. During the 1960 State Emergency, he was again arrested and detained without trial for five months. When Mkhonto weSizwe was set up in 1961 he was among the first to volunteer to go abroad and undergo training in preparation for the armed struggle. When the ANC-ZAPU alliance launched the armed struggle across the Zambezi in 1967, he was among the first to engage the enemy. He was killed bearing arms in the cause of liberty in 1968. Patrick Molaoa is a continuator of the traditions of resistance and struggle bequeathed to him by his forebears who had held the line in over a hundred years sustained resistance against the conquest of their lands.

## Basil February

Basil February was born in Somerset West near Cape Town. He was of Cape Coloured descent as his name indicates. The name itself tells us much of his antecedents. The Cape Coloured people, descended from the first African tribes to be dispossessed by the conquerors, the slaves imported from the East Indies and the white colonists. Robbed of their freedom and their very names, names like February were branded onto them – both liberally and figuratively – to remind the slave-owners of the month in which they had been purchased. Basil's political awakening occurred in Cape Town where he attended High school. The political

## *If We Must Die*

*If we must die – let it not be like bogs  
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,  
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,  
Making their mock at our accursed lot.*

*If we must die – oh, let us nobly die,  
So that our precious blood may not be shed  
In vain, then even the monsters we defy  
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!*

*Oh Kinsmen! We must meet the common foe;  
Though far outnumbered, let us still be brave,  
And for their thousand blows deal one death-blow!*

*What though before us lies the open grave?  
Like men we'll face the murderers, cowardly pack,  
Pressed to the wall, dying, but – fighting back!*

milieu in which he grew up had behind the traditions of the APO, the National Liberation League, the Anti-CAD movement and the Franchise Action Council. He graduated from high school with a first class pass and entered the University of Cape Town to study medicine in 1961. At the University he was amongst a small group of courageous leftists. He distinguished himself as one of the most clear sighted and thoughtful young men and impressed many of us with his keen analytical mind. He was actively involved in the strike movements of 1960 and '61. His studies were interrupted by his arrest and imprisonment for pointing political slogans in 1963. On his release from prison he left the country and joined the ranks of MK. He was the first to fall in the struggle to liberate our people.

From the dawn of history the oppressed have been fighting back! It is indeed one of the bitterest ironies of history that we have to fight in order to establish peace, that we have to employ inhumane means to attain humanity. The only real memorial we can erect for these two men and all our fallen comrades is the type of society we shall build when we have liberated our country. It must be a society dedicated to the brotherhood of man, to social justice and the fostering of peace. But, to achieve these ideals we must fight! We can lay the first stone now by turning our efforts to the liberation of our homeland. By their example in life and their courage in death, these two young men have taught us that these ideals are worth fighting for, indeed are worth dying for!



Too few schools, . . .  
no jobs . . .  
no sports fields . . .  
so gambling instead

Marabastad, in the foreground. Poynton, the pride of Pretoria, looms in the background



# MARABASTAD: An Urban Hell-hole

The area is called Marabastad. It is near Pretoria, South Africa's administrative capital, where the Treason Trial was held (when 156 Congress men and women were charged in 1956; where the Rivonia Trial was held (when Nelson Mandela and others were sentenced to life imprisonment); where Bram Fischer was tried and sentenced to life imprisonment.

**Marabastad:** a township of squalor, poverty, an intoxicating vitality; a township where, temporarily at any rate, there is a carefree Group Area-less harmony.

Apartheid is encroaching – ethnic resettlements are being made as fast as Pretoria's civic funds allow – but it hasn't yet taken root.

Africans, Indians, and Coloureds co-exist in no more than a donkey's bray from the offices in which the architects of segregation spend their days working out proofs that such a life is impossible.

White Pretoria is separated from Marabastad by a gurgling spruit and a tiny sliver of communal parkland. If the sun ever shone from the south this strange little community would literally fall under the shadow of Church Street's biggest building.

## Simple

Pretoria's official response is simple: Marabastad does not exist. It once did, but was cleared years ago. What does exist is an area called "Asiatic Bazaar" and an adjoining Co-

loured dwelling spot known as "Cape Reserve".

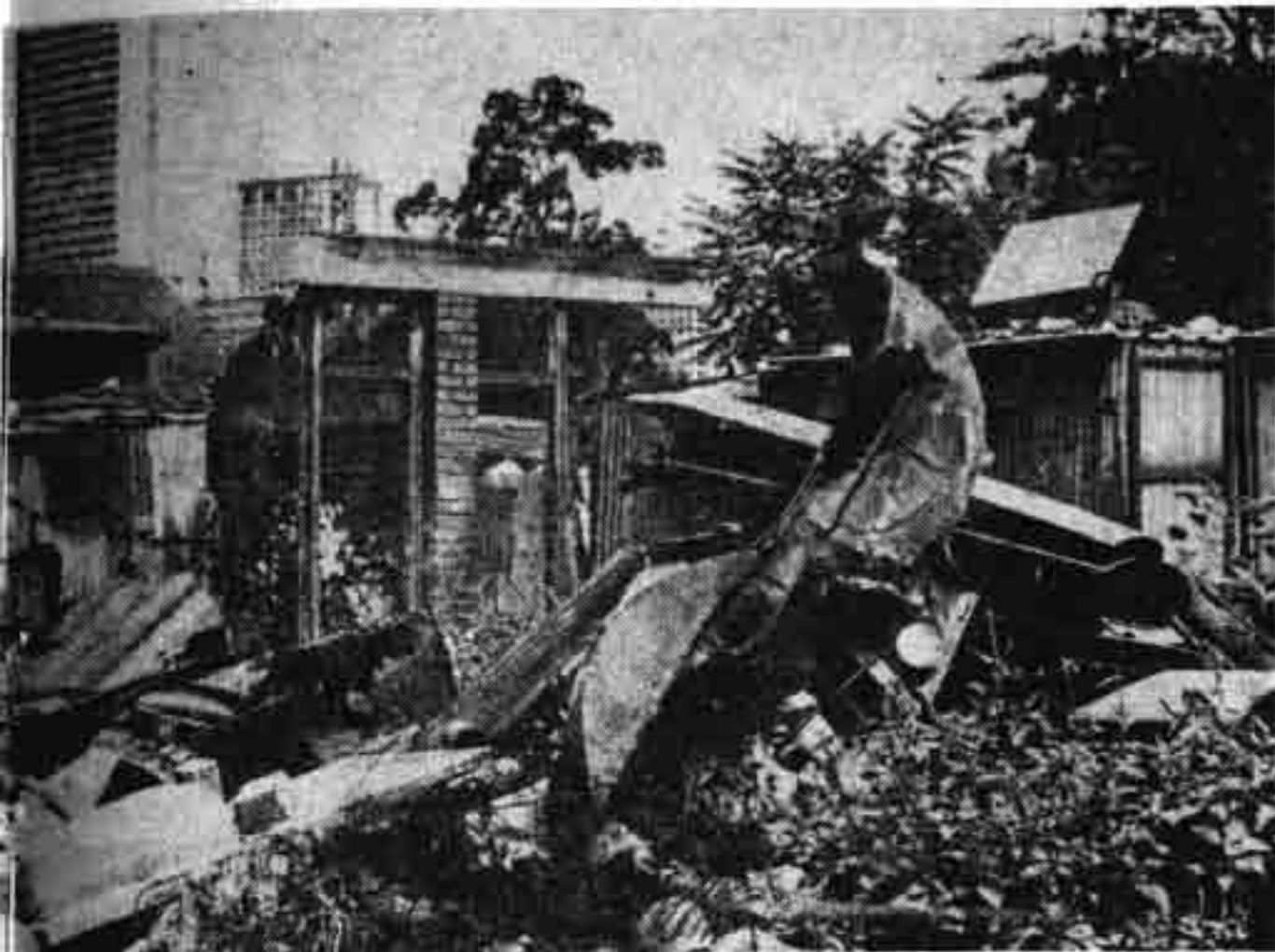
But to the Marabastadders, Marabastad is Marabastad. We point out to a young Indian that he actually lived in a place called Asiatic Bazaar. He looked a little blank. "No, that's over there", he said, pointing to the streamlined new Oriental Centre. "I live here in Marabastad".

