

NOW the 180-DAY LAW

The infamous 90-Day detention law, which resulted in three suicides by detainees, has now reappeared in a new guise: a law, passed last June, which provides for detention of witnesses, incommunicado, for periods up to six months.

Back to the Middle Ages

Former Supreme Court Justice Leslie Blackwell, Q.C., referring to this law, has said: "If a person who is merely sought as a witness can be held for up to six months, under the same conditions as were the 90-Day detainees, then are we not going back to the Middle Ages, substituting such confinement for the rack and the thumbscrew..."

First 180-Day detainee is Mr. Isaac Heymann, department store manager and father of two, who was arrested as a witness in an unnamed case. His wife – and the court – vainly tried to obtain his release, on a legal technicality, through first a Court Order, then a writ of Habeas Corpus. Security police, however, flouting court authority, neatly evaded both orders by releasing Heymann momentarily, then immediately re-arresting him and whisking him off to another jail. An attorney remarked of the farcical proceedings: "You can't win. You're up against power."

A suicide attempt was made by Heymann on September 24th, after 25 days of incommunicado detention, his requests for even "outside" food and clean clothing denied. Wrists, ankles, and neck slashed and bleeding, he was taken to the prison hospital. The suicide attempt was confirmed by the Commissioner of Police.

TRIALS

TWO JAIL TERMS FOR THE SAME OFFENSE have been meted out to 13 ex-African National Congress members in Natal. All the men originally served two years in jail for "leaving the country without travel documents," allegedly for military training, when they escaped to – and were sent back from – Rhodesia, in February, 1963.

All were re-arrested at the end of their sentences, charged under the Sabotage Act, and re-sentenced – for the same offense – to a collective total of 93 years in prison.

NURSING SISTER Z. N. MPENDU was finally sentenced in September to two and a half years in prison, after awaiting trial, in custody, for 16 months.

The charge, being a member of the A.N.C. and aiding the banned group in various ways, was denied by Nurse Mpendu, who did, however, "admit" to service as an unpaid committee member of the *Defense and Aid Fund* since 1961, her job being "to ensure that rents were paid for detainees and their children fed."

Mrs. Mpendu's defense was furnished by this same Fund. She is herself the sole support of three children.



African Nationalists Salute from Police Van.

Johannesburg has resulted from the recent banning of the chairman (Mr. David Craighead), the secretary, and an important African staff member.

Operated as a charitable organization since 1956 and never prohibited, the Fund nevertheless has been consistently attacked as "liberal," and persecuted by repeated bannings and arrests – or other removal – of its key personnel. The deportation from South Africa of John Blundell, chairman of the Cape branch, is a recent example.

ALAN PATON, protesting the banning of David Craighead, wrote: "This happened because of his determination to see that the people charged with serious political offenses were properly defended in court."

The Catholic Kolbe Association blamed the banning on "the Christian conscience" of the businessman, who has been chairman of the Catholic Foundation in South Africa, and called Craighead "a victim of Government action which allows no recourse to the Courts."

OUTSIDE HELP NOT WANTED

A sharp official rebuke to the Netherlands was delivered by South Africa in protest against the Dutch Government's recent donation of \$28,000 for Defense and Aid.

The Hague, unrepentant, later announced that the gift would be repeated.

DEFENSE AND AID
FUND UNDER ATTACK

Serious Crippling of Defense and Aid Fund operations in

THE PRESS VERSUS THE STATE

A bitter contest between Press and State has been in progress in South Africa since June, when the *Rand Daily Mail* launched a campaign to expose prison abuses, especially those affecting non-whites, by publishing three eye-witness articles by Harold Strachan, a white political ex-prisoner.

THE PRISON SCANDAL

Prison conditions in South Africa, especially for non-whites, have long been a scandal. Instances of police brutality and torture are aired at practically every political trial. Recently a member of Parliament, Mr. Japie Basson, said: "Never has there been so much evidence of brutality and lack of discipline in certain of our jails as during the last few years." Countless affidavits, sworn by ex-prisoners, and frequently circulated at the United Nations, have detailed "brutality, inhumane and unsanitary conditions," to quote a September 1965 report issued by Amnesty International of London, which alleges electrical shock treatment to be the most common form of "persuasion" used in the interrogation of non-white prisoners.

NEWSPAPER EXPOSE

The *Daily Mail's* campaign to expose and improve prison conditions included, in addition to the above mentioned three articles by Strachan, publication of two affidavits charging brutality by African ex-prisoners, and two by white prison warders, one a head warder with 17 years of service.

