

*The face of a torturer - Lieutenant Steven Whitehead, chief interrogator of Dr Neil Aggett*

the generality of the practitioners and reflected by the SAMDC, may be gathered from other cases. For example, a detainee (Dean T. Farisani) held under the Terrorism Act on 19 October 1981 was taken to hospital three times under police guard, twice for psychiatric treatment, being returned to detention on 14 January 1982 and again in February; and finally in February again, with critical head injuries. (18) As far as can be determined, the medical staff involved have not considered that the matter is of further interest or significance.

The doctors in cases such as Farisani's may well claim not to have known of torture and he may not have been tortured. What is disturbing is that there is no evidence that they were at all concerned or that the matter was investigated by their professional association.

The Minister of Police appears to have decided that where medical and specialist treatment and care are considered to be adequate then no access will be given to the detainee's own private doctor. (19) The new Internal Security Act accordingly provides only for fortnightly visits by a district surgeon; apparently he is regarded as a sufficiently independent monitor of a detainee's condition despite the Biko scandal.

The Minister has rejected for "security reasons" a request that detainees should be seen by an independent panel of doctors or doctors of their own choice. (20)

The Federal Chairman of MASA, Professor Guy de Klerk (21) announced that MASA was prepared to set up an independent panel of doctors to see detainees. This was in response to the demand by the Detainees' Parents' Support

Committee that detainees should be seen by a panel appointed by themselves. He said that such a panel would be as suspect as one appointed by the State; in his view, only MASA could be trusted as it "stands above suspicion". (22) Two comments seem to be called for. First, MASA seems to be trying to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds simultaneously; and secondly, it seems clear that a deep mistrust now exists within the medical profession in South Africa over the security laws.

Nothing illustrates the point more clearly than the case of Motaung, recently sentenced to death for treason. While being arrested, he told the court, he was shot in the hip by a policeman who then pulled him up and shot him again in the genitals. He said that he was then told that he would be taken to hospital only when he produced the guns the police were seeking, although he was bleeding and in pain. He was examined the same day by a district surgeon, Dr. M.S. Snyman. She testified that she had been told that Motaung was a "terrorist who had to do important things". Accordingly she certified that he was fit to help the police and gave him "painkilling tablets" but no other treatment. She told the court that she considered that it was more important for him to assist the police than to undergo immediate medical treatment. Motaung was taken to hospital two days later.

He was operated on and kept for eight days. (23)

There is evidence that the police have confidence in the doctors whom they call on to examine detainees, and that where injuries are noted the doctors will accept police explanations. This confidence extends to general practitioners.

Magistrates have also acknowledged the need for full cooperation from doctors. The decision in the Biko case, that the available evidence did not prove that death was brought about by an act or omission involving an offence by any person, reflects this. Any other verdict would have clashed

with the view taken by the SAMDC and MASA as explained above. This appears to have affected also the decision in the inquest held into the death of another detainee, Mofhe, who died in December 1980 after 112 days in detention. The magistrate held that he could not find anyone to blame; he apparently agreed with the allegation that the dead man had killed himself by joining his pair of socks, tying them round his neck, and tying the other end to the window, and then, lying down on the floor while so tied, he had covered himself with a blanket and by using the left arm to exert pressure he had caused his own death by strangulation. (24)

Where the defence alleged that a detainee called as a witness for the State had been so severely assaulted that he lost an eye, the court does not appear to have seen any need to investigate the matter further. In this case, another detainee called to give evidence for the prosecution said he had cooperated with the police because he was 'petrified' of them, and described an assault on another detainee. (25)

#### Understanding the Doctors

MASA and the SAMDC simply reflect accepted perspectives, and it would be extraordinary if the medical implications of the legislation discussed above would prompt its rejection. This would require the bodies concerned to react to the political implications of what the medical profession is required to do. Moreover, many practitioners — and not only those dealing with detainees — are regime supporters who would in any event argue strenuously that the laws are necessary.

The entire basis on which the security legislation functions creates an assumption on the part of the public that a person detained, questioned, tried or otherwise adversely affected is involved in subversive violence.

The fact that a person has been detained itself points to a criminal involve-

ment. The legislation makes it clear that only those considered by the police to be involved in security offences may be detained and it is 'natural' for such persons to be treated as guilty for all purposes. There is little prospect of their being believed when they make allegations of torture, because from the very outset they appear to have an interest in lying. Other problems of credibility are shown by the case of Bentley, mentioned earlier, where the defendant told the court that he had not told the doctor or magistrate who visited him earlier how he had been injured because he feared that this information would be given to the police, who would continue to assault him. As we have seen, the doctor confirmed the defendant's fears only too clearly.

Moreover, it must be remembered that the police have sole responsibility for investigating allegations against themselves. The system is one which is geared to manufacture guilt, and the medical profession is an integral part of this structure. There is a remarkable paradox to be taken into account: the rhetoric used is that of a fair trial, the right to present a defence, and the freedom from improper pressure from the State to confess; yet the massive volume of evidence pointing to the violation of these rights and raising questions of involvement by the medical profession is not even investigated by it, and in practice the system is designed to reject such allegations.