Pretoria doesn't recognise the Africans, either. Africans live in Atteridgeville. That's where they belong. "There are about 4000 Coloureds and 4000 Indians", a municipal official explained, "No Africans". No Africans? No Africans: it just looks that way, as a lot of them pass through on their way to the bus terminus. Well, well.

Marabastad's streets are dirty and potholed and littered with burnt-out cars and household rubble. Many of the buildings have been razed – leaving scabby open spaces with mounds of bricks and broken mortar and concrete outlines of where floors once were. Most of the remaining houses are crumbling and leaky. By anyone's standards, Marabastad is a slum.

But it is a slum with spirit – the type of community spirit that the White Waterkloof or Houghton would never dream of – would never think of trying to dream of, come to that. The type which doesn't exist in the bare and uniform and xenophobic streets of planned ethnic "locations".





A typical scene in SA's ghettos



What does the future hold for me?

Convict labour being used to remove rubble from areas bulldozed by the government

## Apartheid Health Services Causes...

# DEATH, MENTAL ILLNESS AND SUICIDES

The great danger to South Africa's health services is that good things obscure both the blunders that threaten it and apartheid's crippling cost to national health over the years.

It's one thing for politicians and civil servants to point proudly to the surgical magic of Dr. Chris Barnard and to the comparable skills of his colleagues throughout the country — skills that have rightly earned worldwide recognition.

It's another to be so blinded by the heavy fallout of praise that you ignore the evils in a policy that is as politically bankrupt as it is counter-productive to the health of the country's Black majority because of the socio-economic living conditions it forces on them. Last year several South African academic and medical authorities attacked apartheid and the migratory labour system as the root causes of certain socio-economic diseases and mental illness.

Dr. H. I. J. van der Spuy, a senior lecturer in psychology at the University of Cape Town, presented several outstanding papers to the Psychological Association's annual conference at the University of Witwatersrand. Among them was a paper on the psycho-dynamics of apartheid.

**He said seven separate studies had spelt out essentially the same conclusion: that South Africans are probably more neurotic than most other nations. "National anxiety is part of the price paid for racism and baas-skap."**

Professor Harry Seftel, outspoken professor of African medicine at Witwatersrand University (Wits) told an in-

ternational cardiology conference in Johannesburg that **hostel life and the migratory labour system were the major contributory causes of heart disease among Witwatersrand Africans. Other social evils flowing from the hostel and migratory labour systems were venereal disease, promiscuity and illegitimacy.**

**His answer: destroy the system. That means destroy apartheid.**

### **Preventable**

Dr. Margaret McLaren told the conference that a Wits research team had found **the rate of rheumatic heart disease among Soweto school-children to be the highest reported in the world.** Dr. McLaren stressed the preventable nature of the disease, a point taken up by Professor Hohn Barlow, head of cardiology at Wits.

He said the high prevalence of rheumatic heart disease (RHD) was abhorrent in a so-called developed country which boasted so much affluence. The State spent at least R24 000 a week on open-heart operations resulting from RHD. The money would be better spent on adequate detection, prevention and eradication of the disease. The most scathing attack of all came from Dr. George Cohen, founder of the specialist service to Swaziland and the Transkei. He warned the medical profession of world ostracism unless the authorities ended racial discrimination in salaries and training facilities. He attacked the S.A. Medical Association and its official Medical Journal for running dis-

criminatory advertisements for medical posts.

"There is no more racially insulting literature in the world of medicine", he said.

The Medical Journal soon banned such advertisements. At last a real breakthrough.

Yet it doesn't go far enough. Meanwhile, provincial authorities continue to defend discriminatory pay with arguments that have the outside medical world shaking its head in anger. Yet it has been calculated that a mere R100 000 would be enough to equalise salaries in the Transvaal.

Dr. Cohen has strong ideas on health education.

Malnutrition, TB and bilharzia are three debilitating conditions that can be prevented at source through basic health education. Yet these diseases cost the country millions of rand in lost productivity, in the occupation of hospital beds and when they take up valuable time of both doctors and nurses.

Dr. Cohen feels these diseases could be controlled through the use of health assistants which would free doctors and nurses for important curative work.

### **Mental Illness**

Meanwhile from Geneva the World Health Organisation has sharply criticised apartheid in South Africa as contributing to mental illness among Blacks in a report released recently. The report was submitted to the WHO executive board which has finished its preparatory work for this year's World Health Congress. The report said:

"It is obvious that mental health and social wellbeing are closely linked to the enjoyment of human rights. Most such rights are legally denied to the non-White South African.

"Wherever discrimination exists it excites resentment, frustration and may lead to acts of violence.