Strachan wrote of assaults: "Non-European prisoners were driven like animals with sticks and leather straps. We could see these men being ... thrashed as they rushed into the prison."

He told about enforced silence: "Men used to go off their heads and go rushing at the walls of their cell, screaming and weeping, banging with their fists and kicking." *Warder Van Schalkwyk* swore that he had witnessed 15 to 25 applications of electric torture.

Head Warder Theron in his affidavit charged: "I have seen brutality absolutely contrary to prison regulations. Warders who have spoken out against these appalling conditions have been victimized." Describing the use of shocks to force statements from prisoners: "Once a prisoner has had the treatment, he is prepared to sign anything."

GOVERNMENT REACTION

Government reaction to this "standard exposé of a social wrong" – editor Laurance Gandar's own description of the campaign – has been swift and so violent as to appear guilty. All of the newspaper's informants have been arrested on various charges; a third white warder, Gideon Prins, who had made a statement similar to the others, which however had not been published, has also been jailed. The newspaper has been repeatedly raided by police, and it will be charged under the Prisons Act; the passports of the editor and reporter responsible for the stories have been lifted. Perjury charges have

been lodged against Strachan, Nyabetse, and Warder Van Schalkwyk.

Head Warder Theron was first tried by a prisons disciplinary court for minor infractions of regulations and fined, then arrested and charged on 12 counts, including perjury. He stoutly maintains the truth of his charges against the prison system; his trial is proceeding.

WARDER'S STRANGE CONFESSION

Van Schalkwyk, the first to be charged with perjury, in a surprising switch pleaded guilty and refused defense at his trial, thus avoiding cross-examination. He was sentenced to three years on the grounds of a signed confession, described by the Prosecutor in his opening address as confirming that "the allegations contained in his [original] affidavit are in all essential and material respects completely false and without foundation."

This statement by Dr. Yutar, the Prosecutor, is *not* substantiated, however, by comparison of the confession with the original affidavit to the *Daily Mail*. Much of the confession, paragraph after paragraph, CONFIRMS details from the warder's original affidavit, even adding fresh allegations not mentioned before. An appeal, based on this strange "confession," has been lodged for Van Schalkwyk, but Dr. Yutar's misleading statement to the court clearly demonstrates how far the Government is prepared to go in its attempt to discredit and punish the *Daily Mail*.

We believe there is no doubt at all in the minds of well-informed people that most – if not all – of the *Mail's* allegations of prison brutality are true. What we are seeing is the ruthless persecution of a courageous editor and a crusading newspaper. Are we also witnessing a *finis* to freedom of the press in South Africa?

THE "BANTUSTAN" OR "SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT" POLICY

by Rev. Kenneth Carstens

When Dr. Verwoerd became Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa in 1958 he was faced with three apparently impossible and mutually exclusive tasks. He had to: (1) placate world opinion by giving *apartheid* (segregation) a positive and liberal appearance; (2) placate urban whites by enforcing more rigid control over and segregation of the ever-increasing flow of Africans from the tribal Reserves to the towns (the number of urban Africans increased from 2,000,000 in 1951 to 3,500,000 in 1961); (3) placate the troubled conscience of Afrikaner intellectuals by persuading them that, far from being immoral, apartheid was such a noble and lofty ideal that it transcended the usual canons of morality and sanctified whatever evil means they might have to use to attain it.

Because apartheid is so obviously the handmaid of *baaskap* (white supremacy), tasks (1) and (3) required more than the skillful exploitation of the financial interests and communist phobia that had hitherto sufficed in USA and South Africa. "Bantustans," a policy of "separate territorial development," seemed to meet this requirement. It was a bold move; in 1957 a leading Afrikaner churchman, Dr. Keet, had called the idea of "total apartheid" a "pipe dream" that was unethical and impossible of implementation. Two years later the Prime Minister said it was possible, necessary, and God's will that he should call the pipe dream into reality.

AFRICAN "Self-Government"

Without consulting the party caucus or the African people, Verwoerd and the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (B.A.D.) introduced the "Promotion of Bantu Self-Government" Act, and hustled it through Parliament. The Act (a) abolished the last vestige of African representation in Parliament, and (b) extended the strictly government-controlled system of tribal "Bantu Authorities", thus providing the tribal framework within which African "self-government" would be granted to the eight "Bantu nations" on their 264 widely scattered Reserves. Of these, it was the largest, the Transkei, that requested self-government after Verwoerd had given the signal for it to do so.