For there to be any point to detention for interrogation, questions must be answered. It is ludicrous to propose that no pressure may be exerted on detainees to induce them to cooperate, especially when the State emphasises how important a confession in a criminal trial is by providing that, unless the contrary is proved, it is to be presumed to have been freely and voluntarily made and is sufficient evidence by itself for a conviction. This is one of the essential reasons for interrogation. The police must, and invariably do, deny having

put pressure on detainees to answer questions.

In addition to simple assaults, much of the evidence of torture refers to methods that leave no visible marks — e.g. continuous interrogation for days and nights, with sleep deprivation; "statue" torture; humiliation and intimidation; hooding; psychological assault (false reports of death or illness of relatives or friends, or threats of indefinite and solitary confinement); partial suffocation; subjection to extreme noise; and alternate immersions of the feet in hot and icy water. Where injuries are sustained, protracted periods in isolation are said to follow until visible signs have healed. In addition, statements made to magistrates visiting detainees, which may be evidence of torture, are transmitted to the police, while detainees are not permitted to have copies of the reports on visits made by magistrates. They may however have a copy of a doctor's report.

It should be remembered that by law detainees are not permitted to have access to lawyers. Attempts have been made to silence witnesses to torture by detaining them or — as in the case of the inquest into the death of Dr. Neil Aggett earlier last year — by a banning order. In this case, a person detained with Dr. Aggett swore an affidavit which he gave to lawyers for Dr. Aggett's family describing how Dr. Aggett had been tortured in his presence not long before his death. In addition, steps have been taken to prevent the inquest from hearing a statement made by Dr. Aggett himself describing electric shock treatment, by seeking a ruling that the statement is inadmissible.

The ethical duties of a doctor require him to note, record, and treat injuries. No matter how suspicious he may be as to their origin there is, on the evidence, no chance that the court will believe that they were caused by torture of the detainee who now challenges the confession allegedly made by him. In any event, as the Biko and other cases considered illustrate, no action

by the doctor must interfere with the operation of the security legislation. It is absolutely essential for the administration of justice in South Africa that this should be so, and the SAMDC and MASA are inexorably compelled to play their part.

#### Conclusions

In the context within which it functions the South African medical profession has shown itself to be incapable of coping with the ethical implications arising from the security legislation. While doubtless in individual cases practitioners may justifiably be suspected of having acted with evil motives, the greatest part of the problem arises from the very structure of the institutions involved. The statutes and definitions, both explicitly and in the manner in which the courts have interpreted them, equate with treason all opposition to the State's established policies. The medical profession consists of individuals who in many cases, as white voters, accept the fundamental political implications of this legislation. Accordingly, one must not expect them willingly to confront it. This, however, is an inadequate explanation for what is happening in South Africa today for it does not take into account the manner in which the medical associations are structured into the system: not only are the individuals reluctant to come into conflict with the system, but should they be willing to do so their professional associations are rendered incapable of giving support.

In South Africa, the ethical standpoint of the professional associations requires them to ensure that they play their full part in ensuring that the security laws do what they are meant to do - i.e. convict those who oppose the regime. The medical profession is required to play its part in the formal manufacture of guilt. It does not have the means to test the conduct of its members against accepted ethical standards used elsewhere in the world, and it does not want them; these two factors combine in

a vicious circle in which impotence and unwillingness support each other.

Ultimately, the causes of this terrible medical tragedy are fear of the monster the medical profession is required to serve, and sympathy for it. Comforting the profession from abroad will not help it to overcome these problems but merely reassure it and enable it to live with them. The only solution lies with the processes of change within South Africa itself; so far as the medical profession itself is concerned, isolation will encourage it to develop the tensions and splits necessary for the healing process to commence.

#### Footnotes

15. "Report to the Medical Association of South Africa by the Ad Hoc Committee appointed to consider certain ethical issues".
16. *Sowetan*, 5th March 1982.
17. *The Star*, 11 March 1982.
18. *Sunday Express (Johannesburg)* 17 January 1982, *Sunday Times (Johannesburg)* 21 February 1982.
19. *The Star*, 6 March 1982.
20. *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 February 1982; *Sowetan*, 3 February 1982.
21. *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 March 1982; *Financial Mail*, 16 March 1982.
22. *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 May 1982.
23. *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 August 1982; *Sowetan* 28-29 August 1982.
24. *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 September, 9 October 1981.
25. *Post*, 15 April 1980; *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 April 1980, 25 July 1980.



# APARTHEID TERROR

## How Pretoria wages war on Africa

by Aziz Paffad

The apartheid regime has embarked on a concerted and co-ordinated campaign of economic, political and military destabilisation in Southern Africa. The gravity of the situation is reflected by the communique of the heads of Governments of the Front Line States (meeting in Maputo, March 1982) which noted that "The invasion and military aggression, the utilisation of armed bandits and agents, the acts of sabotage and economic blackmail, the massive and subversive propaganda campaigns conducted by South Africa are proof that there is currently an undeclared war situation engendered and supported by South Africa."