"Added to the indignation of the pass system are the lack of any political or trade union rights and the economic need for fathers to leave their families to live in faraway hostels in conditions that provide a natural breeding ground for resort to prostitutes, for venereal disease, alcoholism and crimes of violence. "For the wives and children left behind the absence of the head of the family must clearly be a disturbing element generating feelings of doubt and insecurity. "For the whole broken family, inability to lead a normal life and consciousness of being regarded and treated as inferior could not be other than harmful to mental health".

Of those Africans admitted to South

African mental hospitals two thirds are schizophrenic while one sixth are suffering from other psychoses, the report states.

### Alarming

The report also attacks other areas of public health in South Africa.

Official statistics show that about 43 per cent of the total number of hospital beds were reserved for the white minority which means "the least provision was made for those with the greatest need."

"It is widely recognised", the reports adds, "that malnutrition leads to communicable diseases and the interaction of these two factors results in an alarming incidence of illness and premature deaths."

"This massive incidence of illness could be drastically reduced by adequate nutrition, health education, improved sanitation and housing, immunisation and home treatment without the need for costly hospitals and refined medical equipment".

Different rates of pay to health workers due to their ethnic origins are also attacked, as is the training of professionals.

In 1973 the number of white students in medical schools totalled 3710 of whom 440 qualified at the end of the year compared to 202 Africans of whom 15 qualified. The statistics available for 1972 showed for every 400 whites there was a doctor while for Africans the ratio was 44 000 to one, the report said, quoting the South African Institute of Race Relations.

"The director general (of WHO) believes that the health situation of the groups discriminated against by the policy of apartheid will not improve as long as that policy exists", the report concluded.

### Suicide Rate Grows

Another aspect of the lack of official action socially and medically is the hundreds of people in South Africa who seek death by suicide each day.

Between 200 and 400 people try to kill themselves each day in South Africa, the Suicide Prevention Centre in Johannesburg said.

It also estimated that at least 5000 people actually succeed in suicide attempts each year.

The annual average number of attempted suicides which are unsuccessful is more than 100 000, a spokesman for the centre said.

Mr. Sam Blumberg, director of the centre, disclosed that it had already received 68 high-risk suicide-threat calls and 21 low-risk calls in the first 45 days of this year. He pointed out that for a week the centre's telepho-

nes were out of order due to storm damage.

"That aside, I regard these figures as low for January, which normally is one of the peak suicide months", Mr. Blumberg said.

"It's the rain. It tends to dampen suicide obsession. On hot days and humid nights the suicide rate soars". Nothing is being done about this terrifying social problem that gives Johannesburg the second highest suicide rate in the world!

### Solution

There is only one solution to the whole question of the health services in South Africa. Every aspect of apartheid in hospitals must be eliminated. Duplication of hospital and training facilities for Black and White patients and medical staff respectively must be abolished.

The X-ray departments of provincial hospitals are one example of the heavy cost of duplicating medical services. X-ray equipment costs millions of rands, but there isn't one hospital in the country that uses a machine 24 hours a day. At most a machine is used continuously for 8-10 hours a day and then remains unused for 14-16 hours a day because the machine has been provided for a limited population group - the whites.

If that group were swelled by large numbers of Blacks, then the same equipment could provide adequate radiological services for more than double the number of people at present being served. Similarly what applies to X-ray machines applies to pathology and other hospital services. **The system, as Professor Seftel said earlier, must be destroyed . . . apartheid must be ended!**

The agony of millions of Black parents . . . the scourge of malnutrition



In the last two issues of *Sechaba* we reported on the arrest and detention of 48 leading members of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC), the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU), the Theatre Council of Natal (TECON) and the Black Community Programs (BCP).

Since then 12 of the detained leaders were brought to trial in connection with alleged offences under the so-called Terrorism Act. Of the remainder 26 are still being held in solitary confinement and 10 have been released. Meanwhile further arrests have since been made. **Miss Christine Douts**, a former student at the University of the West Cape (for Coloured) was arrested by the Security Police in Cape Town.

Another SASO member, **Mr. Ben Louw**, is reported to have been picked up in Bellville, Cape. He is a former national co-ordinator of SASO's Free University Scheme.

**Miss Maphari Msekela**, director of the women's division of the South African Council of Churches, was held by security policemen and questioned for a few hours before she was released. In Durban security police took **Miss Sibongile Kubeka**, secretary in SASO's office, and interrogated her for about five hours.

Two brothers of a "Terror" Act detainee, **Mr. Strini Moodley**, were questioned for about 10 hours as was **Miss Kogila Perumal**, a member of the Theatre Council of Natal.

**Mr. Vivian Pillay**, of Johannesburg, is

also reported to have been held. Originally from Durban, Mr. Pillay is also a member of the Theatre Council of Natal.

A few days later three others were detained, — **Sadique Variava, Suliman Ismail and Vivian Uilly**, all of Johannesburg.

## Tortured

**Sechaba** has just received a document prepared in South Africa giving details of an emergency interdict brought against the Minister of Police and Commissioner of the South African Police.

The document states, — in part ...

On 22nd October 1974 Mr. Chetty, an attorney acting for some of the detainees, was allowed to see Mr. Saths Cooper. Permission was granted on condition that they should only discuss a pending appeal by Mr. Cooper against a charge of assault. Arising from his discussions with Mr. Cooper, Mr. Chetty had serious reasons to believe that detainees were being assaulted by the security police. Mr. Chetty stated that among other things Mr. Cooper had said "There are many detainees who are being brutally assaulted by members of the Security Branch". He mentioned the names of those people involved.

Arising from this and other information passed to Mr. Chetty by the man who, according to Mr. Chetty, "was

agitated and very concerned both with regard to his own future detention as well as others", Mr. Chetty drew up an affidavit and with six supporting affidavits from relatives and friends of the detainees sought an emergency interdict on the Minister of Police and Commissioner of Police, restraining them from assaulting, interrogating in any manner other than prescribed by law, employing any undue or unlawful pressure and applying any form of unlawful duress on the detainees. In addition, requesting that someone entitled in terms of sub-section 6 or 7 of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act No. 83 of 1967 and approved of by the court be allowed to take affidavits from the five people allegedly assaulted, and that pending the filing of the above affidavits an interim interdict be issued pending the final determination of the application.

