

"SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT A POLICE STATE"
SAYS MINISTER OF JUSTICE, MR. J.B. VORSTER.

The South African representative at the United Nations, Mr. Gerhard Jooste, recently told the Assembly that persons in South Africa are not prosecuted, let alone persecuted, for their opposition to his Government's policy of separate development. He was commenting on an Assembly resolution pledging aid to those persecuted by the South African government for their political activities.

The Minister of Justice, Mr. Vorster, asked immigrants to the Republic to tell their friends and relatives the truth about South Africa. "It is a matter of telling friends and relations the fact that South Africa is not a police state, that the talk of slavery and such things is unfounded, that it is not a country in which opposing views are suppressed, and that there is no oppression of the non-White peoples."

Here are some examples of the ways in which "opposing views are not suppressed" in South Africa today.

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Police dogs helped break up a demonstration by several hundred Indian women outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria recently. The women, dressed in white saris as a sign of mourning, had come to protest to the Prime Minister against the Group Areas Act which is confining Indians to special ghettos. Buses bringing women were turned back by the police, but some managed to get to Pretoria. Police dogs grabbed the saris of some of the women.

Immediately following the demonstration, Dr. Zainap Asvat, president of the Indian Women's Association, was served with banning orders confining her to Johannesburg, forbidding her from entering schools, factories and other places, from attending gatherings of any kinds (including social gatherings such as marriages or funerals), forbidding her from communicating with other banned persons - which includes her sister with whom she shares a house - and obliging her to report to the police weekly.

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Because he had a drink with a friend, a member of the Liberal Party has been found guilty of breaking his banning order by attending a social gathering (which consists of two or more persons).

Other ways in which government banning orders have affected the

lives and liberty of their political opponents are these:

. Solly Nathie was not permitted to attend the funeral of his 14-year-old nephew who was killed in an accident;

. Mrs. Kay has been refused permission to speak to her own father (who is also banned), and to take her children to school; she is confined to the Cape Town suburb of Wynberg;

. Gillian Jewell was arrested and sentenced to one month's imprisonment for visiting her fiancée in jail;

. Mary Turok is confined to a square mile of the suburb in which she lives;

. Others are under similar restrictions, or under house arrest; many people have been forced to resign from their jobs; journalists are prohibited from writing, teachers barred from entering any schools; ~~in~~ large numbers of banned people must report to the police when changing jobs or residence, and may not speak to their closest friends, often their own relatives. After four months solitary confinement in jail, Ruth Slovo was released (she was never charged with any offence) and refused permission to leave Johannesburg, to which she is confined, to go on a holiday. Some bans are specially designed to curb the particular activities of a person: Mrs. Hain, who was always writing letters to the newspapers exposing apartheid cruelties, and who frequented the courts so that she could obtain assistance for political prisoners, has been prohibited from writing, and banned from entering any courts; she was also refused permission to take her children to a school festival, and to have a Christmas party in her own home.

Dozens of South Africans of all races have been formally warned that they must "cease furthering the aims of Communism". They are not told what it is that the government objects to; among them are women whose only political activity was taking food parcels to the jails for ~~black~~ *black* prisoners. If they do not stop, after being warned, they will be put under house arrest or subject to other penalties.

Schoolboys have been arrested and kept in jails for months on end. Their parents are not told where they are, and sometimes parents go from jail seeking their children. Five Indian boys were ~~and~~ *for* called out of their classroom *for* questioning by the Security Police, because students had organised a 10-minute silent protest against the arrest and assault of a 16-year-old schoolmate, Haroun Moolla. Medical examination

of Moolla, who had been arrested for chalking a slogan on a wall, revealed swellings and bruises on forehead, eyes, nose, and thighs. The other boys also had all their belongings searched.

Police seized the passport of John Harris, a 26-year-old schoolteacher and crusader against apartheid in sport, just as he was due to fly out of the country to attend the congress of the U.O.C.

Four members of the Security Police spent several hours searching the letters and files of the National Union of South African Students. They took away many documents relating to student activities.

Four~~teen~~ members of the Security Police visited the home of the Letlalos on a recent Saturday night, and asked for the two sons. When told they were not at home, they searched the house and arrested the father, William Letlalo, and a visitor, Mr. M. Modirapule, who happened to be there. The men's families were later told they were being detained under the 90-day act.

Two 14-year-old white South African schoolboys who had been attending a multi-racial school in Swaziland were prevented from returning ~~at~~ after school holidays. One was refused a passport, the other had his taken away from him.

A ban on all public meetings around the Johannesburg City Hall has been renewed for a further two years. The ban removes once more the only open-air forum for political meetings that exists in Johannesburg.

Sixty leading psychologists, psychiatrists and medical specialists have signed a statement appealing for the abolition of solitary confinement under the 90-day act.

