

# SECHAB A

OFFICIAL ORGAN  
OF THE AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS  
SOUTH AFRICA



VOLUME 2

NUMBER 6

JUNE 1968

**JUNE 26 - SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY!**

Since last JUNE 26, South African Freedom Fighters have embarked on armed resistance. What has happened since fighting began in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) on 13 August 1967?

**DR DADOO OF SOUTH AFRICA REPLIES TO QUESTIONS**

What is the role of South Africa's Indian community in the South African revolution?





# JUNE

**"The African revolution has rolled down to South Africa's doorstep. It cannot be too long before the flames of freedom seep in to consume the evil forces that have plagued our country for centuries."**

**— O. R. Tambo of the ANC, in Sechaba, June 1967**

The year that has passed since our Deputy President said those words has proved their truth a thousandfold. Sechaba looks back on the year which launched our military offensive and has seen its force and momentum increase with every month.

## 28 JUNE 1967

Leaflet distributed throughout South Africa. Its message:—

**"MOBILIZE AND PREPARE, SOUTH AFRICANS! FREEDOM IS COMING LIKE THE RISING OF THE SUN. IT WILL BE WON IN OUR LIFETIME! AMANDLA NGAWETHU! MAATLA KE A RONA! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

Fighting was intensifying in Namibia (South West Africa) and in Angola and Mozambique — when the historic offensive was launched...

## 13 AUGUST 1967

Combined forces of ANC and ZAPU attack. Alliance announced by our Deputy President and by J.R.D. Chikerema, Vice-President of ZAPU:—

**"It is the determination of these combined forces to fight the common settler enemy to the finish, at any point of encounter as they make their way to their respective fighting zones..."**

The combined action began with intensive warfare over a

wide area. Reports were received of action in the Zambesi River Valley, Northern Matabeleland, the Wankie Game Reserve and the whole area between the Victoria Falls and the Kariba Dam. A flashback on the Wankie fighting appeared recently in Mayibuye, an organ of the ANC:—

### MORE ON WANKIE

Readers will remember we estimated rebel dead at that time as at least 66. Absolutely reliable sources now report that the racist rebel forces of Smith and Vorster actually lost 196 dead and many more injured. An even more encouraging aspect of the Wankie fighting was the support, in the form of food, shelter and information, given by the African population to the Freedom Fighters. Local inhabitants were often materially responsible for leading the racist forces into traps and ambushes. As a result at least 7 civilians were arrested in Tjolutjo after the fighting, several being tortured to death.

The enemy admits that there has been no respite since the fighting started. Rhodesian 'Justice' Minister Lardner-Burke recently announced that African Nationalist Guerillas had launched four offensives in Rhodesia in as many months towards the end of last year and the start of this one.

## 18 MARCH 1968

**"THE 'INVASION' TOOK RHODESIA COMPLETELY BY SURPRISE"**

— London Daily Mirror.

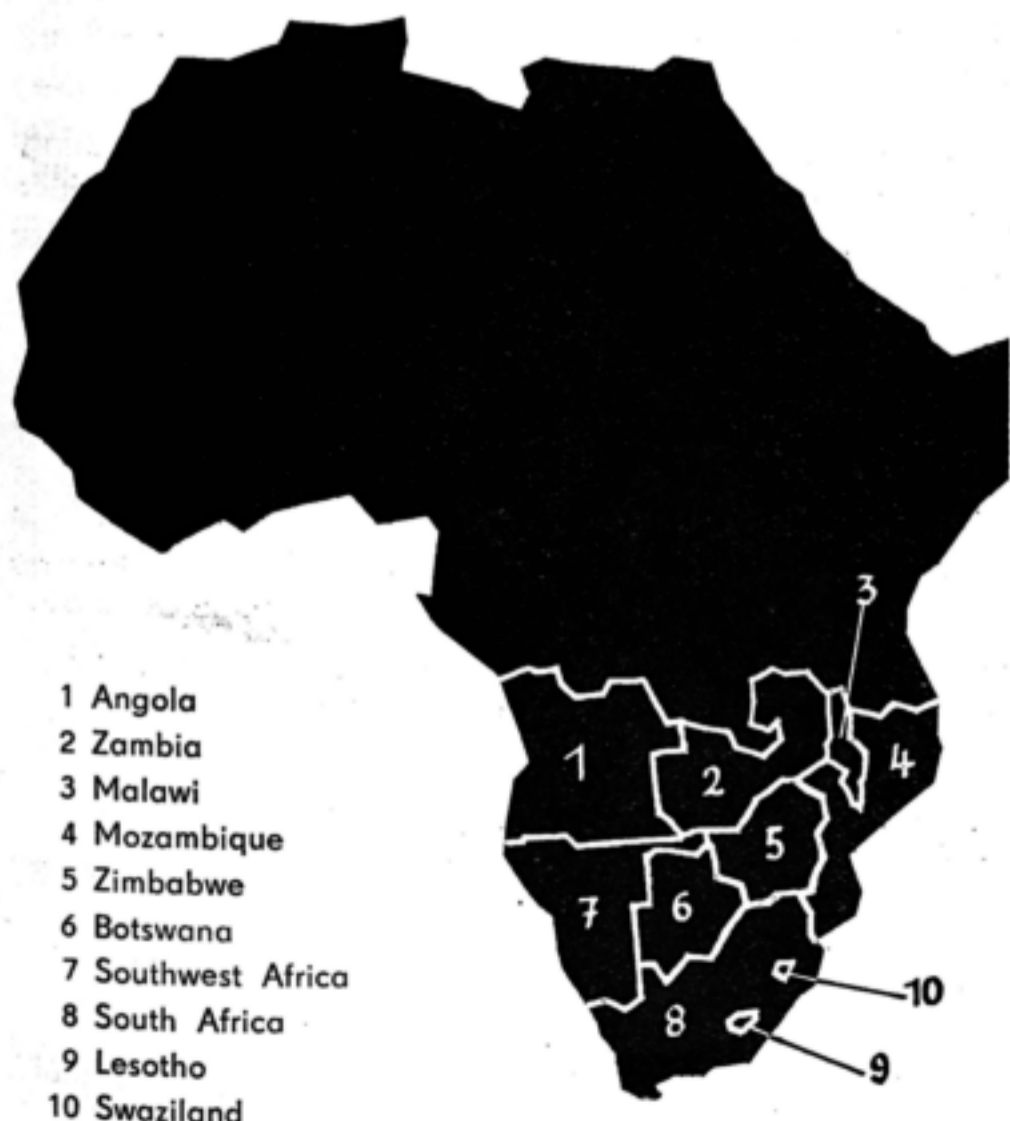
Writing in Mayibuye, organ of the ANC office in Zambia, Rata Botswere stated:—

# 26

# SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY!

## NEWS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The Ides of March. The offensive was planned to begin in March as the rainy season began to close. The action of the enemy in executing Freedom Fighters was not part of the planning. But the storm which broke following this evil deed, the indignation of the masses, and the international isolation of the Ian Smith regime, made this an appropriate moment to attack. From bases in various parts of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) the joint forces of ZAPU and the ANC moved into action. The first clashes began on Friday, 15 March 1968. One of these took place several miles from a temporary camp of the guerillas. The enemy troops, who numbered 58, suffered heavy casualties in the ensuing battle. They called for air support. By the time planes arrived the Freedom Fighters had vanished in typical guerilla style. Nevertheless the camp was heavily bombarded with at least 100 bombs being dropped on it. When the enemy moved into the camp after being reinforced they found nothing but a few knapsacks left behind by the Freedom Fighters. The notorious P. K. van der Byl, Deputy Minister of Information in the Ian Smith cabinet, visited the scene and expressed disappointment at the results of the air strike.



The following day, 16 March, fighting was going on in widely scattered areas of Zimbabwe, including only 15 miles north of Salisbury. The enemy regime decided to call up its entire forces to deal with the emergency. Call-up notices were flashed in cinemas and other public places. Military police visited places where soldiers were likely to be congregated calling on them to report back to barracks.

The Rhodesian Army Commander set up a temporary headquarters at Karoi to co-ordinate actions against the Freedom Fighters. In contrast to what happened last August, the Ian Smith regime decided that the issuing of propaganda would be entirely in the hands of the army special services section that has been issuing the daily communiques and leaflets of the regime. One of the first decisions taken by the propagandists of the Ian Smith regime, who already knew that this was an internal struggle, was to present the fighting as a recent incursion of guerillas from Zambian territory. This was very important for the enemy, who knew perfectly well that it was in fact false. They had to maintain the morale of the White settlers who would be shocked to find that guerillas were working among the masses and roaming the whole of Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the so-called Minister of Law and Order, Lardner-Burke, had just a week before assured the Whites that there was not "a single terrorist in the country". It was also of advantage to put the blame on Zambia as part of the absurd pretence that the African people in Zimbabwe supported Smith. Thus was invented the lie that guerillas crossed from Zambia on 15 March. The enemy calculated that later there would be so much confusion that many people might not remember how the whole thing really happened.