In support of this Mr. Chetty submitted a main affidavit while five supporting affidavits were submitted by:

1. **Zwelibanzi Mabandla** —  
Cabinet Minister of the Parliament of the Transkei.  
Father of Lindelwe Mabandla and Father-in-law of Sylvia Mabandla (both detained)
2. **Alimal Cooper** —  
Mother of Sathasivan Cooper and Revabalan Cooper
3. **Nontombenhle Shange** —  
Fiancee of Mosiuoa Lekota.
4. **Jacob Myeza** —  
Father of Muntu Myesa.
5. **Julia Myeza** —  
Mother of Muntu Myeza.

## Affidavit

An abridged version of the Affidavit states (as some sections are inconsequential they have been removed, but the paragraphs are numbered as in the original document).

I, the undersigned,  
**Shunmugam Nganasamatham Chetty**  
HEREBY declare under oath that:

I am an Attorney of the Supreme Court of South Africa practising at Suite 6, First Floor, Kajee Building, 59 Victoria Street, Durban.



SASO organiser with Township residents



Family members wait anxiously outside the Pretoria Magistrate's Court. Some travelled from as far away as Cape Town



**2.** I was instructed by one, Sathasivan Cooper to prosecute an appeal against a conviction against him on a charge of assault. The appeal was sent down for hearing on the 29th day of October, 1974 in the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa.

**3.** After the said instructions Sathasivan Cooper was detained by members of the Security Branch of the South African Police on the 26th day of September, 1974.

I was informed by Colonel Steenkamp of the Security Police on the 11th October, 1974 that he was detained under Section 6 (1) of the Terrorism Act No. 83 of 1967.

**4.** On the 15th of October, 1974 Colonel Steenkamp informed me that Sathasivan Cooper was transferred from Durban to Pretoria.

**5.** Counsel for the appeal Mr. Z. M. Yacoob instructed me to obtain Sathasivan Cooper's instructions as to whether or not he wanted to proceed with the appeal.

**6.** On the 21st of October, 1974, one Colonel Du Preez of the South African Police stationed in Pretoria granted my application to see the detainee.

**7.** On the 22nd October, 1974 at the Old Compol Building in Pretoria I was advised by one, Major Stadler that I may discuss the appeal only with the detainee. I agreed.

**8.** I then saw Sathasivan Cooper in the presence of Major Stadler. I took instructions for about two and half hours. During this period Major Stadler occasionally left us to attend to other matters. There was however another person sitting at the desk at the far end of the room. I believe he is also a member of the Police force.

**9.** During the periods Sathasivan Cooper and I were alone he said to me "There are many detainees who are being brutally assaulted by members of the Special Branch". He mentioned the following names: Lindiwe Mabandla, Revabalan Cooper, Nkwekwe Nkomo, Manziwe Mbewa, Muntu Myeza and Mosioua Lekota.

**10.** He said that the ones most severely assaulted were Lindiwe and Revabalan Cooper, his brother. That these could not walk. That Revabalan Cooper's knee was "busted". That pencils were inserted between the joints of Revabalan Cooper's fingers and his hands were then squeezed. That a tennis ball was pressed with force on the stitches of a wound on Revabalan Co-

per's leg. That Manziwe Mbewa said that he was "cracking up" and "he could take it no longer".

**11.** He said Revabalan Cooper was seriously assaulted in Durban. That Revabalan made a complaint to the Police in Durban. That one, "Commissioner" Schroeder or "Commissioner" Kriel at the Bluff in Durban was aware of such assaults.

**12.** He said that he himself was assaulted in Pretoria by members of the Security Police. They punched him severely whilst he was against a wall. They grabbed him by the lapels of his jacket and shook him. That he was severely punched in the region of his abdomen and chest. That he was kicked when he was on the floor of the room in which he was being interrogated. He pointed to the person who was sitting on the desk on the far side of the room as one of the persons who had assaulted him. He did not know the person's name. He thought that the reason for the assaults on him was that the Security Police wanted him to make a statement. That he had made two statements which he had not signed and which were rejected. They wanted him to make a third statement and that he feared that they would continue to assault him. He said that he believed that the others would also be assaulted until they made such statements.

14.

The information that was given by Sathasivan Cooper to me was volunteered by him. He seemed to be gravely concerned and very agitated. He wanted me to get this information as a matter of extreme urgency.

20.

I was troubled by the matter because of the conflict in my mind as to what duty I owed to the parents and other relatives of the persons concerned. I discussed the matter with Senior and Junior Counsel both in Natal and in the Transvaal and a senior member of the Council of the Law Society of Natal. After their advice was given to me I decided to make this affidavit. My difficulty in the matter has led to some of the delay in the bringing of this application.

21.

The information given to me by the said Sathasivan Cooper was given to me hurriedly sometimes in whispers and sometimes in gestures. He was agitated and very concerned both in regard to his own future detention as well as the others. He made it clear to me that he feared that the assaults that he complained of would continue until the end of his detention unless steps were taken to stop those in control of him and the others from treating them in any unlawful manner.

## Not Impartial

In reply the Minister of Police and the Commissioner of the South African Police submitted affidavits from 29 people, almost all are employees of the state operating within the prison where the detainees are being held. They included security police who had been interrogating the detainees, their commanding officer and a part-time district surgeon.

Professor A. S. Mathews in considering the *Scherbrucker v Klindt N. O.*\* case in which Mrs. Scherbrucker applied for an order declaring that the methods of interrogation employed against her husband were unlawful, indicated the possible shortcomings of automatically assuming that state officials are impartial persons.

\*1. A. S. Mathews and R. C. Albino. THE PERMANENCE OF THE TEMPORARY — AND EXAMINATION OF THE 90 AND 180 DAY DETENTION LAWS; South African Law Journal

"Another troubling feature of the attitude of the full court was its heavy reliance on the visit to the applicants husband of a magistrate and, after the launching of the proceedings, of a district surgeon. . . .

"We do not say that the particular magistrate and district surgeon involved were biased but simply that the courts cannot hand out general certificates of impartiality to State officials. The Magistrate is a state employee and the district surgeon holds a State appointment and the appearance of impartiality is therefore absent. Whether the appearance coincides with reality is a matter of fact which cannot be taken for granted".

The partiality or impartiality of the statements made by the magistrate, district surgeon and members of the security police were not examined during the hearing on Mr. Chetty's application.

Most of the affidavits produced by the state dealt with security police denials of assaults on the detainees and the improbability of the information contained in Mr. Chetty's affidavit having been communicated to him.