It is becoming increasingly clear that the regime is developing a massive capacity not only to hold back the revolutionary advances in South Africa and Namibia but also to subvert and undermine the gains already achieved in Southern Africa. The use of conventional war is becoming a central component of this regional strategy. Using the 'big lie' techniques of Goebbels they justify their aggression by claiming that the neighbouring countries pose a military threat to them. In the preface to

the 1982 Defence White Paper Magnus Malan (Minister of Defence) stated that: "It is alarming that more and more sophisticated weapons are pouring into neighbouring countries" and that "serious consideration should now be given to the possibility of conventional warfare."

Prime Minister Botha gave some indication of South Africa's intentions when he stated that "We are moving more and more in the direction in which the state of Israel has already been since 1948," and went on to warn that "South Africa's sphere of influence" extends to all its neighbours in Southern Africa.

Pik Botha (Foreign Minister) spelt this out more blatantly when he arrogantly declared that "The existence of a ring of marxist states ... around South Africa was inimical to South Africa's interests." This situation he said, could not be tolerated.

After announcing that South Africa would have to open up a "second front", Magnus Malan issued a warning that the "slogan in Africa should be: Obtain communist assistance and terrorist organisations to launch so-called liberation

has production of minerals we all must have."

The Reagan nominee to become head of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Kenneth Adelman (presently deputy to Jean Kirkpatrick that other great 'human rights campaigner' and 'freedom fighter', and friend of the US and South African intelligence services) is reported to have said that if South Africa acquired nuclear anti-submarine weapons, these could be helpful to the west in protecting the Cape shipping route. He went on to say that such weapons could be turned into nuclear bombs to deter a land attack.

Given such open and brazen support by the Reagan administration it is hardly surprising that the South African 1982 since the winning of independence in Zimbabwe; since the attempts by the Front Line States to break out of the economic stranglehold of South Africa through the SADCC, and as a result of the intensified resistance in South Africa and Namibia.

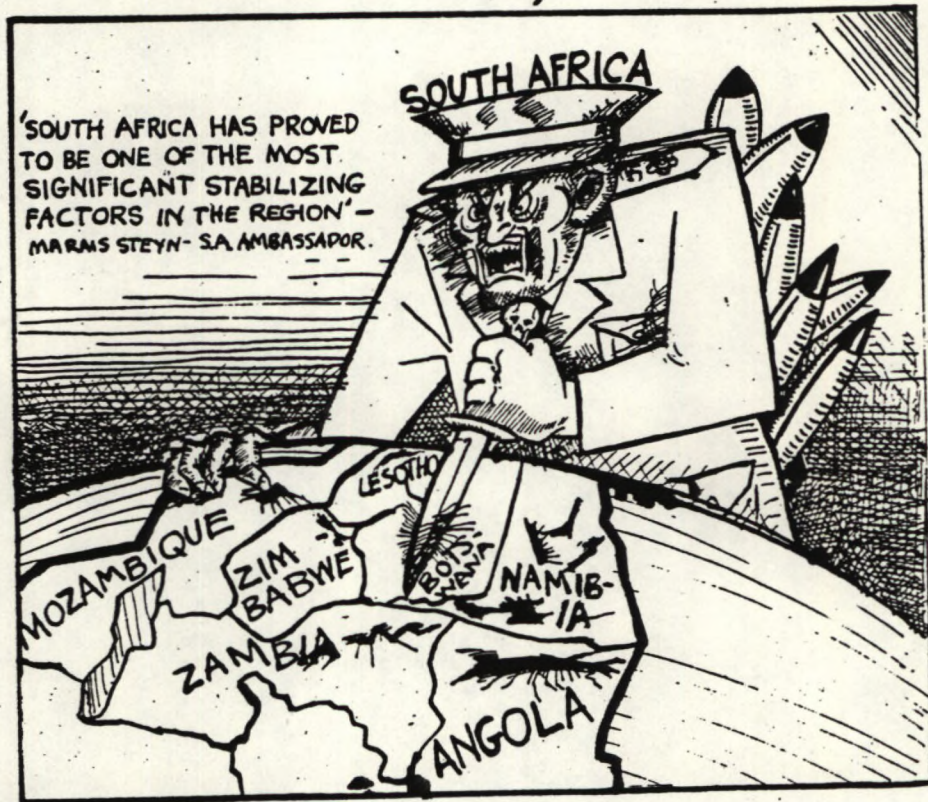
#### Imperialist Collaboration

South Africa's reactionary role by and large coincides with imperialist strategy for world domination and exploitation. The Reagan administration, under the smokescreen of anti-communism, anti-sovietism and "anti-terrorism", has launched a world wide counter-revolutionary offensive, and sees the apartheid regime as the instrument for achieving its global strategy on the African continent. In 1980 Crocker (U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs) concluded that, "Washington could no longer simply enjoy its varied interests in Southern Africa. It would have to work actively to pre-empt Soviet-backed revolutionary change." He later went on to say that the "American stance towards the Republic of South Africa is inevitably the centrepiece of our regional policy... South Africa is by any definition an important regional power, and it is by far the most important country in the Southern African region.