Zanu's Gift To Smith. Meantime the fighting waxed more fierce on Sunday and the following day, 18 March. It was on that day that the enemy was handed an absolute propaganda gift by the splinter group - ZANU. This organization issued statements claiming that its forces were fighting the Rhodesian security forces around Makuti near the Zambia-Rhodesia border. This false claim was a godsend to Smith's propaganda. The fighting which had started deep inside Zimbabwe was now being described in terms which conformed with Smith's requirements. Then followed two days of absolute ballyhoo. Rhodesia press and radio screamed hoarse on the ZANU statements and claims. The fighters in the field and the masses in the fighting zone were incensed at these stories. However, wars are not won on press and radio but on the battlefield.

# JUNE

Tuesday 19 March. A press conference was held at ZAPU offices in Lusaka. Central figure was Vice-President James Chikerema of ZAPU. Questions from the Press were answered in clear terms. The Vice-President explained that there was no fighting in the Zambesi Valley at all; that no guerillas had crossed from Zambia on 15 March; that the fighting was going on deep inside Zimbabwe over a wide area and was a development of the struggle in the country; that the ZAPU-ANC forces were fighting with the support of the masses. Despite this statement, which has now been proved to the hilt by evidence which both press and radio have at their disposal, they have made no admission that they were wrong and that Vice-President Chikerema was completely accurate. In fact some news media are still continuing to talk about the so-called fighting "by a group of guerillas who crossed from Zambia in the Zambesi Valley". These people have lost all journalistic integrity.

The fighting went on. The Joint Armed Command of ZAPU and ANC sent congratulations to the Freedom Fighters in the field for their brave exploits, and the completion of initial assignments.



As reports pour in of the progress of the fighting, it becomes clear that the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe is entering an even more profound phase. The enemy propaganda desperately conceals casualties and wounded security men. From the first clash reported, in which they alleged that nine Freedom Fighters were killed in a (non-existent) battle along the Zambesi, they have told unscrupulous lies. Truth is the first casualty in any war. In fact the first battle was a disaster for the enemy who had lost 56 by the end of the first week of fighting. Enemy casualties have continued to mount rapidly. Further reinforcements have been mobilized and South Africa has been asked for more help. One of the big French Alouette helicopters is to be provided by South Africa together with men and equipment.

## 21 MARCH 1968

From the 'Times of Zambia':—

"The military alliance between ZAPU and the ANC has been well-known since their combined offensive against the Rhodesian rebels was pushed home just before the OAU summit meeting in Kinshasa.

"The courage of these Freedom Fighters is most moving. This achievement with all the courage and self-sacrifice involved, makes it especially painful to consider the false claims of credit for their lives which have been made by bar room heroes in Lusaka since Monday."

From a special correspondent:—

"The counter-revolutionary Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) has been banned by the Zambian Broadcasting Service from broadcasting over ZBS. Their reports were found to be misleading and unreliable."

## 22 MARCH 1968

From an ANC-ZAPU Press Release:—

"South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese military and service chiefs have met to consider the present phase of



# 26

the struggle in Zimbabwe and the reported offensive launched by FRELIMO in the Tete Province of Mozambique, which borders on Rhodesia. We anticipate a tripartite offensive from the White fascist forces."

## 24 MARCH 1968

From the Johannesburg 'Sunday Times': —

### GUERRILLA THREAT IN AFRICA by Stanley Uys

CAPE TOWN, Saturday. — The new terrorist (sic) invasion of Rhodesia — the third wave since last August — throws into sharp focus the extent of the terrorists' drive through Southern Africa, and the even greater need for vigilance and preparedness by South Africa.

Two surveys, one by *The Times* of London and the other by the Washington publication, *Africa Report*, disclose that the southward guerilla thrust in Africa is gaining momentum every month.

Already Portugal has thrown in 120,000 troops to save its three colonies: 60,000 in Angola, 45,000 in Mozambique and 15,000 in Portuguese Guinea (Guinea-Bissao). It is a costly colonial war.

The guerilla campaign has also caused Rhodesia to enlist further help from South Africa, and South African police units are fighting side-by-side with Rhodesian security forces.

Guerillas have penetrated Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and South West Africa. Only South Africa itself has not been the scene of fighting. The time may not be distant, therefore, when South Africa for its own protection will help to garrison the whole of Southern Africa...

The Durban *Sunday Tribune* of 24 March described one of the discovered camps thus:—

"The choice of the campsite, perched on a cliff and consisting of several acres of camouflaged supply dumps, ammunition dumps and bivouac areas, indicated a high degree of organization and training on the terrorist side. "The camp was approachable only across open space which afforded the terrorists a clear field of fire.

"The terrorists had good medical supplies and modern drugs, including snakebite kits, and even transistor radios. They methodically entered radio news into a group 'war diary', and kept regular accounts of rations issues. Ration books showed they had hunted and killed rhino to supplement their supplies of Rhodesian-made tinned foods and South African tinned fish."

The Rhodesian and South African foodstuffs, according to our reports, were part of what our guerillas captured.

## 30 MARCH 1968

The South African *Daily Dispatch* had this to say on the fighting:—

"As Rhodesian concern (meaning the Whites) increases over the latest outbreak of terrorist guerilla fighting in the Zambesi Valley, there is a growing public feeling that counter-attacks should be launched on the guerilla bases in Zambia to stop incursions before they start. Bitterness and anger is spreading among White Rhodesians, many of whom have young sons and relations, some only 17 and 18, fighting in 'The Valley'...

The terrorist battle has now been raging for two weeks without an end in sight. Very little information is available to Rhodesians. Hundreds of men are tied up in the drought-stricken bush, prey to sickness, insects and snakebite. The cost is mounting. Numbers of civilian territorials have been called up. Suddenly the (White) Rhodesians have become conscious of the dangers facing their young men which accounts for the overwhelming flood of troop comforts now pouring into Salisbury and Bulawayo. It is the first time this has happened on a big scale.

Political and military observers do not discount the possibility of the Rhodesian forces mounting counter-attacks on the guerilla collection camps in Zambia. Some of them are on the banks of the Zambesi and easily observed by the Rhodesians.

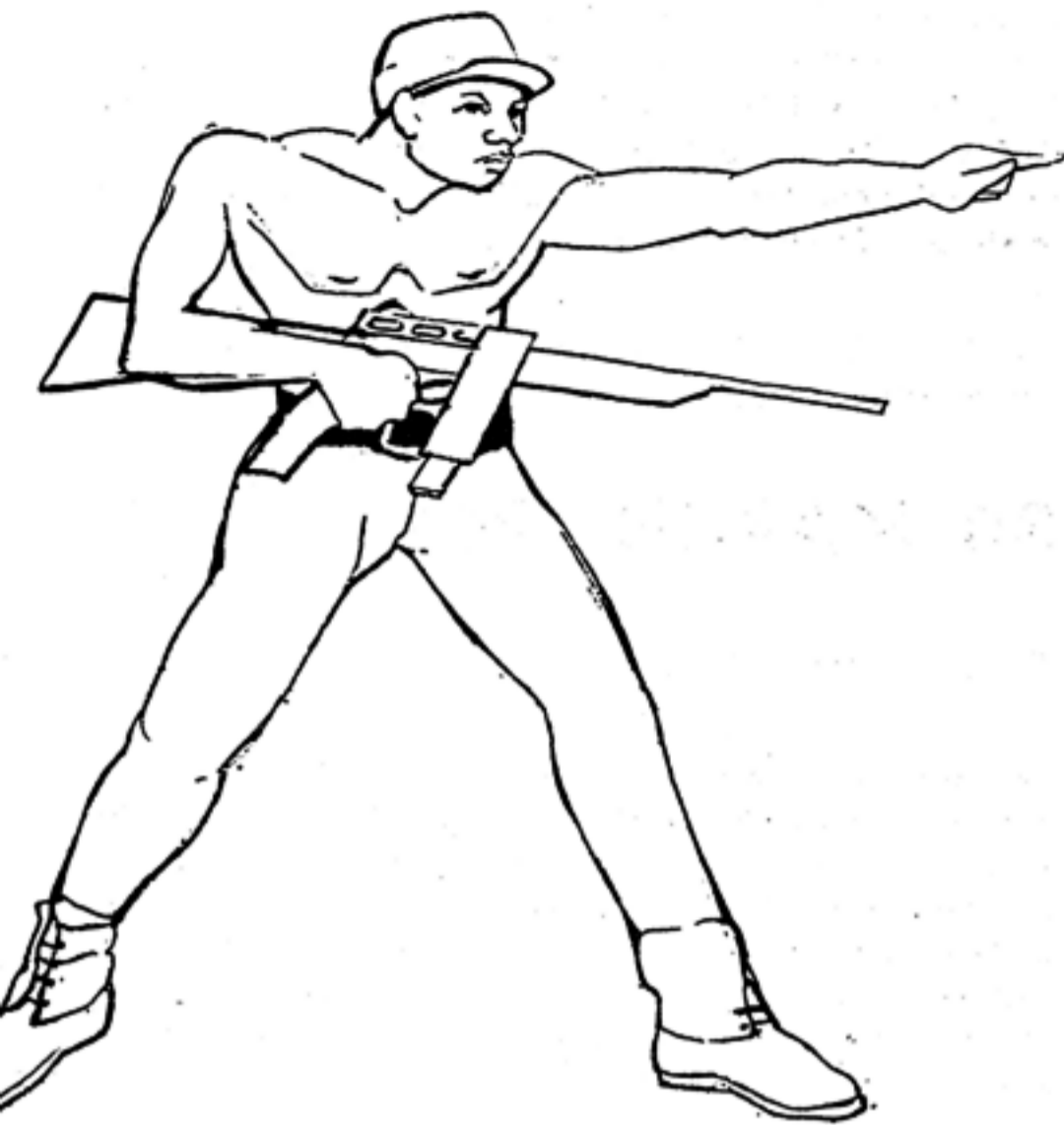
The Zambian fear of this happening gave rise to President Kaunda's recent demand for fighter planes and for missiles.