All the events that preceded the enactment of the new "state's" constitution bore the signs of a basic absence of genuine consultation; and the attempts of a liberal-minded Paramount Chief and others on the Recess Committee to gain a multi-racial and democratic Constitution were over-ruled both in committee and at the meeting of the Territorial Authority. Despite elaborate efforts to conceal these facts, the Government's own "Fact Paper" no. 102 inadvertently hints at the truth; it does so most clearly on p. 5:

The Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development ... said that talk about a multi-racial parliament was a waste of time as the Government would not agree to it. Members should be thankful for what the Government was offering ...

The Government was determined to have Chief Matanzima, a firm supporter of apartheid, in the post of Chief Minister of the Transkei; but in case his main rival, anti-apartheid Paramount Chief Poto, should gain the post, the Minister of B.A.D. warned that Poto would not be allowed to apply his multi-racial policy in the Transkei.

The Legislative Assembly is heavily weighted in favour of the 65 chiefs, on the government payroll, who are *ex-officio* members, as against the 45 elected members. Thus, although Transkeians voted decisively in favour of Poto and multi-racialism, they find themselves with Matanzima and a racist "government" - which may legislate on local matters only, and even that subject to the central white Government's veto; which may be dissolved by the white Government at any time; which depends on the white Government for over four-fifths of its 1964-65 budget; and which, of course, has no jurisdiction over the 17,000 whites of the "white" towns (i.e. all the towns) in the Transkei.

Some Questions

Will the whites have to leave the Transkei?

The Minister of B.A.D. assured them in 1959 that they could remain there for "generations."

Will the Transkei or any other Reserve ever become economically viable? Certainly not in the foreseeable future; the Government-appointed Tomlinson Commission stated in 1955 that at least 50,000 new jobs would have to be created every year in the Reserves if apartheid were to succeed; since 1959 not more than 4,000 ("a possibly liberal estimate") a year have been created.

How does the Government persuade sane adults to believe in the pipe dream? It is highly doubtful whether any non-whites believe it; even Matanzima has shown clear signs that he intends to exploit the system to the utmost. If whites believe the dream it is either because it is less uncomfortable than reality, or because the mass media have conditioned their minds by constant repetition of the Government's historical, cultural, religious, and political myths, such as the following:

Apartheid Myths

1. The area of the present Republic was devoid of human inhabitants until 1652. Then a few whites and eight African "nations" entered "simultaneously." The latter obligingly confined themselves to the 264 Reserves, which constitute 13% of the land area, until the few white supermen had occupied the remaining 87%.
2. The Reserves are thus the Africans' "tribal homelands"; only there are they entitled to anything resembling human rights and these rights may be enjoyed only within the strict confines of the old tribal structures.
3. The fact that most Africans have abandoned the tribal customs is evidence of sin, for God has fixed the boundaries, cultural features, and "racial" composition of all "nations"; His will, revealed to whites, is that these should be preserved and perpetuated. Westernized Africans must therefore be re-tribalized and protected from "mongrelization."
4. "God has given a divine task and calling to every nation." The "task and calling" of the whites is to preserve their own purity and that of the non-white "nation-groups"; the non-whites' calling is to seek "happiness" in being "separate and inferior" (and, presumably, to have their racial purity restored by the whites, in gratitude for which they will always work for the whites). In short, God has appointed the whites as guardians of the non-whites.
5. The miraculous restoration of the Africans' dead past must take place in the rural slums which God and/or history has bequeathed to them as "tribal homelands."

"Independence"

Will Dr. Verwoerd ever grant the "Bantu states" the "full independence" that his Government promised as the logical outcome of "self-government"? According to Dr. Verwoerd, no. Despite such solemn promises as those he made in London (1961), he said in the House of Assembly in 1963:

We want to keep South Africa white ... "Keeping it white" can only mean one thing, namely white domination, not "leadership," not "guidance," but "control," "supremacy." If we are agreed that it is the desire of the people that the white man should be able to continue to protect himself by retaining white domination ... we say it can be achieved by separate development.

That, apparently, is the last word; last January the pipe dream was further defined as political, not territorial segregation. And in April the Coloureds and Asians were assigned the same fate except that they have no "homelands"; perhaps that makes it worse - to remain perpetual second-class citizens. They do, however, have certain great privileges, such as the right to get married, have a family - rights that are denied nearly eight million Africans in "white areas."