It is in South Africa that the west's most important regional interests are at stake - both our tangible economic and strategic interests and also our political and moral interests in non-violent change".

On taking office, Reagan said, "Can we abandon a country which has stood with us in every war we have fought, a country that strategically is essential to the free world? Its movements and the end result is perish in misery."

South Africa is imposing its own version of the Monroe doctrine. This aggressive militarist strategy has been intensified since the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and the attempts to establish genuine people's democracies, leading to the socialist transformation of Angola and Mozambique; Defence White Paper concluded that "there are encouraging signs that the USA is once again prepared to play an active role as leader of the West." For South Africa, this has meant extensive cooperation in the exchange of intelligence and military personnel and information. There has been a gradual relaxation of the ban on military and military-related equipment from the US - for example, the Cyber 75 variety of computers, which can be used to model nuclear explosions, has been supplied to Armscor or its subsidiaries, and US brokers played a key role in helping South Africa buy almost 100 tons of enriched uranium. Export credit guarantees have been resumed by the US government, and the Americans were largely responsible for the granting of a 1.2 billion dollar loan to South Africa from the IMF in 1982. In Namibia the USA is spearheading attempts to halt the process of liberation. American subterfuges were revealed when, in a secret memorandum to Haig in 1981, Crocker stated that racist South Africans must be told of the US willingness to open up a new chapter in their relationship, based upon strategic reality and South Africa's position in that reality. He went on to say that the Namibian problem was a primary obstacle to this new relationship, and that



"we are willing to work with them to find an internationally acceptable settlement which will not harm their interests."

This active and open collaboration of the Reagan-Thatcher administrations has undoubtedly encouraged the terrorist use of their muscle, and is turning Southern Africa into one of the most critical flashpoints in international politics.

In the last few years, there has been a steady escalation in the regime's use of economic sabotage and terrorism, commando raids and large scale military invasions, the strategic objectives being to:

- \* maintain dominance of the region and prevent any socio-economic changes;
- \* maintain racist South Africa as a base

for imperialist global strategy, and specifically for subversion, exploitation and destabilisation of the African continent;

- \* limit support given to the ANC and SWAPO.
- \* physically eliminate the ANC and SWAPO;

South African aggression affects virtually the whole of Southern Africa, and even farther afield, as the attempted coup in the Seychelles and the bombing of the ANC office in London showed. A brief look will give some indication of the nature and extent of this, and the serious challenge confronting not only the peoples of

**Southern Africa but the entire international**

**Economic pressure**

The colonial legacy has resulted in the fact that the economies of almost all countries in the region are interlinked with that of South Africa. South Africa's dominant position in this relationship has been used extensively to put pressure on these states.

In 1981 at a very crucial moment, racist South Africa unilaterally terminated a preferential trade agreement (dating back to 1964) with Zimbabwe. It simultaneously recalled about 80 railway trucks and diesel engines on long term loan to Zimbabwe Railways (this had a disastrous effect on the transport of the maize harvest).

Recently the racists warned Lesotho that unless she toed the line the job opportunities for Lesotho citizens in South Africa would be jeopardized (it is estimated that at present 40% of Lesotho's GNP comes from wages earned by Lesotho citizens working in South Africa).

However, the most dangerous disruption has been through the systematic destruction of the socio-economic structures. Roads, railways, bridges, electric and water supplies, oil refineries and depots, factories, dams and agricultural projects have been attacked and destroyed. To cite but a few examples:

*The road, rail and oil pipeline connection between Zambia and Mozambique is continuously attacked. In October 1981 traffic between the the two countries was halted when the road and rail bridges over the Pungwe River were sabotaged.*

*In November 1981 the port of Beira was closed when 10 out of the 12 navigational buoys were sabotaged.*

*In January 1983 a major dam in Angola was sabotaged, causing extensive flooding and damage to a vital agricultural area.*

The long term effects on the consolidation of independence and the process of development cannot be overestimated. The Angolan President said in his 1983 message:

24

"South Africa's undeclared war against

Angola had once again obliged us to divert a great part of our manpower, material and financial resources to strengthening our defence capability, thereby jeopardising a number of projected development targets." Conservative estimates show that since 1975 the losses Angola suffered because of South African aggression amounted to a staggering sum of 10 billion dollars.

Other consequences, in terms of human suffering, ill health, loss of schooling, malnutrition, unemployment, displacement of millions, cannot be calculated fully.