And from the United Nations yesterday it was reported that Zambia's Foreign Minister, Mr R. C. Kamanga, told delegates Zambia was supporting the terrorists."

The survey team of *The Times* of London declared that military co-operation exists between South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese in the form of a 'Council of Three' which meets monthly. The team reported:—

"Today, the evidence of joint defence planning is overwhelming."

The Portuguese Foreign Minister and the head of the Angolan Security Police promptly denied that this report had "the least foundation". *The Times*, declaring them to be "mistaken", replied:—



"Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African officers are meeting secretly about once a month in capital cities in Africa. Officials in Washington told us frankly that officers of the Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African armies, air forces and police — roughly of the rank of colonel — had been meeting regularly for many months if not for years. The meetings were usually in Salisbury, Pretoria, Lourenco Marques and occasionally Luanda. A most visible effect was that military aircraft from one country were freely able to overfly and land in another. But more important was the exchange of intelligence. A guerilla wanted by one country could be notified to the other two. If arrested he would be handed over. But the officials added a significant rider. Meetings, they said, had become much more frequent in recent months."

This is no news to the African people. We have long been aware of the existence of the unholy alliance by which White domination is maintained in Southern Africa. As Frélimo President Eduardo Mondlane last year told the UN Seminar in Lusaka, the struggle "will have to involve the obliteration not only of the political system of colonialism as such, but also those elements in the present economic structure in Southern Africa which buttres the position of the white man, be he Portuguese, British or Boer". But to counter their unholy alliance we have a holy alliance — holy in its purpose of liberating the mass of Southern Africa's people from brutal oppression and callous exploitation. And this is the alliance which is succeeding.

Quote from the South African Press:—

"The Administrator of Natal, Theo Gerdener, appealed to (White) South Africans to give more tangible proof of their appreciation to those people, particularly the Portuguese,

who were fighting terrorists in Southern Africa. He said it was unwise to assume that terrorist activities were directed only at the Portuguese and Rhodesians or that it was only the actions of a few thousand disorganized and ill-trained insurgents, who would in time disappear into the bushes from where they came."

Quote from the London *Daily Mirror*:—

"Rhodesia today is at the dawn of its Vietnam . . .

It is quiet just as the cities of Vietnam were quiet in the beginning . . .

It is impossible to estimate how many rebels there are . . . They are not "communists marching down Africa to drive a wedge into the most civilized part of the continent", as Ian Smith has said . . .

There are many more to follow them and great dumps of weapons awaiting them . . .

Like the Vietcong they will gradually — perhaps over the course of a decade — seep into the countryside and the African townships and villages, where already they are established; and the present trickle of terror raids, of bomb throwing and ambushing, will turn into a cataract."

## 26 JUNE 1968 — THE PEOPLE ARE WITH US!

A revolutionary war in Zimbabwe is now continuous, with the rebel forces assisted by fascist South African troops on the retreat. The racists have been compelled by circumstances to stop handing out false reports that the fighting is taking place in the Zambesi Valley, on the borders of Zambia. They can no more hide the fact that, in fact, the Peoples Army is operating inside the country, that aircraft and helicopters have failed in their purpose and several have been shot down; that the local population is working in close co-operation with the Freedom Fighters, and that White residents and farmers have had to be evacuated from the war zone.

In our lifetime we shall celebrate South Africa Freedom Day in our own land! Let us constantly re-dedicate ourselves to bringing that day closer.

# AMANDLA!

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## „SPOTLIGHT ON SOUTH AFRICA“

It is our aim to bring before world public opinion precise and reliable information on the day-to-day events taking place in South Africa. In doing so we hope that sufficient indignation will be aroused among democratically minded people throughout the world to support the struggle of the oppressed people in South Africa against apartheid.

We publish a weekly news digest, "Spotlight on South Africa," in addition to the monthly journal "Sechaba."

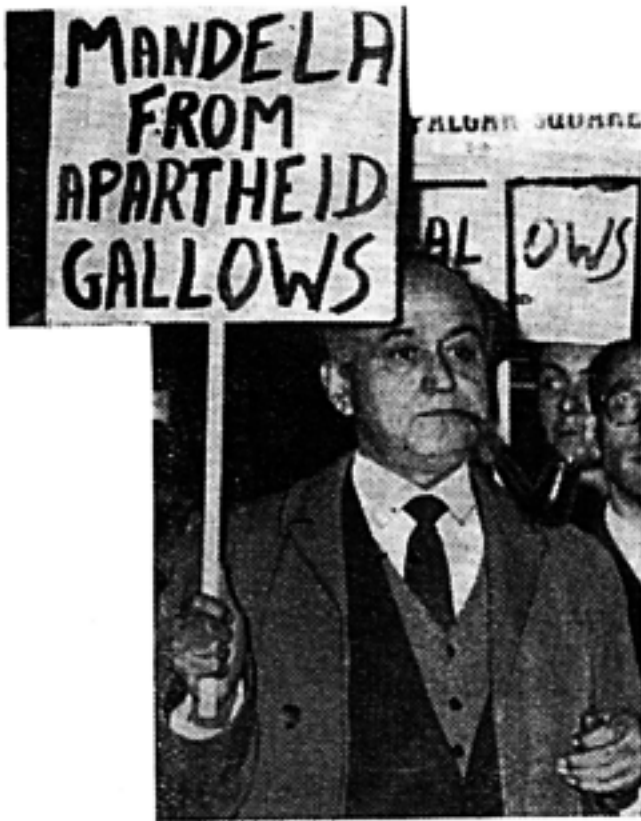
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Dr Y. M. Dadoo, banned President of the South African Indian Congress answers questions on

# THE ROLE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE IN THE S. AFRICAN REVOLUTION

**Question:** Dr Dadoo, you have just published a leaflet\*, which is the first public call you have made to the Indian people since you left South Africa in 1960. Can you tell us what the background to this leaflet is, and why you have chosen to make your call at this time?

\* Copy of this leaflet will be published in our next issue — Editor.

*Photo above: Dr Dadoo in a demonstration against the Rivonia Trial, outside South Africa House in London. Photo right: Dr Dadoo together with O. R. Tambo while Mr Tambo was on a mission in London.*

**What precise role do you expect the Indian people to play, then, in this new phase of the struggle?**

**Answer:** Today, history is witnessing a decisive turning point in the struggle for national liberation in South Africa. Armed struggle has begun. Under the leadership of the African National Congress in alliance with the Congress movement, the brave freedom-fighters of the Umkhonto we Sizwe are on the march. Already combat units of Umkhonto, together with contingents of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, are giving battle to the armed forces of Ian Smith and Vorster in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Reliable reports from the battle front, contrary to the whitewashing accounts put out by the South African press and radio, indicate that the freedom fighters are fighting with great daring and skill, and are inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy. Even the enemy has to admit that the freedom fighters, whom he calls "terrorists", are not only well armed, but highly skilful in the use of their weapons. It is on the cards that soon there will be fighting on South African soil.

So, in this new period of armed struggle and developing revolutionary upheavals, it is necessary to make every section of the South African population, both white and non-white, aware of the changing situation and of the tasks and responsibilities that it is being called upon to fulfil. As a leader of the Indian people, it is my duty to ask them to respond unreservedly to the call made by the Acting President of the African National Congress, our comrade Oliver Tambo, in which he says: "As our forces drive deeper into the South we have no doubt that they will be joined not by some, but by the whole African nation; by the oppressed minorities, the Indian and Coloured people; and by an increasing number of white democrats."

Once this leaflet reaches the Indian people — and it is even now being distributed amongst them through the underground movement — I have no doubt that they will respond readily, and with the same spirit of self-sacrifice and determination that they have shown throughout their long and bitter struggles against segregation, and for human rights, ever since the days of Gandhijee. (Mahatma Gandhi, who led the first Indian struggles in South Africa in the late 1800s and early 1900s — Editor.)