Evidence from the district surgeon showed no signs of assault. After a complaint from Mr. L. Mabandlwa of having being kicked in the side, the district surgeon found the side to be tender but that Mr. Mabandlwa did not show signs of pain when his rib cage was pressed. He thus ruled out the possibility of physical injury.

The application for relief failed in every aspect. In giving judgement, Mr. Justice Trengrove stated that there were "at present very serious doubts on allegations of ill-treatment of detainees."

Mr. Justice Trengrove found also that even if the court "had the power to require a magistrate to take a statement, affidavit or evidence on commission from a detainee, the magistrate would not be entitled under Section 66 to disclose this to the court". On this basis he saw no reason to grant relief until such affidavits could be obtained from the detainees themselves.

Prof. Mathews has commented on this aspect of the judgement:

"While the last word on the legal correctness of that interpretation may not yet have been spoken, the logic of the decision implies the conclusion that the court's investigating powers have been set at naught even if the information leaks out that a detainee

is slowly being done to death. Is that what the Government intended when it put Section Six of the Terrorism Act before Parliament?" (Star, 14th November, 1974)

## 12 On Trial

Since then, Sathasivan Cooper and eleven others — Justice Lindane Myeza, Mosioua Lekota, Maitsho Mokoape, Nkwenke Nkomo, Pandelain Nefolohodwe, Kaborane Sedibe, Rabron Hare, Strini Moodley, Sadique Variava, Zitulele Cindi and S. Ahmed Ismail — were brought before a Pretoria magistrate and charged under the so-called Terrorism Act.

Mr. I. M. Ayob, of Johannesburg, appeared for all 12 detainees. He also asked whether since they were now all awaiting trial prisoners, they could be kept in custody in the same cell. Mr. Burger said he could not grant such a request, but it was up to the prison authorities to make such an arrangement.

### Embraces

When the detainees were escorted into court by security police and uniform branch men, there was a loud murmur of excitement among the Black relatives and friends.

In the few seconds before the magistrate entered the court, the detainees greeted friends and relatives they had not seen for five months with joviality and laughter.

They all trooped in singing "Azikatali noma siboshwa", (We don't care if we are arrested . . . We fight for freedom), a song written and made popular by Vuyisile Mini, the A.N.C. leader who was executed in the early sixties.

Mr. I.M. Ayob, who represented the detainees, said he had received no official communication that they were to appear in court on the day they did appear.

He was told by an acquaintance they would appear before a magistrate early in the morning.

He immediately went to Pretoria and waited at the court from 10 am till 2.30 pm without being able to confirm that the men would appear.

At 2.30 he was told by the senior public prosecutor that they would appear later in the afternoon. The men finally appeared before the magistrate at 4.30 pm.

The case is continuing.

# PRESIDENT DIEDERICHS:

# PORTRAIT OF A FASCIST

South Africa has a new head of state. He is President Nicolaas Diederichs, 72, the recently retired Minister of Finance. A small bespectacled man who has been little associated in the public mind with the more brutal and visible aspects of the Nationalist Government's policies, he is the object of a myth. No better description of the mythical Diederichs can be found than this recent comment in the Rand Daily Mail<sup>1</sup>:

"Success and power mellowed the young and idealistic Diederichs into the widely respected and influential grandfatherly figure, immensely wise and learned, that he is today. So much so that he is liked, even loved, by all communities in South Africa."

The same article, describing the Diederichs of recent years, continues:

"He moved with ease through the financial capitals of the world, effectively putting South Africa's case for a higher gold price, and proved to be the equal of the 'Gnomes of Zurich' by obtaining loans whenever they were needed — despite the unpopularity of his government's policies."

The time has come to strip off Diederich's mask of gentle wisdom and to reveal the dyed-in-the-wool fascist underneath. SECHABA therefore introduces to the world the real president of South Africa. His story is the story of the rise of fascism in its South African form — Afrikaner nationalism.

Diederichs was born into the heart of reactionary Afrikanerdom. The Orange Free State was his birthplace and home for over 20 years. Born in 1903, he later graduated from Grey College which has since become the University of the Orange Free State. In the mid-1920's he furthered his academic training overseas. Like many budding Afrikaner national-intellectuals in the twenties and thirties, he was drawn to the seat of European fascism — Germany. Diederichs studied at the universities of Cologne, Munich, and Berlin.

In 1928, about the time when Diederichs returned to South Africa, National Socialism was still a weak force in Germany. In the election of that year Hitler's party did very poorly, whereas the Social Democrats won several million votes. But the ideas of National Socialism were in the air, and they were congenial to the ambitions of the young scholar — already a racist — from South Africa.

One of his first preoccupations on returning to his old college in the Free State was to split the white student movement and isolate Afrikaner students from the cautious paternalism of the liberals who led NUSAS at that time. He was one of the founders of the Afrikaner Studente Bond (ASB), which has ever since been a breeding ground for the most reactionary and racist influences in white South Africa. By 1933 Diederichs was a professor of Political Science and Philosophy, and from this secure base devoted himself to the building of Afrikaner nationalism as an ideological, political and organisational force.



## Broederbond

He joined the Broederbond – the secret society which master-minded the strategy of Afrikaner nationalism right through into the 1950's. Close associates included Albert Hertzog (self-styled 'protector' of the white mineworkers from Communism, later a Nationalist Government cabinet minister, until moving into an ultra-right position in the late 1960's), and Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, (then editor of *Die Transvaaler* and later Prime Minister).

It was the Broederbond that planned and brought into being some of the main instruments of Afrikaner nationalism. One of them was the **Reddingsdaadbond**, which was formally launched at a National Economic Conference in Bloemfontein in October 1939. The name is hard to translate. It might be literally the Rescue-work Society, or the Active Rehabilitation Association. Capitalising on the devastating effects on both rural and urban Afrikaner communities of the world-wide economic depression of the 1930's, this organisation set out to save Afrikaners from 'Poor Whiteism', i. e. from sinking to the economic level of the black majority, losing their racial privileges, and developing a common class identity with the black working masses.<sup>2</sup>

More concretely, the **Reddingsdaadbond** set out to build up Afrikaner capitalism, using a racist national chauvinism to persuade small farmers and traders to pool their resources to promote new and larger Afrikaner capitalist enterprises. In its first 11 years it raised over R40 million. Its director and chief organiser was Dr. Diederichs.

The other concrete aim of the **Reddingsdaadbond** (RDB) became a major personal interest of Diederichs': to divide the working class on racial lines, and by capturing the main trade unions to line up the Afrikaner workers behind Afrikaner capitalism and white domination. Anybody who looks at the Nationalist Party's trade union wing today (the Confederation of Labour) and the wider political role of the bulk of the white working class can see all too clearly how well Diederichs and his fellow reactionaries succeeded in their aim.