**Military aggression**

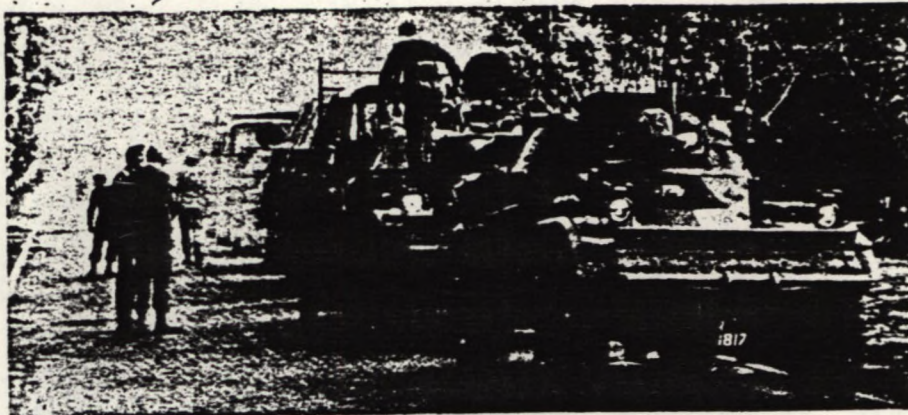
Since the mid 60's the apartheid regime has adopted a highly aggressive and interventionist policy towards its neighbours.

Between 1967 and 1975 it was estimated that over 4000 South African troops supported by armoured cars, helicopters and planes were actively involved in Zimbabwe. There were over 1000 South African troops involved with the Portuguese in Mozambique and in 1969 under a Portuguese-South African agreement a joint command system was established in Angola to direct South African air reconnaissance and troop transport activities against Namibia and MPLA guerrillas.

However a new dimension was added in 1975 when over 6000 South African troops and foreign mercenaries invaded Angola in a last desperate attempt to prevent MPLA from coming to power and to instal UNITA in power. The CIA played a major role in initiating and underwriting this campaign. USA direct and open intervention was not possible at this stage because of the post-Vietnam mood of the American people and the disarray and confusion within the military industrial complex, arising from the Watergate affair. The dirty work had therefore to be spearheaded by South Africa with the assistance of mercenaries and UNITA and FNLA bandits.

This invasion of Angola by 3 South African armoured columns, code named





10 Eland armoured-cars on the road to the operational area (mid 1982)

"Zulu", "Foxbat" and "Orange," swept northwards capturing town after town. Within a short time they occupied the whole of the centre of Angola, the northernmost line of occupation stretching from Lobito to the capital of the Moxico Province in the east.

The invading forces reached within a few miles of Luanda. In response to the Angolans' urgent appeal for assistance, Cuba and the Soviet Union reacted with unparalleled internationalist manpower and logistical support; further assistance came from other socialist countries and some third world countries.

Eight months after the invasion started, South Africa and its surrogates were forced out of Angola. Since then the South Africans have conducted a constant and systematic campaign of bombing raids, violations of Angolan air space, border provocations, infantry attacks, artillery shelling and minelaying.

It is estimated that from 1976 to 1979 the South Africans were responsible for:

- 193 mine laying operations
- 7 artillery bombardments
- 25 ground attacks
- 21 ground infiltrations

The scope and intensity of this "scorched earth" policy has increased yearly. From 1976 to 1979 there were 291 military attacks against Angola; during 1980 there were 1 100 acts of aggression; in the first 6 months of 1981 there were over 650 acts of aggression including:

- 472 reconnaissance flights
- 22 air attacks
- 111 helicopter-borne landings
- 4 paratroop landings
- 2 artillery bombardments
- 15 ground reconnaissance incursions
- 5 ground attacks
- 30 bombing raids

Worse was to come. In August 1981, following a massive troops build-up of over 45 000 on the Namibian border, the racists launched "Operation Protea". This involved 11 000 troops, 36 centurion tanks, 70 armoured cars, 200 troop transporters, heavy artillery and long range missiles, supported by 90 aircraft and helicopters.

Today the invaders are still occupying an estimated 50 000 sq. kilometres of Angolan territory. This sad and tragic story is repeated in all other neighbouring countries. For example in November 1982, Mozambique alerted the United Nations

to the fact that the racists were massing thousands of troops on the border and that a full scale military invasion was imminent. There is little doubt that this timely warning and international action temporarily, at least, halted the planned invasion. It has also been reliably reported that the racists had established a "Matabele brigade" commanded by Col. Breytenbach to carry out attacks against Zimbabwe. Training camps have been set up at Phalaborwa, Spacer Camp, Madibo Camp and the Ntabi camp. In April 1980 the Western Province of Zambia was invaded by 2 battalions of South African troops. They mined roads, attacked villages and burned crops. The area had to be declared a "disaster area." Such violations of Zambian territory take place continuously and Lesotho is increasingly experiencing such aggression.

#### Elimination of ANC and SWAPO

South Africa's aggression is intensifying at a time when the resistance of the people of South Africa and Namibia has reached unprecedented heights and the regime is facing mounting economic and political crises.

Today the legal, semi-legal and illegal activity of the oppressed masses is shaking the citadels of power as never before.

The black working class, the leading force of our revolution, continues to grow in strength, maturity and consciousness. Waves of militant strike actions affect almost all sections of major industries.

The youth and students, women's organisations, the churches, professional organisations, the masses in the rural areas and Bantustans are confronting the regime at every level.

Under the banner of "Unity in Action" the mighty forces of liberation and social emancipation continue to grow in strength.

The actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe have played a very significant role in this. Over the last two years units of Umkhonto we Sizwe have carried out sabotage actions throughout the country. The brilliant

attack on the Koeberg nuclear plant, one of South Africa's most carefully guarded installations, has sown panic in the ranks of the enemy.

The enemy believes that the "next five years is going to be decisive," (Genl Magnus Malan) and has launched a massive offensive to stem the revolutionary tide. One aspect of this is to create an image of moderation internally, while in actual fact intensifying repression and control. Another aspect is the physical destruction of the ANC and SWAPO both internally and externally.

Warlord Malan recently reiterated warnings that "We are determined to wipe out the terrorists even if we have to cross our borders to do it." Specially created assassination squads and regular forces of the South African Defence Force have carried out this policy with a lunatic frenzy. Joe Gqabi, Ruth First, Petrus and Jabu Nyaose represent a growing list of victims of racist acts of terror.

South African troops blatantly invade neighbouring countries to carry out their murderous work. For example in 1978 South African troops attacked a SWAPO camp at Kassinga ruthlessly slaughtering about 1 000 unarmed Namibian refugees. Eye witnesses were shocked by the "spirit of extermination and destruction" of the South African troops.

In January 1981 South African troops invaded Mozambique and attacked ANC residences murdering 12 unarmed people and kidnapping two.

In December 1982 over 100 South African troops invaded and occupied Maseru the capital of Lesotho. In an orgy of indiscriminate and ruthless violence they murdered 42 South African and Lesotho citizens.

This sharp escalation in the actions of the regime and its murder squads gives warning that the regime, threatened by internal resistance and haunted by the spectre of socialism in neighbouring countries, is committed to unleashing a



*P.W. Botha with J.C. Heunis shown deep inside Angola at the end of 1975, together with the UNITA guard of Jonas Savimbi. 'Die Burger' 5.2.77, from which this picture is taken, said it was a "great opportunity for Dr Savimbi's guards to meet these two South African leaders." Also in the picture is Jannie de Wea, then Commissioner General for Namibia.*

reign of terror across its borders in a vain attempt to roll back the tide of history

#### Features of apartheid terrorism

Some features of racist aggression have been:

Growing brutalisation and almost total breaches of international conventions. These include terror attacks against civilians, indiscriminate bombings, assassinations, the use of poison gas etc.

Increasing use of surrogate forces. These include UNITA in Angola, MNR in Mozambique and the E.A. in Lesotho. Documents captured after the Portuguese revolution, as well as accounts by CIA defectors like Stockwell, confirm reports that Savimbi worked for PIDE and the CIA. Since 1975 he has been actively

working with the apartheid regime. The MNR is nothing but an extension of the SADF. When Mozambican troops captured an MNR base at Gargua (Dec. 1981) they found large quantities of South African arms and equipment, signs of SADF instructors, and documentation which showed that all actions carried out by the MNR were determined and controlled by the SADF. The LLA has bases in South Africa and receives financial and logistical support from the SADF.

Increasing use of mercenaries. These are recruited from the USA, Britain, West Germany, Latin American countries (those with close links with the USA), Israel and other western countries. In many cases western governments have given tacit approval to such recruiting. They have

not only failed to take effective action against it but, on the contrary, have facilitated the work of these "whores of war." Are certain major western countries consciously using mercenaries and bandit organisations to achieve objectives in situations where it is not politically possible to use their own armed forces?

#### Need for Urgent Action

South Africa has given notice of its aims and objectives in Southern Africa and also the extent to which it will go to achieve these. The war psychosis being developed in South Africa and the constant warnings that it will take further military actions if it considers its security to be threatened, are ominous. A senior spokesman of the regime recently stated that "the acceptance of Soviet military aid by those states is destabilising the region because it provides a military umbrella for subversive elements. It is the government's duty to protect South African interests ... We will not hesitate to take action against Russian missiles and radar bases on our neighbours' territory ... It does not matter if the communist military forces are there legitimately as allies of these states."

Such arrogant display of big power chauvinism; such total disregard of all conventions of international law and morality; such blatant distortion of facts which turns victim into aggressor; such contempt and disregard for international opinion; such callous disregard of human suffering has few parallels in modern history.

Can the world allow the apartheid regime to unleash another holocaust? The military industrial complexes using the smokescreen of the "red bogey" helped Hitler rise to power. This generation cannot and must not allow history to repeat itself.

A massive international campaign must be launched to stop the apartheid regime's terroristic aggression against neighbouring states. Mass militant pressure by the peoples must compel the US, British and French Governments to stop abusing their powers of veto in the Security Council of the United Nations. Effective and total sanctions must be imposed against South Africa.

All-round political, material and diplomatic support must be given to SWAPO and the ANC.



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# THE CRICKETING MERCENARIES

by Sam Ramsamy

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"Collaboration with, rather than isolation of, the enemy, in order to give apartheid a face-lift, cannot be in the best interests of West Indian players or West Indian cricket, if for no other reason than that the very forces responsible for the impoverishment and oppression of the South African peoples are the very same forces responsible for the underdevelopment of the Caribbean, namely American and British imperialism."