As an integral part of the South African population, the Indian community of half a million people has a very important role to play in the new form the struggle has taken. The militant Indian youth, who played not an insignificant part in the early struggles of Umkhonto since 1961 — several of them are serving long terms of imprisonment on Robben Island and in other South African jails together with their African, Coloured and White comrades-in-arms — have yet a larger role to play in the liberation army, and in mobilising the Indian people in town and country to support and help the freedom fighters in every possible way. The Indian people must and will, I am certain, help to make the path of freedom fighters easy. They must also mount ever-increasing resistance to every



**The South African Indian Congress is still technically a legal organization. How legal is it in practice, and how is it functioning? And how will the publication of the leaflet, calling for support for the armed struggle, affect the organization?**

**You spoke earlier of the Congress Movement. Can you tell us something of the background of the alliance between the South African Indian Congress, the African National Congress and the other organizations of the Congress Movement?**



**What in your opinion did the Indian Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946 and the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign in 1952 achieve?**

aspect of apartheid: the Group Areas Act must not be allowed to govern them; they must oppose and reject the regime's stooge body the South African Indian Council, which is being used by Vorster as an instrument to obtain the collaboration of the Indian people in the implementation of apartheid policies. Every form of opposition to apartheid is of help to the freedom fighters in the war against white supremacy.

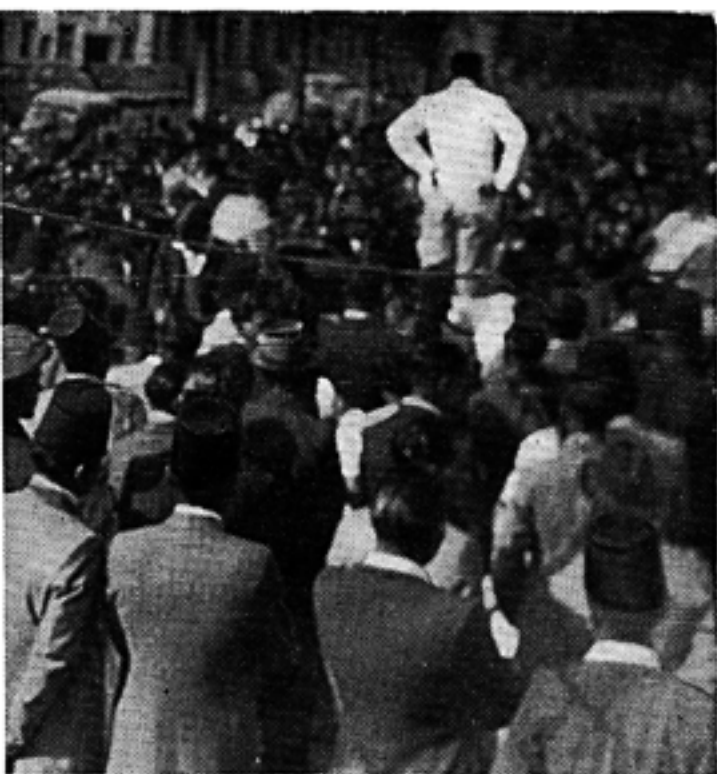
The S.A.I.C. is a legal organization only in name. The terror let loose by the Government through its Special Branch has made the legal functioning of the S.A.I.C. and its constituent bodies, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress, impossible. Every one of its office-bearers and committee members at national, provincial and branch level, has been banned, imprisoned or driven into exile. And this applies to the members appointed to replace those banned and imprisoned, and again to those appointed to replace *them*. The legal functioning of the organization is now impossible. But the new leaflet, and the fact that it is being distributed in spite of all the penalties, bears witness to the fact that the spirit of resistance for which the South African Indian Congress stands, lives on, and that no power on earth can crush it.

Freedom is indivisible. A section of the population cannot be free if the rest is in bondage. In the course of their struggle against unjust laws, and for the redress of their grievances, the Indian people began to realise that no fundamental changes were possible without unity of action between all the oppressed people. And it was this realization that made the younger members of the Indian Congress, in the late 30s and early 40s, set about trying to change the policies of the Congress in order to seek co-operation in the common struggle with the premier national organization of the African people, the ANC, and with the national organization of the Coloured People. A similar spirit also prevailed among the younger elements in the African political movement, and in the Coloured community. This led to the formation of united-front bodies to campaign to show the people that they must act unitedly, and to bring about changes in the national organization (and necessary changes of leadership) to follow the new policies of co-operation and united struggle. To bring about the changes in the Indian Congress, a vigorous campaign had to be conducted amongst the Indian people, and many bitter battles had to be fought against the "moderate" leadership of the time. Members of the progressive groups were assaulted, sometimes brutally. In the Transvaal, a volunteer of the progressive group was actually killed. But with the crushing of the moderate leadership it was possible for the Indian people once again to conduct a militant campaign — the passive resistance campaign against Smuts's 'Ghetto Act' in 1946. This was entirely a struggle of the Indian people, but a few African and Coloured volunteers participated as a gesture of solidarity.

Simultaneously there was a change in the leadership of the ANC, and this made possible co-operation between the Indian Congress and the African National Congress through a pact known as the Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo pact of 1946. After that many joint struggles were conducted, such as the stay-at-home on 26 June 1950 (the first South Africa Freedom Day), the stay-at-home on 1 May 1950, and the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign of 1952, in which over 8,000 volunteers of all races defied laws and went to prison. Under the leadership of the ANC in alliance with the organizations of the Indian and Coloured people, of the workers and of the progressive whites, the Congress of the People was held in 1955 — at which the Freedom Charter was adopted by over 3,000 delegates of all races. This Charter became the programme of all the organizations participating in the Congress Movement, and laid the basis for a united struggle for the transformation of South Africa. A Joint Consultative Council of all the organizations continued to operate until the premier organization, the ANC, was banned in 1960.

With the departure of Gandhijee from South Africa in 1914 and with the removal from the political scene of some of his staunchest lieutenants because of death or old age, the leadership of the Indian community fell into the hands of "moderates" who believed in compromising with the Government on each and every legislative measure of racial discrimination against the Indian people. The Indian Congress was reduced to representing, by and large, the voice of the small Indian merchant class only.

The campaign for all-out resistance against all discriminatory legislation conducted by the younger progressive group among the Indian people culminated not only



*A meeting of about 5,000 Indians in Durban, South Africa, in 1940. When the moderate merchant class were ousted from leadership of the SAIC, it became a mass organization of the whole people.*

**How do you reconcile the tradition of passive resistance in the SAIC with your call for support for armed struggle?**

**The argument has often been put to the Indian people in South Africa that as a minority group they would be no better off under African rule than they are under White. In the light of what has happened in Kenya, for instance, what is your answer to this argument?**

in ousting the moderate leadership but also in transforming the Indian Congress into a mass organization of the whole people.

The Indian Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946 against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act enacted by the Smuts Government brought together in a united struggle all sections: the working people who constituted 80% of the Indian community, the professional class and traders. The unity it wrought was indeed so powerful that not a single Indian accepted even the limited franchise which the Act offered.

The Campaign of 1946, furthermore, laid a strong basis among the Indian people for the subsequent unity with the African National Congress and the other organizations of the Congress Movement in the struggle for liberation. The Campaign also made a significant impact internationally. It made the Indian community appreciate more fully the importance of international solidarity in the world-wide struggle against racialism, colonialism and imperialism. At the request of the SAIC, India demonstrated her solidarity by breaking off relations with South Africa and imposing economic sanctions. At its request India also took up the issue of the treatment of the South Africans of Indian and Pakistani origin at the United Nations. This was soon broadened to include the whole question of apartheid. Thus it is that the question of the apartheid policies of the fascist South African Government has been on the agenda of the United Nations Organization ever since its inception.

The Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign, similarly, not only increased the attention of the world to the liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples, it also welded the masses of the African, Coloured and Indian peoples into a united force. Furthermore, it gave rise to the formation of the Congress of Democrats, a small but active group of white democrats, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), who later joined the united front, popularly known as the Congress Alliance.

Passive resistance was never the ideology of the organization, although it had been used as a method of struggle since it was introduced by Gandhijee in the early part of this century. The principles of Satyagraha as enunciated by Gandhi were never accepted as a *creed* by the Indian people. It is true that in the SAIC, as a national organization representing all interests and all viewpoints, there are some leaders — like Dr Naicker and Nana Sita — who implicitly believed in Gandhian principles and who have lived by them; and of course we honour their convictions and their sufferings for their convictions. But in this connection it is significant to note that when the ANC and the SAIC jointly embarked upon the Defiance Campaign of 1952, it was deliberately not called a passive resistance campaign. It was called a Defiance Campaign, although it was non-violent. It expressed a more militant outlook, because most of the leaders had realised that in the situation of South Africa, where violence was the normal instrument of Government policy, there could arise a situation where no alternative would be left to the people, if they were to continue to fight for their freedom, but to resort to violent methods. When Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) was formed, Indian youth readily responded to its call, and participated in its activities.