Indeed, not content with being chairman of a special labour section of the RDB, Diederichs was one of those who in 1944 founded the **Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond** (white workers' protection society). Of this it has been written:

"Its professed aim was to propagate christian nationalism, combat communism, agitate for segregation and generally to promote workers' interests. Functionally it served to detach Afrikaners from the labour movement and secure their allegiance to the Nationalist Party."<sup>3</sup>

The society's monthly journal was called **Die Blanke Werker** (The White Worker). It "preached the doctrine of organic solidarity between Afrikaner employer, worker and consumer."<sup>4</sup>

When, like many another Nationalist politician, he reaped the reward of his years of whipping up the black and the red bogeys, by entering Parliament for the first time in the 1948 election, it was only natural that he should be one of the members of the Select Commission which paved the way for the Suppression of Communism Act. There followed not only the outlawing of the Communist Party but a systematic onslaught on all democratic and anti-racist forces, in particular on the leaders of the ANC and Indian Congress. At the height of the Cold War internationally, with McCarthyism raging in the United States, it was fitting that the first Nationalist MP to be invited to America by the US

State Department should be none other than Dr. Diederichs. He went for a 3-month tour, in 1954.

Throughout his long parliamentary career, from 1948 to 1974, Diederichs consistently implemented the programme he and others had worked out in the 1930's. Back in 1941, in a book called "Ons Republiek" (Our Republic), he contributed a chapter on 'The Republican State of the Future'. In this he argued that the ideal republican state would not exist to protect the so-called rights and freedoms of individuals but to ensure the existence of the (Afrikaner) Volk. Later, making his maiden speech in parliament in August 1948, he made it clear that in his view liberal democracy was the thin end of the wedge of socialist revolution and was utterly incompatible with the ideals of Afrikaner nationalism.

## Demagoguery

In 1958 he became Minister of Economic Affairs, and later Minister of Finance. In this role he was quickly compelled to drop the anti-monopoly capital demagoguery with which he had masked his reactionary bourgeois aims to the white workers during the Depression years. Then he had talked **airily of nationalising the gold mines. Now he was the regulator of the class interests of the big banks and mining-finance houses, South Africa's spokesman on the Governing Board of the International Monetary Fund, and travelling salesman for the return of the international capitalist monetary system to a more direct gold basis. No more was heard of nationalising gold – only of pushing its price up to strengthen the financial sinews of the apartheid regime and boost the profits of the ruthless mining industry.** For Diederichs this was the main aim at a time when galloping inflation invaded the South African economy bringing misery and starvation to millions of black workers and their families.

Dr. Diederichs is not the first Nationalist politician and ex-Cabinet Minister to become State President. He may not be the last. But he demonstrates even more clearly than his predecessors Swart and Fouché the ideological and class character of the apartheid state in all its hideous and monstrous ugliness. Far from being an unsuitable President for white South Africa today, Diederichs is apartheid's ideal figure-head. **For the Rand Daily Mail to suggest that he is liked, even loved, by all communities in South Africa, is so fantastic as to be laughable. It tells more about that paper as the leading organ of the interests of Western-oriented mining-and-finance capital than it does about Diederichs.**

The oppressed peoples of South Africa care nothing for the likes of President Diederichs. He neither represents nor misrepresents them. He is nothing to them but another stone in the path, one obstacle among many in their path to victory and freedom. What he stands for is already losing its sway throughout the world. Led by the ANC, the people of South Africa will wipe out all he stands for and realise the vision of the Freedom Charter.

## Sources

- 1) Rand Daily Mail 31 Jan. 1975
- 2) For full details, see Brian Bunting: *The Rise of the South African Reich*.
- 3) & 4) H. J. & R. E. Simons: *Class and Colour in South Africa* p. 563

## DECLARATION FOR A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

In the last issue of *Sechaba* we reported briefly on the Black Renaissance Convention which took place in Hammanskraal, South Africa. Since then we have received full texts of a declaration and resolutions adopted at the Convention which was attended by 300 delegates representing various shades of Black opinion in the country.

During the course of the Convention the gathering stood in silence for a few minutes at the request of a delegate in honour and in memory of: "the late Chief Lutuli and all past leaders of the Black peoples; Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners; Abraham Tiro and all those who were murdered by our oppressors; Oliver Tambo and all those Black leaders who have been forced into exile."

### Declaration

A Declaration adopted by the Convention states:

● **We, the Black people of South Africa, meeting at the Black Renaissance Convention in December 1974 declare that:**

- \* We condemn and so reject the policy of separate development and all its institutions.
- \* We reject all forms of racism and discrimination.
- **We dedicate ourselves towards striving for:**
  - \* A totally united and democratic South Africa, free from all forms of oppression and exploitation.
  - \* A society in which all people participate fully in the government of the country through the medium of one man, one vote.
  - \* A society in which there is an equitable distribution of wealth.
  - \* An anti-racist society.
- **We call upon all our people and all our organisations to organise their efforts towards securing the release of all political prisoners, detainees and banned people.**

### Resolutions

The following resolutions were also adopted:

- This Convention:
  - \* **Declares that legalised racism in South Africa is a threat to world peace and therefore calls upon all the countries of the world to withdraw cultural, educational, economic, manpower and military support to the existing racist government and all its racist institutions.**
  - \* Expresses its shock and dismay at the expropriation of the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice and calls upon the Black community to fight for the continued survival of this institution.
  - \* Acknowledges that it is not the first to convene a meeting of Black people and states firmly that it wishes to continue in the efforts that have taken place in the past.
- This Convention noting that:
  - \* **The great majority of Black people are workers;**
  - \* **Besides being discriminated against, the workers suffer the most blatant forms of exploitation;**
  - \* The wages that workers receive are far below the bread-line and that they are therefore frustrated in the attempt to use their bargaining power;
- **therefore resolves that:**
  - \* **the Government should immediately recognise African Trade Unions;**
  - \* **that the workers should organise themselves into trade unions free from Government interference.**

## No Love Songs in South Africa

*There shall be no love songs  
In South Africa this year.  
For love emanates from the heart  
And in Capetown there are no hearts of love.  
Only malignant coronaries which transmit the  
Warped brains of racists to bleed upon the  
Tortured bodies of oppressed blacks.  
There shall be no love songs  
To lull minds of black children to  
Dream of beautiful fantasies or soft  
Harmonious nights. The blood of black  
Patriots still covers the soil of  
Johannesburg with yesterday's sadness.  
No songs to comfort the poor who die  
From malnutrition and are buried in  
Black graves without markers.*