They mention a considerable body of scientific opinion on the effect of long terms of solitary confinement, which is "associated with intense distress and impairment of certain mental functions . . . We submit that the exposure of individuals to acute suffering and mental impairment for indefinite periods of time is no less abhorrent than physical torture, . . . No cause can justify the injury, whether physical or mental, of persons who have not been found guilty of an offence by the courts of the country. . . We feel that the present system of detention in solitary confinement is inhuman and unjustifiable, and we appeal for its abolition." Since the act was passed in ^{June} ~~June~~ 1963, about 600 people have been detained. They can be held for periods of ninety days, but can be and often are, immediately re-arrested. Some are now entering their

third period of 90 days - having been seven or eight months in solitary confinement, in tiny cells, with limited exercise periods. They have no legal rights to see lawyers or relatives, and are denied books and writing materials. These are people not even charged with any crime - the police demand that they answer questions.

In an attempt to keep some sort of record of the hundreds of political trials that have been flooding the country, a newspaper, "Forward", has published lists of as many trials as they could. In November their total had already reached 78 trials involving nearly 1,000 people; 40 had been sentenced to death; 6 to life imprisonment; 650 to various jail terms, totalling 4,020 years in all. Organising defence for those on trial - their charges range from belonging to a banned organisation to sabotage, which may mean almost anything - is extremely difficult. Sometimes the magistrate prohibits the publication of names of those on trial, so that relatives do not even know when husbands and sons are on trial; sometimes they are moved around from jail to jail, and appear in court without any warning so that no defence can be arranged.

These are just a few examples from recent weeks to throw light on Mr. Jooste's statement that persons in South Africa are not persecuted nor prosecuted for their opposition to apartheid, and on Mr. Vorster's statement that this is not a country in which opposing views are suppressed. It is worth remembering that political and mass organisations of the people - the Communist Party, the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress - are entirely illegal, while organisations such as the South African Congress of Trade Unions are subject to such police interference, banning and arresting of those who try to assist their work that it becomes impossible for them to function. It is worth recalling, as well, Sharpeville, none of whose victims received a penny of compensation for the slaughter of breadwinners or crippling wounds inflicted by this indiscriminate police shooting.

Perhaps, then, Mr. Vorster is right when he says that this is not a country in which opposing views are suppressed - they are banned out of existence and their upholders are jailed or killed. Perhaps the United Nations should call Mrs. Robert Sobukwe to confront Mr. Jooste. Her husband, after having served a three-year jail sentence, is now being kept indefinitely on a tiny island. She was recently allowed to visit him there for thirty minutes.

INFANT MORTALITY → HIGHEST IN WORLD

Yet infant mortality among Africans in South Africa's great holiday town of Durban is the highest in the world - more than 246 per thousand live births*. In the Reserves where most infant deaths are not reported, it is estimated that 3 out of 10 children die of malnutrition. By comparison, infant mortality among South African Whites is among the lowest - 27.7 per thousand, compared with 22.2 for England, 90.4 for Ghana, 185 for India. A Johannesburg Municipal Clinic for non-Whites estimates that more than 80 per cent of the African children in its area are malnourished - this in the heart of Africa's most industrialised, richest city. Between 70 and 80 per cent of Pretoria's unskilled African labour force suffer from diet deficiencies.

Facts from famine areas must be even more appalling - but they cannot be uncovered. It is almost impossible to obtain information in the face of Government barriers and bland denials that famine conditions exist. A 3-year drought has turned the Northern Transvaal into a dustbowl. Women trudge dusty roads for miles with 5-gallon containers on their heads (they weigh 50 lbs. when full) to fetch drinking water from boreholes to their huts. Worst-hit areas are African Reserves, which may not be entered without a permit. Permits are not given to outsiders, and certainly not to newspaper reporters. One who applied in the district was told "Turn your car now and go back to Johannesburg. We will watch you till you are out." Travellers may not leave the main road, from which nothing can be seen but desolate countryside.

But facts do creep out. People struggle on emaciated limbs dozens of miles to reach hospitals. Their disease? Hunger. The few hospitals where relief can be given are themselves desperately short of food.

RELIEF - FOR CATTLE

*This figure from Durban City Officer, 1960 report. Those from other countries from U.N. Demographic Year Book, 1960

RELIEF - FOR CATTLE

While denying that famine conditions exist, the Government gave £15,000 at the beginning of the year to help drought-hit White cattle farmers. In April the farmers asked for surplus maize to be used as cattle fodder. A private company has been formed to help combat the malnutrition by directing some of the surplus food to the people who need it. Now at last temporary and limited Government aid is being given to people in the Northern Transvaal. The main solution offered is to encourage men from the Reserves to sign up for low-paid work on mines and farms outside the Reserves, thereby draining them of the last of their able-bodied men, and aggravating the terrible conditions within the Reserves.