This is absolute nonsense — it is merely the tactics of divide and rule used by the authorities in order to maintain the divisions of the people, as they already do by law, keeping the national groups apart and preventing intercommunication. This is the argument of the South African Police who seek to intimidate the people from participating in the struggle; it is the argument of their agents provocateur in our midst, who deliberately try to provoke hostility between African and Indian, African and Coloured, to convince each that their grievances are not the fault of an oppressive government, but of another oppressed group. They use this tactic precisely because it is our unity in the face of oppression that the oppressor most fears.

It must be understood that the fundamental of the liberation struggle is first and foremost the liberation of the majority of the population, the African people, and that it is unthinkable that there could be liberation without African majority rule.





How do you see the liberation struggle in South Africa developing, and how can a small minority group like the Indian community effectively participate?

The position of the Indian minority in South Africa cannot, in any case, be compared with that of the Asian population in Kenya. We have no political or social rights and even the extremely limited economic opportunities we now possess are fast being whittled away through the ruthless implementation of such laws as the Group Areas Act. The history of the two groups is different. Although the Indian community in Kenya suffered from certain aspects of segregation — for example, not being allowed to live in the Highlands — under British rule, they had greater opportunities for development than the Africans or the South African Indians: for example in questions of ownership of land and employment in the Civil Service. And because of this, they, except for a handful of brave Asian patriots, stood apart from the mainstream of the Kenyan liberation struggle. So when independence came, most of the Asians did not feel themselves a part of it, and they were encouraged in this by the withdrawing of the British authorities, who helped them to obtain British passports, making them feel that they had an alternative to identification with Kenya; so, many of them did not become citizens. This is a situation where the imperialist policy of 'divide and rule' classically worked — and we are determined that it cannot work in South Africa. The lesson of this is that unless different sections of the population have a patriotic allegiance to a common cause, they can have no place in the new free societies now being built on the African continent. They must support local liberation struggles and most of all, be true Africans, just as the vast majority of the Indian people of South Africa are today.

The African people in the whole of Southern Africa, in the Portuguese colonial territories of Mozambique and Angola and Guinea-Bissao, in Rhodesia, and South Africa, are now engaged in a life and death struggle. This struggle may be long and protracted and bitter, and may call for tremendous sacrifices, but it will go on and on, until freedom is won. In this struggle all the oppressed people have a duty to play their part, and the small Indian community of South Africa has also a definite and significant role. Knowing the Indian people of South Africa as I do, I am quite convinced that they will not waver, that they will unflinchingly throw themselves into the struggle, wholeheartedly, not as a minority, but as South Africans.

## Dr. Y. M. Dadoo

Banned President  
of the South African  
Indian Congress

### A Biographical Note

Dr Y. M. Dadoo was President of the South African Indian Congress in the key period (1948 to 1952, when he was banned from all gatherings and from holding office in the SAIC or any of 40 political and Trade Union organizations) when the political alliance between the SAIC and the African National Congress was being forged. In tribute to the part he played in making the alliance a reality, and to the respect and affection in which he is held not only by the Indian people of South Africa but by all South African democrats, he was awarded the honour of *Isitwalandwe* at the Congress of the People in 1955 — an honour accorded only to two others, the late Chief Albert J. Lutuli, and Father Trevor Huddleston. (*Isitwalandwe*: 'Wearer of the feather of the rare and legendary bird *Indwe*'. This right was traditionally granted to only the greatest of warriors.) Dr Dadoo was born and grew up in Krugersdorp in the Transvaal province, and qualified in medicine at Edinburgh University in 1936. Immediately on his return to South Africa he threw himself into the political struggle. He was one of the founders and the first secretary of the Non-European United Front, formed in 1937, which paved the way for subsequent co-operation between the SAIC and the ANC. Convicted many times for political offences, he has served many terms of imprisonment, the first being in 1940 for calling upon non-whites not to serve in the war unless they were accorded equal pay and conditions of service with whites. In 1946 he was jailed three times for participating in the Passive Resistance Campaign by Indians against Smuts's 'Ghetto Act', and also fined with 50 others for inciting African mineworkers to strike. In 1952 he was again sentenced, for his part in leading the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. In 1948 he left South Africa without a passport to lobby delegates of the United Nations on the treatment of Indians in South Africa. And in 1960, with the Declaration of a State of Emergency following the Sharpeville Massacre, and the mass arrest of opposition leaders, he escaped abroad once more in order to represent the South African Indian Congress abroad.

Since 1960, Dr Dadoo has travelled in Africa, Asia and in the Socialist countries, to gain assistance and support for the South African liberation struggle.

# LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

## Top Scientist Spurned

Mr Alfred Msezane of Springs in the Transvaal, the first South African non-white to obtain a Master's degree in theoretical nuclear physics, and one of the most highly qualified men in his field in the country, cannot get a better offer than R55 a month job as a school-teacher (£ 32 sterling or 77 dollars a month).

He cannot go to the University of the Witwatersrand for a doctorate in physics because the law will not permit him to do so, as the University is reserved for Whites Only.

He cannot go to the University of the Witwatersrand for a doctorate in physics because the law will not permit him to do so, as the University is reserved for Whites Only.

He cannot get a job with the Atomic Energy Board or the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), because these organizations do not employ Africans in the higher posts.

The best offer he has been able to get is the one of R55 a month as a teacher with the Bantu Education Department. As a result, he may have to leave South Africa.

Mr Msezane, a brilliant student who obtained his Master of Science degree at the Saskatchewan University in Canada on a World University Service Scholarship, in a press interview said that his return to South Africa had "brought me face to face with bitter disappointment and frustration".

He returned to South Africa in November last year.

Speaking of the only job he had been offered, Mr Msezane said: "The Bantu Education Department could not offer me more than R55 a month. This, they explained, was because I did not have a University Education Diploma."

It is not possible to study for a doctorate in nuclear physics at a "Bantu College".

"It looks as if I will have to leave South Africa, for South Africa has nothing to offer me. But I have strong

ties with this country, and it is my home. My parents and relatives and many friends are here.

"I can get a job teaching in Zambia at a starting salary of R180 a month."

## Secret Service Costs

South Africa's expenditure on what is broadly termed secret services will jump by £ 370,000 to a total of £ 1,366,000. Most of this money will be spent by the police, who have asked for an increase of R600,000 (£ 350,000). This will boost its secret service expenditure to £ 590,000.

Then comes the Defence Force which wants parliamentary approval for an increase in expenditure on military intelligence from £ 460,000 to £ 484,000. The Department of Foreign Affairs secret service expenditure now appears under the heading Foreign Affairs Special Account. It remains constant at £ 300,000 (R500,000).

## The Cost of Apartheid

Twenty years of apartheid have cost South Africa at least R3,000 million (£ 1,750 million, dollars 4,200 million). A racially-preoccupied Nationalist Government hat since 1948 passed more than 200 laws or amendments to laws to give effect to its policies — but still the number of non-whites in the white areas have increased. Mr Eric Winchester (of the official White opposition) said that at a time when South Africans were being urged to save more and spend less in the battle against inflation, the Government was "pouring money down the drain" on apartheid. Out of every Rand the taxpayer pays, eleven cents (11%) goes directly into the policy of apartheid. All this had Pushed the cost of living up by 75% in the past 20 years.

## Rate For The Job?

After eight months discussion African iron-and-steel workers have been granted increases of 1/2 c to 3 1/2 c an hour in various categories.

Thousands of the 150,000 African iron-and-steel workers were receiving a mere 19 c an hour. In some categories, where Whites drew 68 c an hour, Africans on the same job would get 38 c an hour. In another category, which was also 68 c for Whites as a minimum, Africans were entitled only to 22 c as a minimum.

Commenting, Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Party said she held White trade union leaders partly responsible. She said it was clear that when African workers were deprived of collective bargaining machinery, they could not rely on the White unions to look after their interests, nor could they depend on the commissions set up under the Bantu Labour Settlement of Disputes Act — the machinery which was supposed to replace African trade unions.

## Mental Hospital Crowding

The African section of the Oranje mental hospital in Bloemfontein is crowded to double its capacity in many wards. The hospital provides for the whole of the Orange Free State province, the Northern Cape and a small area of the Southern Transvaal.

Figures show that in the three male wards for Africans there were 591 patients where there should have been a maximum of 316. In the fourth male ward (for patients about to be discharged) there were 282 patients instead of 140.

In the female ward there were 400 patients instead of 227.

Medical Officers of Health cannot visit the hospital because it is a government institution.

There is no ward for Coloureds, who are put in the African wards; and because rules lay down a diet for Africans inferior to that for Coloureds, trouble often erupts.

A major cause of complaint is that experienced doctors are often moved from Bloemfontein "at the whim of some clerk in Pretoria". These transfers take place without notice or at short notice.

There are only three doctors at the Oranje.

## Cinderella Community

For more than 42 years the Coloureds of Springs, now numbering more than 2,000, have been living 'in transit' — existing in a 'temporary' area while awaiting a permanent home. The Springs town council wants them to live in Brakpan.

The Germiston City Council 'has' 2,000 Coloureds (all Councils have white members only), and cannot find a place for them. Germiston has suggested that



the Coloureds should go and live in Springs.