*There shall be no love songs  
In South Africa this year.  
Only conga drums beating dirges  
And the screams of black mothers  
Calling for their sons to  
Come home from the dead  
Smell of diamond mines.  
No love songs  
For a lonely black widow,  
Whose husband's heart beats in captivity  
Beneath the slimy white flesh of apartheid.  
No love songs.*

*They have all been murdered  
Assassinated by bastards who will deny  
A black man humanity but steal his  
Heart so inhumanity might live.  
There shall be no love songs  
In South Africa this year.  
They must rest in silence until the drums  
Of black people are ramped down the throats  
Of their oppressors. To beat death music  
For those who dare steal a black man's heart  
So a racist can live to torment black children' . . .*

*Anon.*

# SMITH PREPARING HIS NEST EGG

Having read the writing on the wall, the illegal Prime Minister of Zimbabwe intends getting as much out of the country as he can before he finally packs up his bags and goes.

A non-parliamentary committee of three business men – naturally all White – has recommended that Smith's salary be nearly doubled – from R18 000 to R33 000.

Proposals for Ministerial increases will bring Ministers salaries to R22 000 a year. This will be more than their counterparts earn in Britain, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada.

And all this comes at a time when starvation is rife in the African areas and at a time when the government itself has introduced price control, wage restraints and soaring inflation. Smith and his clique want to bleed the country as much as they can before being kicked out.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Smith's Terror

A London Sunday newspaper recently published a picture of a black prisoner at Salisbury's top security jail being strapped down by warders before being flogged.

The picture was taken according to the Sunday People by Peter Spencer the prison warder who helped British-born banker Kenneth McIntosh escape from a 14 year jail term for espionage and illegal currency dealing. (McIntosh was recaptured recently).

The story, which the paper says is told by Mr. Spencer himself and carries his byline and photograph, says: "I took the picture of the flogging of a black man with a concealed mini-camera.

"I could have got 14 years for that. As a prison officer I was supposed to keep the secrets of Ian Smith's prison."

## Blindfolded

"For the flogging shown in the picture five warders strapped a prisoner to a special bench. That is standard procedure," he said.

"Victims are blindfolded so they cannot tell how soon their agony will begin.

"They cannot see the warder, wielding a half-inch-thick birch. But awaiting-trial prisoners can hear the screams as up to a dozen strokes cut into the man's back," the article says. "As a new recruit I was expected to learn from the old hands how to keep discipline over some 2,000 prisoners, most of them black. The main methods were brutality and fear," it goes on.

## Common Practice

The article says beating with sticks, canes, batons and straps was common. African prisoners were packed up to 80 in a cell – a long bare room with sleeping mats and some blankets. "Condemned prisoners did not suffer physical ill-treatment – but there was plenty of mental cruelty," adds the article.

A favourite "joke", it says was to put a piece of string around a condemned man's neck and tell him he was being measured for a noose. Sometimes the condemned men were told they would be discharged on a certain day – in fact the day they were due to be hanged.

(Exactly the same procedures are followed in the South African Jails – Ed.)

## FINANCIAL DETENTE

By Bob Connolly



## Kissinger Seen Hardening on Portugal

Washington this fall has been alive with reports of Kissinger's anxiety over the presence and activity of Communists in the new Portuguese Government. Miguel Acoca, a Washington Post reporter stationed in Lisbon, has reported in a series of articles (October 27, November 19, November 23) that Kissinger is reluctant to deal affirmatively with the Portuguese Government, that he is holding up aid to Portugal, "dragging his feet" on Azores negotiations, and requesting that the Portuguese not have access to strategic defense data of NATO. The Secretary of State is described as fearing that Portugal may be the first in a southern European progression toward Communist governments: Portugal, then Spain, then Italy, then Greece. The NATO Nuclear Planning Group (NPG) meeting which had been scheduled for November 7 and which would have been the first NPG meeting which Portugal would have attended as a member, was postponed at the request of the US. (Later the Portuguese withdrew from membership in the NPG.) According to Acoca's sources, Kissinger personally dispatched Deputy Director of the CIA, Vernon Walters, to Portugal to evaluate the situation first hand, to assess the degree of Communist activity and the likely direction Portugal would go.

One indicator of Kissinger's attitude toward Portugal is his dismissal of Ambassador Stuart Nash Scott on November 16 and his appointment of Frank Carlucci as Scott's replacement. Scott had been Ambassador to Portugal only since December 23 of last year, so his dismissal is surprising. As there were no advance rumors about the dismissal at the State Department prior to its announcement in the press, State Department Desk Officers relating primarily to Portugal think the decision to fire Scott was made by the Secretary of State personally and reflects his dissatisfaction and/or disagreement with Ambassador Scott. Kissinger and Scott are said to disagree about the significance of Communist activity in Portugal. As described by Acoca in the November 19 Washington Post Scott's views are: "that despite the appointment of a Communist as minister without portfolio, the presence of Marxists among the military leadership, and leftist control of the news media, there is little chance of a Communist takeover there." Further, "He believes that the Communists are not favored by the present electoral law, and thinks they are unlikely to win control of the Constituent Assembly next March . . . (he) has recommended that the United

# UNITED STATES AND SOUTHERN AFRICA



States do nothing to capsize the provisional government and create hostile reactions among the Portuguese."

Scott's views are congruent with the State Department position as reflected by the Portugal Desk Officer, William Kelley. Kelley predicts that in the March elections the Communists will win at most only 15-20 per cent of the seats in Portugal's Constituent Assembly and will play a very minor role in the new government of Portugal which follows from the Assembly's deliberations. Judging by the similarity of views between Scott and Kelley it seems Kissinger and the State Department "Experts" on Portugal are in disagreement.

Carlucci brings a surprising diplomatic background to his new position as ambassador to a country moving toward decolonization in Africa. Of his four previous assignments as a career foreign service officer, Carlucci spent three terms in Africa: 1957-60 as Economic Officer in South Africa, 1960-62 as Political Officer in Congo-Leopoldville (now Zaire) (where he was beaten up during the anti-white reaction following Congo's independence from Belgium), and 1964-65 as Counsel in

Zanzibar. At the beginning of 1965, the Tanzanian Government asked that Carlucci leave, charging him with subversive activities. Press stories at the time suggested that the action might have been a symbolic expression of Tanzanian dissatisfaction with US policy on the Congo. Carlucci's last foreign assignment was Brazil, where he stayed until 1969 before moving to other departments in Washington.