Workers' Party of Jamaica

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Apartheid sport, isolated from nearly all international participation, is now fighting for its survival.

International sport is very important to racist South Africa. More important than in any other country in the world. Besides using sport as an avenue to create respectability for apartheid, South Africa also uses sport to unite the whites into a fervour of racist patriotism.

Recently several West Indian cricketers were lured to South Africa to be used as court jesters to boost the flagging morale of apartheid's white electorate. The all-black West Indian opposition playing all-white South African national sides was an ideal environment to stir the white rulers to ecstatic chauvinism.

The West Indian team which was relatively mediocre by international

standards was being acclaimed as the greatest side ever to visit South Africa. Employers were asked to do their utmost to enable their staff to watch the matches. The apartheid regime's minister in charge of sport congratulated the organisers on "their tremendous success" and appealed "to all South Africans to do what is practical to support the successful initiative of the (white) South African Cricket Union."

Although sportsmen from developing countries are easy prey for western entrepreneurs not many suspected that West Indian cricketers would ever play in apartheid South Africa.

As soon as the cricketers landed in South Africa compassionate stories were circulating the world over, that their choice was between playing in South Africa and starving. One of the West Indian cricketers

even asked, "When you see your wife and children don't have enough to eat what do you do?" Another stated, "If someone is prepared to give me money to feed my children, buy them clothing and myself a motor car I will not go." That these cricketers were attracted by highly inflated appearance fees is certainly true. That they accepted the offers because their families were starving is an utter and blatant lie.

Anyone who might consider pardoning them because of inspiration they might have received from the ancient saying "forgive them, for they know not what they do," will only be absolving these collaborators from treachery. "It is an act of treachery to the black people of South Africa who cry out for help for relief from the indignities and suffering of apartheid and the repression of the regime which upholds it," said Sir Sridath Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General. Any mediocre cricketer who is given 150 000 dollars for a five week tour knows what he is being paid for. No country will spend 4 million dollars to attract a bunch of mediocre cricketers if it is not of national importance. The seven month secret negotiations which preceded the tour is sufficient evidence in itself that every player was fully aware of the implications of participating in South Africa. Only a week before their arrival in South Africa several of the cricketers denied any knowledge of the tour. One of them, Lawrence Rowe, even deceived and misled Mr. Alan Rae, President of the West Indies Cricket Board of Control, about his stand, causing Mr. Rae to make an embarrassing and premature declaration of gratitude. This deception was termed "vicious and heinous" by Jamaica's Minister of Youth and Community Development, Mr. Errol Anderson.

Even one of South Africa's white newspapers stated that the tour had become a major media event. The newspaper went on to say, "this is an important sporting event, and an even more important political event."

The usual band of South Africa's over-

seas supporters defined the West Indian cricket tour as a victory for sport and a defeat for those who wished to bring politics into sport. The sports lesson which emerged from this tour was that lies are elevated to moral acceptability and deceit is legitimized. And as for bringing politics into sport it seems that it is perfectly in order for the apartheid regime, whose sole aim is to maintain white domination, to underwrite the tour.

It seems obvious that English county cricket grounds were important venues for recruitment and finalising contracts. White South African cricketers attached to English county cricket, no doubt, played a crucial part in the negotiations. Their role is being conveniently suppressed because of the possibility of reprisals. It is also strongly suspected that an international hotel chain acted as conduits to channel money to certain West Indian islands and facilitated communication with South Africa. One English cricketer is reported to have approached Malcolm Marshall of Barbados, the West Indian fast bowler, to tour South Africa with a promise of an extremely huge appearance fee. Marshall declined to go. So did Barbadians Desmond Haynes and Hartley Alleyne. Foad Bacchus of Guyana and Winston Davis of St Vincent and Windward Island withdrew earlier.

A few years ago top West Indian cricketers, Viv Richards of Antigua and Clive Lloyd of Guyana were virtually given an open cheque to appear in South Africa but these offers were rejected with the contempt they deserved. Lloyd said, "there was no way I would go there under the present system and that was my final word."

There was world-wide condemnation of the tour. Clive Lloyd, the West Indian captain said that it was a major setback for the people who are trying to get rid of the apartheid system. He accepted that "the money was very tempting, but that was not all in life."

The West Indies Cricket Board of Control immediately banned the cricketers



for life and several West Indian Governments stated that the cricketers would not be allowed to enter their countries. The Grenada Government said that the money earned by these cricketers should be confiscated and handed to the ANC and SWAPO. Mr. Michael Manley, former Prime Minister of Jamaica, called the cricketers "traitors to the liberation struggle of the South African people." Mr. Malcom Fraser, Prime Minister of Australia, a strong supporter of the sports boycott campaign, announced that Australia would refuse entry to any player who plays representative cricket in South Africa.

Inside South Africa black trade unions, student groups and sports bodies affiliated to the anti-apartheid South African Council on Sport (SACOS) called for a mass boycott of the matches. SACOS condemned the cricketers for accepting the degrading status of "Honorary White". An AZAPO spokesman said "We will try and meet these fellows and impress upon them that their mercenary tour is retrogressive to our liberation struggle."