The Alberton Town Council has to 'provide' for 539 Coloureds and would like them out of the town as soon as possible.

Kempton Park has 500 Coloureds. The (white) Council is eager to see the Coloureds housed — but not in Kempton Park.

Nigel has 265 Coloured residents. The town council would like to see the Coloured community settled somewhere on the East Rand — but not Nigel. Brakpan has 449 Coloured residents, and they too are in 'temporary' living quarters.

The Coloured community at Springs live in an area officially designated by the regime as an African location. Their homes are tin huts or dilapidated rooms in which, in some instances, up to 21 people live. The homes have no sanitation. Each block has a single central washing place. There are no playgrounds or streets.

### Two Lashes To Wake Up

A Germiston Bantu Affairs Commissioner sentenced an African boy to two strokes for failure to produce a reference book, after the boy told him he was 15. Africans must carry passes from the age of 16.

The boy appeared before Mr G. I. J. Marais for failure to produce a reference book when called on by the police to do so. He was arrested at Edenvale on this charge.

Questioned by the Prosecutor, the boy said that he carried no reference book because "I'm fifteen years old".

After hearing the evidence and looking at the boy's charge sheet, Mr Marais found him Guilty.

"I think you must get two lashes to wake you up," he said.

### Ten-Year-Old In Jail

A ten-year-old orphaned Coloured boy was in custody for a month while awaiting trial on a charge of stealing corn meal. At his trial, evidence was led that he stole the corn meal to feed his grandmother's chickens. His case was adjourned a number of times during the month he was in custody. Mr W. Kleinsmidt convicted him in Paarl and the sentence was postponed for three years.

In mitigation, a local attorney, Mr I. D. Murray, said the month he had already spent in jail was enough punishment. He wondered why the boy had not been placed in the care of his grandmother during the case.

## REFLECTIONS OF A QUAKER

During the silent commemoration of the Sharpeville massacre.

From Mrs Kie Fullerton.

The facts forming the heartbreaking reality of 21 March, Sharpeville, South Africa, have an accumulating force in the absence of any subsequent events which would give us hope.

After Sharpeville, no religious pacifist should expect Africans to demonstrate non-violently against unjust discriminatory laws imposed by the fascists who are the government of South Africa. That religious pacifist would have to stand in the front row of Sharpeville No. 2 if he were to expect that. On the contrary, after Sharpeville, the need for the survivors to protect themselves is obvious even to those at a safe distance.

The problems of *who* will bring about the destruction of the apartheid system, and *how*, remain. Africans would have to be suicidal to try peaceful demonstrations again. The whites have had abundant opportunity to change their system. Yet changes so far have mostly been for the worse. The choice of paths to a fair and just government has become narrower.

Africans cannot be asked to withdraw from the struggle, either, when for every white infant that dies nearly 20 black infants die, and this in the country of the first heart transplant. Even if black adults were to accept the position of being passive victims of the whites' exercise of political and economic power, they are obligated as parents to prevent these deaths by changing that system. No Quaker, believing in "That of God in Everyone", can accept the continuation of such a political and social system. After Sharpeville I *must* protest cons-

tantly and directly against that system, exercised by those fellow human beings who do not respect the divine spark.

I have watched the failure of a non-violent approach there. I know that even France violates the UN sanctions. I know that even some of my fellow Quakers have their money invested in South African firms or branches. I see no peaceful formula for the liberation of Africans.

Who, besides the African victims, might change the government? And how, besides throwing the rascals out? After Sharpeville, what offers the slightest hope of success without more bloodshed?

I find myself obliged to acknowledge the fatuity of pacifism as a technique in that situation. For my safe personal life, I agree in principle with Joan Baez, that if non-violence is a flop, violence is a bigger flop. But I am not in the front row of a hypothetical Sharpeville No. 2.

I can only offer moral support by protests against the system, a personal witness by refusal to buy products of business firms that profit from that system of legal near-slavery, and economic and social help through organizations which enable Africans to gain a share of power, if not directly through the UN, by the path they prefer. The wicked system of exploitation and death has got to go, the sooner the better.

I understand why there are no black Quakers in South Africa.

— Kie Fullerton (Paris)

# STOP WRIGGLING

says John McGrath

replying to a move by Lord Willis calling on British playwrights to abandon their policy of insisting that their plays should not be performed before racially segregated audiences in South Africa.

Sometime during March of this year I, along with many other dramatists in Britain, received a copy of a statement headed: 'British Plays in South Africa: Is It Time For Dramatists to Reconsider Their Attitude?' It was written by Lord Willis, better known as Ted Willis, one-time Unity Theatre playwright, creator of 'Dixon of Dock Green', 'Mrs Thursday', and several other highly successful television series presenting the working class to the working class, President of the Screenwriters Guild of Great Britain, prominent member of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and now made a Life Peer by Harold Wilson.

For some time almost all playwrights in this country have insisted on a clause in their contracts forbidding performances of their plays before racially segregated audiences in South Africa. Lord Willis's statement suggests that we abandon this policy. He claims that it is not having any political effect, and is "actually doing great harm to the people we most wish to help". He suggests that "reputable managements" were unwilling to "pirate" plays — even though the government has tabled a Bill permitting this — and that consequently our ban is proving financially disastrous to the theatrical profession as a whole. Furthermore, he strongly argues that by banning our plays we are "closing the door to the free flow of ideas from abroad". He says that "the liberal element in the country, who oppose apartheid with great difficulty, are denied the opportunity of seeing and hearing the latest British drama with its vitality and strongly-put criticisms of establishment ideas" — and this not through the actions of the South African government, but by order of the playwrights themselves.

He proposes that we should lift the ban immediately, allow our plays to be performed in South Africa before segregated audiences, and donate whatever royalties we earn to one of the coloured artists associations in South Africa — "by this means practical help will be given to non-European artists and audiences". He insists that such a policy "would by no means imply a change of attitude on our part towards apartheid, or any support for it".

## BOX-OFFICE BOOST

While respecting Lord Willis's sincerity, many of us were alarmed and horrified at these ideas, and we reject them totally.

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*Demonstrators protest against Antonio's performing in a Whites-Only theatre. It is not simply that the world has decided to impose a boycott on South Africa — it is that the people of South Africa have asked the world to do so.*

To begin with, the idea that any *really* stimulating plays would be allowed to be performed in that country seems curiously naive. The bulk of the plays actually performed would certainly be West End comedies, closely followed, no doubt, by family dramas — material tailor-made to complete the evening's entertainment for the white upper middle class, reflecting and reinforcing their current set of values. They would stimulate nothing except the box-office, and the ego of the ruling class.

It is interesting to note that the real driving forces behind this "re-think" — in Britain and the USA, where a coordinated drive is taking place — are, in fact, South African commercial managements. However, let us continue to assume that all is in good faith, and that what is really being asked







Members of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress protest against segregated cultural shows in Johannesburg.

for are stimulating plays which question the values of the South African government. Let us even continue to assume that such plays would survive the attentions of the South African censorship system, and were seen by groups of white South Africans. We would still reject the proposals.

#### TOTAL OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID

Our ban on the performance of plays before segregated audiences in South Africa is part of an international movement designed to express world-wide, total opposition to apartheid. Any unilateral withdrawal from this movement will be welcomed by the South African government as evidence that its propaganda is taking effect. Lord Willis surely cannot wish to achieve this. It is unfortunate that some South African liberals are denied access to some plays, but if their desire is to change the system they live in, they must expect to make some sacrifices. If not, too bad.

To support the coloured artists associations in South Africa may or may not be a worthwhile effort — I personally find it tinged with paternalism and deeply suspect — but to support them with money earned through breaking the boycott is an idea which could not be seriously held except by those who are interested in retaining the status quo. How it is going to have more "effect" on the government than universal disgust as expressed through the ban is, I'm afraid, hard to imagine.

The heart of the matter is that the liberals in the West have at last observed that a boycott *alone* is not going to be effective. And now they are stuck. They suggest crumble and compromise. They suggest methods of betraying their supposed objectives, which will, at the same time, allow them to flaunt a parody of their liberalism. They call upon the great universal concepts in their moment of need. The power of the pen. The free flow of ideas. They are willing to believe in the gullibility of the most cynical men in the world. They line themselves up with dubious allies, and blind themselves to their vested interests. They declare, with full knowledge of what they are doing, that what is clearly a matter of concerted action is now a question for the individual conscience. They are wriggling.

They are wriggling because they are not prepared to see the logic of the next step. There is no doubt that this is to organize armed resistance.

#### BACK THE REAL STRUGGLE

Far from allowing it to crumble, we in Britain must reinforce our little ban. Then, if we really care, we must do more. We must support, in every way that we can, the men whom the newspapers call terrorists, but who are, in fact, fighting in the only way now left open — with guns — for freedom and dignity.

The end of apartheid, an objective which unites all sane human beings, can only be achieved by a change in the power structure of South Africa. Unfortunately this can only be achieved through the use of force. It is futile to pretend that there will be any other way. The logic of this equation cannot be escaped.