The Future

During World War II Verwoerd admired and championed the cause of Hitler, his Nazis, and his 1,000-year Reich. Verwoerd now not only acts like Hitler but also sounds like him; last month he spoke of "everlasting" apartheid which, as we have seen, is the handmaid of white supremacy. In this respect, "separate development" is merely a new term for an old policy. But, insofar as it continues to fragment and divide the country economically and politically into eleven different "nation-groups," the policy is new. At best, it will have gravely deleterious, even tragic effects from which it will take many generations to recover; at worst, it could cause a global war between white and non-white races from which mankind might never recover.

The Present

But one does not have to invoke the future to judge separate development. Present facts show it to be an utterly fantastic scheme, and a damnable one. The 264 Reserves are over-populated, poverty-stricken pools of mental and physical frustration and malnutrition; they are able to decently support little more than 30% of their present population of over 4 million. The other eight million Africans who live in the "white areas," many of whom know no other homeland, and who are fully integrated into the "white" economy - these millions have been legally defined as "temporary sojourners" and "migrant labourers." They have been made mere helots, with no residential security or right to family life - permanently condemned to all the disruptive, immoral, and degrading consequences of virtual slavery, as "inter-changeable labour-units" at the white man's disposal.

It is this fate of Africans in the "white areas" that exposes not only the utter irrelevance of the Bantustans, but also the religious blasphemy and moral corruption of the whole doctrine of apartheid. Under the guise of good intentions and with religious sanctions, apartheid systematically and ruthlessly dehumanizes millions of people because their skins are black.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA OBSERVES "JUNE 26"

Two New York demonstrations on Political Prisoners marked South Africa Freedom Day, June 26: one held at the South African Mission and Consulate (655 Madison Ave.), the other at the Tourist Corporation, 610 Fifth Ave.

At the Mission a motionless line of black-veiled women stood silently in a Mourning Vigil, holding huge black-bordered signs: "WE MOURN the fatherless children, the widows, the desolate families", etc. The Civil Rights Movement was represented by Mrs. James Farmer of CORE and Mrs. Lucille Rose, NAACP Regional Director (N. E. Region). Television coverage was excellent; the black-draped women, the placards, and interviews on the line with Mrs. Farmer and Mrs. Leon Bibb appeared that same night on ABC and NBC News respectively.

TOURIST OFFICE

The second demonstration, held on the same day and also a protest on Political Prisoners, was the first picket, to our knowledge, of the South African Tourist Corporation. Young people circled solemnly amid the bustling Fifth Ave. noonday crowd, their placards calling attention to the lot of South Africa's "living dead", on this her Day of Commemoration and Re-dedication. Seven thousand black-bordered pamphlets, telling the story of the political prisoners, were distributed at the demonstrations, both organized by the American Committee on Africa.



SOUTH AFRICAN FARM WORKERS

STUDENTS AGAINST APARTHEID

by Julius Glickman

This past year witnessed a remarkable increase in interest and action on the part of American students in opposing apartheid. Demonstrations, seminars, conferences, all served to focus attention on this situation, which is condemned by almost every country in the world.

The United States National Student Association (USNSA) is anxious that the effect of this year should not be lost. We intend to build on the past efforts by broadening our programs and involving more groups. This year, in cooperation with the National Student Christian Federation, the National Federation of Catholic College Students, and the National Newman Club Federation, USNSA conducted an educational and action program against apartheid. We hope not only to continue this campaign but also to include more groups and expand programming. National T.V. shows, sermons on local campuses, fund-raising drives, and a combination of other activities are envisioned. Working papers, speakers lists, suggestions for action projects and fund-raising drives, film lists, and posters will again be provided. A number of local and regional conferences will be held to explore the Southern African issue.

Forward to Action!

The racism of apartheid must be attacked on every front. The student, the public, the U.S. Government, and private investors all should receive our attention during the next few years. The recent hiring by the South African Government of a public rela-

tions expert in the U.S. increases the urgency of giving the American people the truth about apartheid. Panels, local radio and T.V. shows, vigils, and many other techniques can bring this problem to the attention of the public.

Because of the increased activity against apartheid by students, USNSA has volunteered to act as a clearinghouse for student activities. In conjunction with this program we will put out a newsletter publicizing what American and African student groups are doing to combat minority rule in South Africa - our object being to provide some coordination of student projects, thereby obtaining maximum effect through pooling of resources and effort.