Whether these mercenaries will ever be exposed to the daily humiliations that black South Africans are subjected to is

another matter. The apartheid regime has nominated a liaison officer to facilitate all their travel and accommodation arrangements. Besides, as one white South African newspaper put it, "Unfortunately they haven't been able to see much, if anything except airports, hotels and cricket crowds." The regime's liaison officer also ensured that these collaborators were fully occupied with electronic games during any spare time they had.

*The West Indian Team consisted of:*

**Barbados**

*Collis King, Emmerson Trotman, Franklyn Stephenson, Alvin Greenidge, Sylvester Clarke, Ezra Moseley, David Murray, Gregory Armstrong, Albert Padmore.*

**Jamaica**

*Richard Austin, Lawrence Rowe, Everton Mattis, Ray Wynter*

**Guyana**

*Colin Croft, Alvin Kalicharan.*

**Trinidad and Tobago**

*Bernard Julien.*

**Leeward Island**

*Derrick Parry.*





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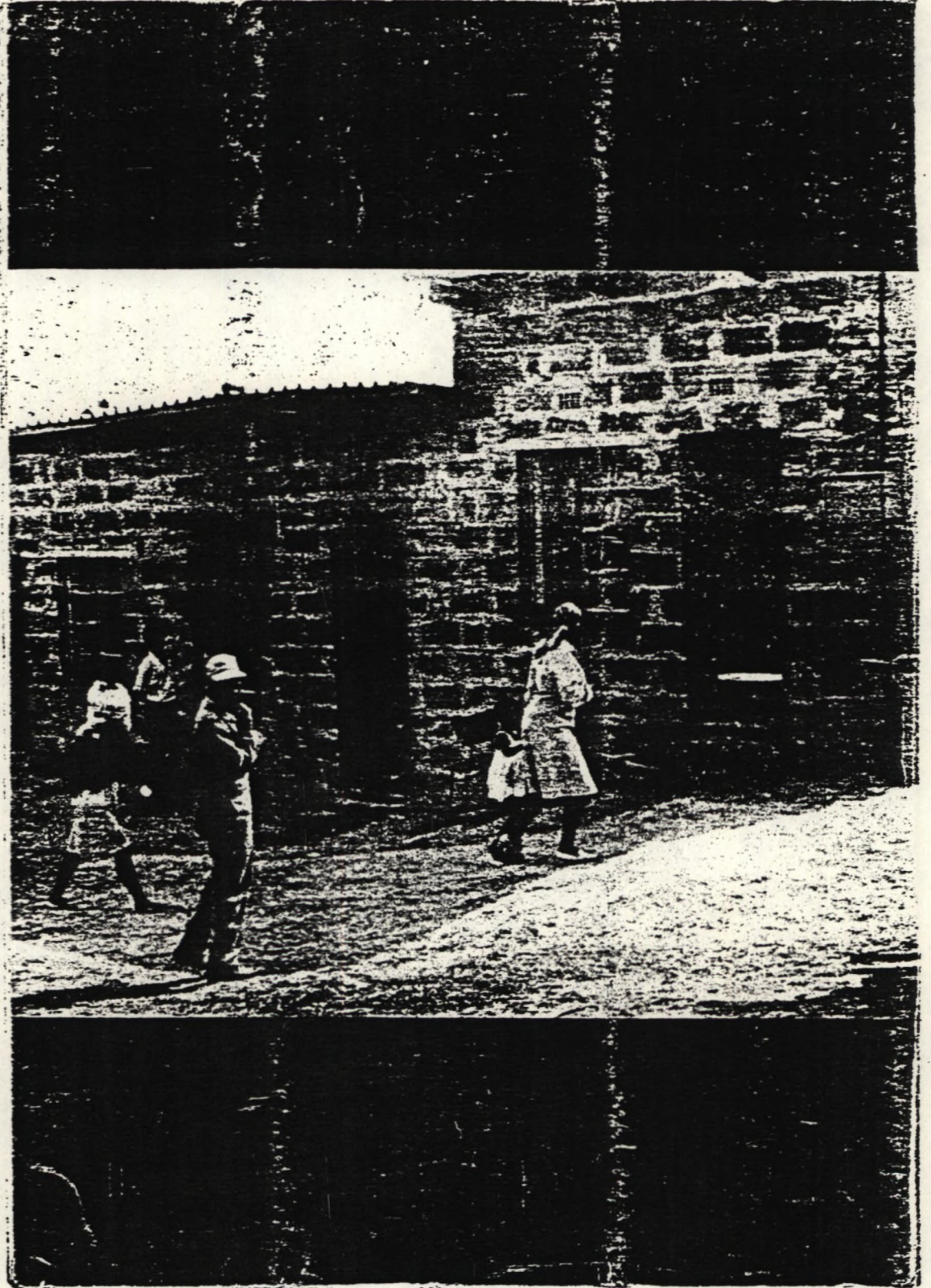
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