If we want our ban to be effective, we must stop wriggling, and back it up by supporting — most practically through the Manuscript Exhibition Appeal, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1 — those men who are prepared to fight, even to give their lives, for that freedom which we, as writers, value so highly.

And let us hope that Lord Willis's thinking on the subject is not, as one fears it will prove to be, a mere foretaste of the thinking of the British government when Rhodesian sanctions are shown to be "ineffective" and "actually doing harm to the people we most want to help". Perhaps Harold Wilson could make a deal with Smith, and send the profits to Oxfam.

*JOHN McGRATH* was born on Merseyside in 1935 of an Irish immigrant family, and brought up in North Wales. From the age of 16 he worked as a farm labourer, bagwash machine operator, and on British Railways. He joined the army at 18, served in Egypt, Jordan, Malta, Tripoli and Germany. His first play, *A MAN HAS TWO FATHERS*, was presented by the Oxford University Dramatic Society and then produced at the Oxford Playhouse. His second play, *THE TENT*, was produced at the Royal Court and heard on the BBC. *WHY THE CHICKEN*, his third play, was seen at the Edinburgh Festival and later in London. In 1966 the Hampstead Theatre Club in London presented *EVENTS WHILE GUARDING THE BOFORS GUN*, which has since been performed extensively in Europe and in repertory, and is shortly to be made into a film starring David Warner and Nichol Williamson. *BAKKE'S NIGHT OF FAME* was written shortly after this production, since when he has been working on some films (Ken Russell's *BILLION DOLLAR BRAIN*, a projected screen version of Malraux's *LA CONDITION HUMAINE*, screen play of *BOFORS GUN*), and a new play *THE TRUE MEANING OF THE HEBRIDES*, shortly to be completed. Above all, John McGrath is a democrat and a staunch anti-fascist.

# HEALTH / WEALTH / & / PREJUDICE /

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"In the four months from 10 October last year to 11 February, the Milk Board issued instructions for a total of 2,107,000 gallons of skimmed milk to be thrown away in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Klerksdorp and Bloemfontein.

"This was disclosed in Parliament by the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Uys, in reply to a series of questions by Mr Etienne Malan (U. P. Orange Grove).

"Last year, Mr Malan elicited from Mr Uys that more than 500000 gallons of skimmed milk had been thrown away in Johannesburg and Pretoria between 20 December 1966 and 28 February 1967, on the instructions of the Milk Board."

— Reported in the Johannesburg Rand Daily Mail, 12 March '68.

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## The Official Picture

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South Africa, according to a booklet issued recently by its Department of Information, is a highly developed, industrialized country, and its skyscrapers, highways and luxurious suburbs certainly point to great and growing wealth. Health statistics for its white inhabitants are like those of the industrialised countries of Europe and America. White South Africans have long life-spans, a low infant mortality rate, and relative freedom from serious infectious diseases, and they are well nourished — sometimes too well nourished. When they die it is most often from diseases of the heart or arteries, or from cancer; these are diseases tending to affect older people, which medicine often does not know how to prevent or treat. This is the pattern of sickness typical of wealthy countries. At least for the majority of whites, who live in the towns, there are ample doctors and hospitals.

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## Acute Malnutrition

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But for the non-white 80% of the population of South Africa, the pattern of disease is very different from that of the whites. Malnutrition in its various forms is common — pellagra and scurvy in adults, rickets and, most seriously, kwashiokor, which is most frequent between the ages of 1 and 3 years, and from which over a quarter of hospitalized cases may die despite treatment. Large though the incidence of kwashiokor may be in non-whites, it only indicates the number of children so obviously ill that a doctor has examined and noted them. Less acute malnutrition is far more widespread, as shown by the impaired growth of many African children. Their growth rate is not only slower than that of white children, but also slower than that of the few African children whose fathers are professional men earning satisfactory incomes.

The frequency of malnutrition is due to poverty or (in the over-crowded, sometimes drough-stricken "reserves") simply the non-availability of food. In the last few years, voluntary organizations have been buying "surplus" food, i.e. that is not sold at market price, and which otherwise would have been destroyed (as the milk was, in the quote





**Photo:— A case of malnutrition in a Port Elizabeth hospital**

heading this article), and selling it well below usual market prices to non-whites. These organizations have been strikingly successful, showing that people are anxious to buy nutritious food when prices are such that they can afford to do so.

The other group of diseases which arise in conditions of poverty — poor sanitation, poor housing and poor food — is the infective group of illnesses, of which bacteria and viruses are the immediate cause.

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## Infective Illnesses

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Some are disabling, like trachoma which when untreated is a frequent cause of blindness in South Africa. Others, like gastro-enteritis of infants, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, typhus, diphtheria and leprosy, are often fatal. It is these diseases, occurring vastly more often in non-whites than whites, which (together with malnutrition) shorten the life-span of the non-white population.

The expectation of life of a new-born coloured girl (in the most recent statistics available) is just under 48 years, while a new-born white girl can hope to live 70 years. Figures are not published for life expectation in Africans, but it is quite likely that they would be lower still.

The following table shows the incidence of some of these illnesses which occurred in the four "racial" groups in 1965. Infantile Mortality rate is expressed as deaths per 1,000 live births. All other figures are notifications per 100,000 of population group. No national statistics are published for African infantile mortality rates.

	White	Asian	Coloured	African
Tuberculosis	37.1	248.2	517.9	459.3
Kwashiorkor	0.3	5.0	42.3	99.6
Typhoid Fever	3.2	7.1	10.5	37.6
Smallpox	—	—	—	1.6
Leprosy	—	—	0.4	2.2
Puerperalsepsis	0.1	0.9	0.6	3.1
Infantile Mortality	29.2	56.1	136.1	?

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## Backward Services

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One of the reactions of white South Africans to these statistics is to suggest that the health services for non-whites in that country are better than those in other parts of Africa. This is a red herring. Most of Africa has only recently shed colonial rule (to a greater or lesser extent). South Africa's natural resources and industrialization are

currently the greatest on the continent. The backwardness of South Africa's medical services must be judged from the comparison within her borders between the good health of her white inhabitants and the ill-health and premature death of her non-white inhabitants. This disparity will continue until non-whites share equally in the prosperity of their country.

The practice of medicine in South Africa follows the separate and unequal pattern of her other social services. Government spokesmen often refer to free hospital treatment for non-whites as though it were a privilege and not a right. Apartheid is rigidly practised in hospitals, the trend being towards separating hospitals for whites and non-whites completely, geographically. There are also "mixed" hospitals, like some in the Cape, with segregated wards providing roughly equal numbers of beds for whites and non-whites, despite the preponderance of the latter in the population. The inefficiency of this system is obvious. Vacant beds may be seen in a "white" ward, while "non-white" wards are crowded with additional camp beds. In the out-patients departments, doctors have to waste time commuting from white to non-white consulting rooms. There is wasteful duplication of space and equipment.

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## Compete For Beds

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One has to be seriously ill to compete for a bed in a "non-white" ward, and patients who should be admitted may be sent home. Over-crowding in "non-white" hospitals may compel the staff to improvise beds from camp-beds, mattresses on the floor, or rows of chairs. This shortage results not only because there are less beds for non-whites in relation to population totals, but because the need for "non-white" beds is greater as there is the very much greater incidence of illness among this majority section of the community.

Over-crowding in the non-white out-patients departments is obvious to any visitor. Outpatients at the end of the queue have been turned away. At the Red Cross War Memorial Childrens Hospital, which serves non-white and white out-patients, an official notice instructed the over-worked doctors to attend to the white patients first.

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## Financial Burden

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For primary medical care, non-white patients may see the few government medical officers in rural areas, and specialized (e.g. antenatal or venereal disease) clinics are available in the towns. But primary care is usually provided by general practitioners, to whom fees are payable. The practitioner may prescribe or dispense medicines, or first request investigations such as X-rays, or obtain a specialist opinion — for all of which the patient must meet the cost. Or he may refer the patient to a hospital. To obtain the usually free hospital attention, therefore, a patient must first consult and pay a general practitioner.

It is true that a limited amount of free primary care is available in the towns, e.g. from clinics run by students.

To meet the cost of medical attention, the majority of Whites join medical aid societies — but few societies accept non-white members.

Primary medical attention may be an intolerable financial burden to non-whites, especially when superimposed on loss of earnings due to sickness. There are practitioners who are willing to reduce their fees in this situation; there are also those who may demand the fee in cash before seeing the patient at all.

When an injury is proved to have been sustained in the course of work, the cost of treatment is met by the employer, and permanent disability or death results in a compensation payment. The amount of compensation paid for a given injury is far less when the patient is African than when he is White.

The cost of modern drugs and investigations may be very considerable, and inability to meet it may have one of two consequences. The patient may receive cheaper and inferior treatment, which may be stopped too soon, and diagnostic tests may be omitted. Or he may be referred to hospital for free treatment of an illness which could have been dealt with by the practitioner had the patient been able to afford it. The latter situation helps further to overload the non-white hospital service.