* * * *

SUMMER RESEARCH PROJECT

A South Africa Research and Action Project was sponsored this past summer by the American Committee on Africa to investigate American involvement in South Africa. During the ten-week period each of four students concentrated on a specific area:

1. U.S. government relations with South Africa (including our three tracking stations, and the AEC contract for an atomic reactor in South Africa)
2. American participation in the motor and rubber industries in South Africa;
3. U.S. banking and financial support of South Africa;
4. Mining, and the minerals and raw materials supplied by South Africa to the U.S.

SOUTH AFRICA CHALLENGES THE U.S.

WORSENING RELATIONS between South Africa and the U.S. began last May with the refusal of South Africa to admit Negro airmen from the carrier Independence to shore privileges. The planned landing of the carrier at Cape Town was thereupon cancelled.

The three U.S. Tracking Stations in South Africa were next in Verwoerd's attack on U.S. "liberalism;" "whites only" was his dictum, which so far has not been challenged by U.S. officialdom.

DIPLOMATIC TENSIONS were not eased by the Prime Minister's complaint, just before July 4th, about the "racially mixed receptions" traditional on our national holiday, which are held on the U.S. soil of our Embassy in South Africa. In August the USIS and American diplomats in general were bitterly attacked by Verwoerd's Sunday newspaper for "meddling in South African politics," and allegedly "promoting the Progressive Party and its multi-racial policy." U.S.I.S. documentary films, showing Miriam Makeba, and news magazine accounts mentioning Nobel Prize winner Albert Lutuli were particularly resented.

J.F.K. FILM BARRED: the feature film, "John F. Kennedy, Years of Lightning, Days of Drums", was barred from public showing when the USIS refused to allow the entire Civil Rights section to be cut out.

THE LATEST ATTACK by the South African Government, in September, took the form of official protests against four specific U.S. diplomats. Dr. Verwoerd publicly charged the U.S. officials with "association with the government's political opponents," stopping just short of declaring the four "persona non grata", and thus forcing their withdrawal.

The U.S. government reply was swift and decided: a strong statement expressing "full confidence" in its diplomats.

ROBERT KENNEDY TAKES A HAND: Another kind of forceful reply will be made by Senator Robert Kennedy next May, when he goes to Cape Town to address the National Union of South Africa Students - still stubbornly multi-racial, though now banned for its liberalism from non-white campuses. Minister of Justice Vorster once called it "a damnable and detestable organization," presumably because of its opposition to any discrimination in academic life and its ideal of "a democratic South Africa, based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

Senator Kennedy's visit - if allowed by Verwoerd - will be of tremendous encouragement to hard-pressed South African liberals.

BUT - PARTNERS STILL

1. MORE U.S. LOANS: South Africa's revolving credit with a consortium of American banks has been doubled; from \$20 million to \$40 million.
2. NEW SUGAR QUOTA: South Africa was given a new - albeit reduced - sugar import quota in a list recently issued by U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman.
3. SOUTH AFRICAN WOOL FOR U.S.; the U.S. and France are now South Africa's biggest customers for raw wool.

NUCLEAR REACTOR:

South Africa now has a nuclear reactor, thanks to U.S. cooperation and know-how. The U.S. designed and built the reactor, gave South Africa enough refined uranium to get it going, and trained many of the technicians at Oak Ridge. "Atoms For Peace" is responsible for this assistance.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. *Attend Human Rights Day Rally, December 10 at 8 P.M.*
Hunter College Assembly Hall 69th St. and Park Ave., New York
MARTIN LUTHER KING, principal speaker
BENEFIT for South African political prisoners and their families.
2. *Organize a Human Rights observance on Dec. 10 for South Africa in your area - a picket, a rally, a fund-raising affair -*
Call the American Committee on Africa for speakers or films (TN 7-8733)
3. *Give to the AFRICA DEFENSE AND AID FUND OF ACOA, 211 East 43 St., N.Y.C. 17*
NEEDED NOW: \$145,000 for legal fees; \$280,000 for family assistance.
CASE: "The parents of four young children were imprisoned for terms of seven and eight years. The children were left with grandparents, who were then evicted from their home. When the youngest boy died, Defense and Aid paid for a pauper burial - not the first it had financed." (Joseph Lelyveld, N.Y. Times)

Order SOUTH AFRICA BULLETINS in bulk (\$4 per hundred; \$15 for 500). Send check payable to ACOA with your order to: Mrs. Hooper, American Committee on Africa, 211 East 43 Street, New York 10017.