On November 27, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee favourably reported Carlucci's nomination. Congressman Michael Harrington testified, expressing his concern about press reports of recent US intervention (including CIA) in Portugal, and the lack of information about these apparent policy changes available to Congress. Harrington said that "with memories of (the CIA's) recent record in Chile . . . I give credence to the largely circumstantial evidence which has been assembled in the Portuguese case." He hoped that the Senate Committee would hold off confirmation of Carlucci until Congress was consulted about recent US policy shifts. Carlucci, asked to respond to Harrington's statement, said: "To my knowledge there is no

such intervention (by the CIA)." When asked to explain further he said, "It means that I know, and that there is none." The Committee approved Carlucci's nomination despite Harrington's request, and sent it to the full Senate for final action.

The Portuguese Armed Forces Movement has been dismayed by the US attitude toward their government, as evidenced by the snagged negotiations over the Azores base Agreement. Since the treaty expires in February, negotiations over renewed US use of the base have been in progress. However, on November 14, Acting Portuguese Defense Minister Vitor Alves indicated that the US probably will not receive full rights to the Lajes base, and that the final treaty will probably confine US use of the Azores to NATO purposes only. Since the Azores was used by the US as a stop-off point in the resupply of Israel, the Arabs would like to see US access to the base cut off. According to several reports, Kuwait, Libya and Saudi Arabia have offered Portugal oil and economic aid in return for Portugal's denying the US continued use of the base.

Portugal is also concerned about US foot-dragging on the question of economic aid. President Francisco Costa Gomes and Foreign Minister Mario Soares both explored aid possibilities with Kissinger this fall in Washington, and both went home empty-handed. In contrast, the Soviet Union offered Portugal petroleum in exchange for various Portuguese exports.

US relations with the new government in Portugal are quite uncertain. The developing US policy toward Portugal appears strikingly reminiscent of US political intervention and aid cut-offs to Chile, and the Portuguese are understandably concerned.

### More Liberal Congress Expected in January

The new 1975 Congress will probably be more liberal on certain issues. The major change is the gain of 44 Democrats in the House of Representatives. The impact of this gain on Southern Africa can be evaluated in part by the kinds of Republicans the Democrats will be replacing. The right-wing Republican Steering Committee, which provided a forum for Deputy Minister of Information Eschel Rhodie to meet with sympathetic members of Congress, lost 35 of its members, including its President and three of the four vice presidents. By contrast, the liberal Republican Wednesday Group lost only one member, John Dellenback, who had a strong interest in Africa, favouring a "dialogue" position.

Although the erosion of the conservative Republican power base in the house will weaken the pro-apartheid forces, it is equally important to consider the election fate of their leadership. On the one hand, several of the conservatives who actively support white Southern Africa will remain in Washington, and some have gained additional power. California representative Bob Wilson, who hosted a meeting for Rhodie in October, retained his seat and will move up to be ranking Republican member of the House Armed Services Committee. Representative Edward Derwinski, who took an active role against the Rhodesian sanctions bill this year, will retain his seat as ranking Republican member on the Africa Sub-committee. On the other hand, several conservatives who support South Africa were defeated in November. In one of the surprise upsets of the election, Louis Wyman lost his bid for the Senate seat from New Hampshire by only ten votes. Wyman had provided contacts for South African Military officials at the Pentagon, so South Africa's lobbyist's will be sorry to see him go. Also, H. R. Gross will no longer be on the Foreign Affairs Committee to obstruct progressive bills on Southern Africa, and Louisiana Representative John Rarick will not be in Congress to add his open racism to floor debates.

Most of the Representatives who have taken leadership against white rule in Southern Africa will still be in Congress in 1975. The only loss in the House Africa Sub-committee was John Culver, who will be in the Senate next year. Among the incoming Democrats, there may be others who will be supportive of this position, for example, Harold Ford, a Black Representative from Memphis, Tennessee, defeated conservative Dan Kuykendall. Ford will be the seventeenth member of the Congressional Black Caucus. The strength of the Southern Africa leadership in the 94th Congress is hard to measure, since no joint strategy for action has yet been decided on.

The election brought fewer changes to the Senate than to the House. The most important change for those watching Southern Africa policy is the change in the chairmanship of the Foreign Relations Committee. John Sparkman of Alabama, a consistent supporter of white-ruled Africa, will replace moderate William Fulbright. While Sparkman, at 74, is not expected to be a strong chairman, South African Foreign Minister Hillgard Muller did stop by to nurture his support in October.

Committee assignments to the House and Senate Armed Services and Foreign Affairs Committees will be decided by party caucuses in December. (Washington Post, Nov. 14, 1974)

### Under Secretary Easum Visits Southern Africa

Donald Easum, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, made a five-week trip to Southern Africa in October and November of 1974. A major purpose of the trip, apart from general familiarization, appears to have been assessing the changes within Southern Africa in light of the Portuguese coup and the attempt to expel South Africa from the United Nations.

Easum stressed in his meeting with African leaders that the US expects to see South Africa end its support of Rhodesia, end its occupation of Namibia, and make substantial changes in its internal policy of apartheid. He defended the US veto on the basis of South Africa's promise on these issues.

Easum appears to have been urging black leaders to normalize relations with South Africa and give her a change to fulfill her promises of reform. According to David Ottoway of the Washington Post, "it appears that the US may play an important role in forthcoming diplomatic maneuvers between South Africa and black African nations." This policy of encouraging detente between the black and white states of the area seems consistent with the view of US interests recently exposed in the 1969 National Security Study Memorandum on Southern Africa. In this document, the goal of US policy is seen as "balancing" US economic and strategic interests in Southern Africa with its political and economic interests in black Africa. If detente is accomplished, the political price for continued, or expanded, US involvement in white-ruled Africa would decrease.

Easum was also interested in assessing the current situation in the former Portuguese colonies. He met in Mozambique with FRELIMO president Samora Machel. Easum also hoped to meet with representatives of the three liberation movements in Angola.

Easum's other stops to speak with top government leaders were Zaire, Zambia, Malawi, Tanzania, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and South Africa. (Johannesburg Star, Nov. 19, 1974; Washington Post, Nov. 14, 1974)