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## Shortage of Doctors

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While some towns have sufficient doctors, there is a major shortage of doctors in many parts of the country. In South Africa the doctor-patient ratio averages roughly 1:1,850, but in the African "reserves" it may be nearer 1:30,000. The overall shortage of doctors is accompanied by an intense shortage of non-white doctors — just over 1% of South Africa's doctors are Africans.

Of the 389 doctors of medicine who graduated from South African universities during 1967, only 11 were Africans, 17 were Coloureds and 31 were Indians. This was revealed by the Minister of National Education, Senator de Klerk. At present, he said, a total of more than 3,700 medical students were on the rolls of the five universities. Of these 3,137 were Whites, 131 were Coloureds, 133 were Africans and 312 were Indians.

Senator de Klerk's statement means that, in spite of the overwhelming number of non-whites in South Africa, and in spite of more than a decade of the policy of 'separate development' (or more probably as part of that policy), nonwhites will remain almost totally dependent on white medical attention for many years.

White doctors were added to the community last year at the rate of one doctor for every 10,000 Whites.

In sharp contrast, African doctors graduated at the rate of one doctor for every 1,140,000 Africans. For Coloureds the rate was one doctor for every 100,000 Coloured people, and for Indians the rate was one for every 13,000.

Africans can study medicine only at one institution — the University of Natal — where there are now 133 African



students of medicine. Last year's 11 African doctors all graduated from this institution.

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## Apartheid Ambulances

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Apartheid affects various supporting services, such as ambulances. Because non-whites may not be carried in "white" ambulances, and vice-versa, grave delays in treatment have occurred when the inappropriate ambulance is sent.

A few months ago, an African woman died of hemorrhage in a township on the Rand. The ambulance which should have taken her to hospital for blood transfusion or operation did not reach her home until three hours after her death.

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## Blood Apartheid

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Each bottle of blood for transfusion is labelled with the donor's race, and blood from a non-white is rarely if ever transfused into a white recipient (certainly never in the Transvaal province). There is no medical reason for this form of apartheid — white blood is transfused safely into non-whites, and a heart from a non-white is still beating in a white recipient.

"We know there are prejudices..." says Dr M. C. Botha, the transfusion expert. One prejudice seems to be based on the ignorant belief that blood is the seat of one's genetic material; and whatever their scientific knowledge tells them, South Africa's White doctors seem to acquiesce in this bizarre attitude.

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## Reprehensible Propaganda

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The South African government claims from time to time that the incidence of infectious diseases in the non-white population is falling, and in some instances this may be true. Propagandists do not, however, explain why, despite the prosperity of the country, the incidence of readily preventable diseases among non-whites remains so high. They point instead to the large hospitals for non-whites and they attempt to make political capital out of medical events such as heart transplantation. There is no other reasonable explanation for the reprehensible publicity which has been given to the recent transplant operations in Cape Town, publicity which has disgusted even some White South African doctors including members of the Groote Schuur Hospital staff.

But such operations, by demonstrating the impressive medical skills available in South Africa, merely underline the defects in the medical services as a whole. By adopting a social system in which malnutrition and infectious diseases are the inevitable results, South Africa has grounds only for shame.

# JUNE 26

Extracts from O.R.Tambo's "Call to All Revolutionary Forces to Rally Behind the Struggle Against Fascist Tyranny" — from Sechaba, June 1967.

JUNE 26, a symbol of the unshakeable determination of the African people and their allies to seize power and banish oppression and exploitation, has its roots in the history of the long struggle of our people against the violent and brutal repression of white minority rule. It is a day of the oppressed that was born in the crucible of bitter and fierce resistance.

JUNE 26 is a day of re-dedication to the sacred cause of liberating our motherland. On this day our people solemnly pledge themselves to avenge the martyred heroes who gave their lives to redeem the national independence and human dignity of the African, and the gallant sons and daughters of our land who with unsurpassed courage and selflessness have endured persecution and torture at the hands of ruthless racists.

On JUNE 26 hundreds of thousands of our people, led by the African National Congress, embarked on militant mass actions which shook the citadel of white tyranny and forced a frightened fascist minority to take cover behind batons, bullets and military tanks. But the flames of revolutionary struggle and the ardour of resistance have grown bigger and stronger with every new instrument of force and violence produced and used against the people by the enemies of freedom, peace and harmony in our country.

JUNE 26 is our people's unchallengeable assertion that South Africa shall be free...

...To understand the value and significance of JUNE 26 and appreciate its meaning to millions of oppressed Africans in South Africa, it is necessary to recall that the history of white rule in South Africa is a history of rule by force, violence and massacres...

...Certainly, our struggle will be hard and bitter. But certainly also, the sands of time are running out for the racists and oppressors, and each year JUNE 26 heralds the approaching hour of reckoning. To hasten that hour, the ANC summons any who have strayed away from the path of revolution to return to the fold. We call upon all our people in and outside South Africa and on all our friends and supporters throughout the world to rally behind the struggle for liberation led by the African National Congress in South Africa.

# ADDRESSES

Sechaba may be obtained from the following bookshops, addresses and ANC Offices.

<b>TANZANIA</b>	African National Congress of South Africa P.O.Box 2239, Dar es Salaam.	African Bookshop P.O. Box 20837 Dar es Salaam.
<b>ZAMBIA</b>	African National Congress of South Africa P.O. Box 1791, Lusaka.	
<b>ALGERIA</b>	African National Congress of South Africa 5 rue Ben M'hidi Larbi, Algiers.	
<b>U.A.R.</b>	African National Congress of South Africa 5 Ahmad Hishmat Street, Zamalek, Cairo.	
<b>INDIA</b>	African National Congress of South Africa A 66 South Extension Part 1, New Delhi 3.	
<b>ENGLAND</b>	African National Congress 49 Rathbone Street London W.1.	Collet's Bookshop 66 Charing Cross Rd London W.C.2.
<b>IRELAND</b>	Anti-Apartheid Movement 173 Barton Road East Dundrum, Dublin 14.	
<b>HOLLAND</b>	Boekhandel Pegasus Leidsestraat 25 Amsterdam.	Boekhandel Pegasus Hoogstraat 143 Rotterdam.
<b>FRANCE</b>	Michele Vial, 19 Villa de L'epid'or.	78 Saint-Cyr-L'ecole, Paris.
<b>NORWAY</b>	Mr Lars Allden Holtegt 24, Oslo 3.	
<b>JAPAN</b>	Far East Booksellers Kanda P.O. 72, Tokyo.	Maruzen Co Ltd P.O. Box 605 Tokyo Central, Tokyo
<b>AUSTRALIA</b>	Third World Bookshop 35 Goulburn Street Sydney 2000.  Mrs Elizabeth D. Aiken "Burleigh", 566 Toorak Road Toorak, Victoria, Australia.	Peoples Bookshop 205 Brunswick St Valley Brisbane 4006.
<b>GUYANA</b>	Michael Forde Book Shop 41 Robb Street, Georgetown.	
<b>MEXICO</b>	Libreria Fomenta Cultura P. Sanchez 325 Guadalajara, Jal.	
<b>CANADA</b>	Book World 72 Gerrards St West Toronto.	The Peoples Co-Op Bookstore 341 West Pender Street Vancouver.
<b>U.S.A.</b>	Jefferson Bookshop 100 East 16 Street New York N.Y. 10003	Modern Book Store Uptown Branch 3230 N. Broadway Chicago, Ill. 60657.



## PORTRAIT OF A HERO

Tobias Hainyeko, first Commander-in-Chief of the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) died a hero's death in Southern Africa's fight for freedom. A South African policeman's bullet ended a dedicated, fearlessly lived life on 8 May 1967.

Hainyeko and about 24 of his guerillas were on board an ordinary passenger steamer, cruising on the Zambesi. They were on a secret mission, crossing Rhodesian territory on their way to a clandestine base somewhere in South West Africa. He had safely completed several equally dangerous sorties before. This time, however, a South African patrol boat intercepted the steamer, which belonged to Zambesi River Transport, a white-owned company. The crew and the other passengers on board knew nothing of Hainyeko's mission. Except for himself, his men were all unarmed: this was accepted procedure on such missions. All the same, if any of the men were caught, even unarmed and seemingly harmless, it would mean questioning, arrests, detentions, torture, imprisonment and possible death sentences. This would have been a devastating setback for the young guerilla force. Hainyeko, determined not to let himself be captured alive, resolved to save his men, knowing it would mean certain death for himself.

When the patrol boat fired warning shots into the air, the steamer came to a halt near the river bank. Hainyeko ordered his men to escape while he would create a diversion.

As the police approached, he started to fire. The police, taken aback by this single-handed attack, concentrated their shots on Hainyeko, and in the confusion of panicking passengers and crew, his men escaped up the bank and into the woods. A bullet hit Tobias Hainyeko in the neck and killed him.

THE A.N.C. DIPS ITS BANNER  
IN MEMORY OF THIS PEOPLES HERO