In South Africa, food prices are kept high through Control Boards, in the interests of big White farmers. The most powerful group in the House of Assembly (Whites only Parliament) is farmers - 59 out of 160 members. Yet White farmers are only 11.8 per cent of the whole White population. Wages are kept unnaturally low. Workers are prevented from organising. Those who suffer most are the children. Describing gross malnutrition in a Johannesburg non-White clinic, an observer states that most of the cases have been sent to town from the Reserves or farms, where the children were cared for by grandmothers, but there are many cases in the townships.

"These are the children who are so weak that they cannot walk. They are mentally apathetic and show no interest in their surroundings. Sometimes the only sign of life about them is a consistent irritable cry. Some are thin and shrunken; others have grossly ~~distended~~ swollen bodies. Their hair is changing colour and falling out. Their skin is covered with sores . . . Sometimes it looks as though boiling water has been poured all over them."

Ten years ago a South African organisation for combating and treating tuberculosis said they would wipe out the disease in 10 years. Last year

there were over 58,000 notified cases, and an estimate of as many not notified. "Worst of all," wrote a reporter from a country hospital, "were the ~~HEEK~~ row of scores 9 literally scores - of children with tubercular spines on the verandah of a hospital, all, so I am informed on unquestionable authority, infect originally through a mine-worker who returned with dust-laden lungs."

This is the great apartheid state today, 1962.

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SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA - CAN THEY WORK?

by Hilda Bernstein.

What is happening in Rhodesia? It is fifteen months since Ian Smith, leader of the Rhodesia Front, made his unilateral declaration of independence - UDI. For months, Rhodesia was headline news in the British press. After the meeting between Smith and Harold Wilson on HMS Tiger, there were debates in the British Parliament, two Government White Papers, plus millions of words of speculation and comment. Then the storm died down. The Security Council has ordered member nations of the United Nations to state what they are doing about mandatory sanctions. Yet majority rule in Rhodesia looks as far away as it has ever been.

The United States, Japan and Italy have each taken action to comply with the UN resolution. Zambian imports from Rhodesia have been cut by a third and petroleum completely. France is drafting a decree to make sanctions compulsory, although the French firm of Boussac has just concluded ^{£2/m} a barter deal involving the exchange of textiles for Rhodesian tobacco, and further barter deals with France are probably being negotiated. Switzerland (although not a member nation) has told the UN that because of its traditional neutrality it could not impose mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia. However, the Berne Government has stated it will maintain and strengthen economic measures taken in December, 1965, aimed at preventing Rhodesia from using Switzerland to tunnel its exports into Western Europe. They will see that Rhodesian imports do not exceed the average for the past three years.

Apart from South Africa and Mozambique, West Germany is the only other major trading partner still offering a sizeable crack in the imposition of sanctions. For West Germany has breached the sanctions barrier with a decision not to cancel existing trade contracts between Germany and Rhodesia. The decision, announced at the beginning of February, will save Rhodesia's ~~vital~~ chrome, asbestos and base minerals industries and provide up to £10m. a year in vital foreign exchange for several years (the existing contracts are for five years).

Not only does this decision given the base metal mining industry a most valuable trade pipeline through the sanctions ring, but it also goes far to destroy the confidence of other countries in the imposition of sanctions, and to encourage international business generally to seek ways of continuing trade with Rhodesia.

It is on South Africa, however, that the maintenance of the existence of the Smith regime depends. And South Africa's stability and prosperity is dependent upon Britain and the United States. By examining the relationship between Rhodesia and South Africa the ambivalent role of Britain and the US is exposed.

During the first 11 months of 1966 although South Africa's imports fell by an overall figure of about 8 per cent, those from African territories (including Rhodesia - there is no breakdown of African countries) rose by nearly 19 per cent. An examination of South Africa's trade figures strongly suggests that at least £15m extra was spent on imports from Rhodesia during 1966. South Africa's motive is not only political; it is sound business. The Republic has certainly been buying Rhodesian goods at keen prices and absorbing them into the home market, thus freeing a larger slice of her own domestic production for export at rather better price levels.

For example, South Africa's own tobacco crop fell slightly short of ~~and~~ domestic demand in 1966, yet the country exported far more than usual under the classification 'tobacco and beverages.' The inference is that South Africans are smoking a larger percentage of Rhodesian tobacco than in previous years, while much of South Africa's own crop has been earning foreign exchange. Probably a similar situation has taken place with asbestos and copper.

During the first 9 months of 1966, South Africa's trade with all African countries was running at a rate 30 per cent higher than the previous year. Although some of this undoubtedly reflects expanding trade with some African countries (Malawi is one), the big increase is believed to reflect South African support for Rhodesia.

At the same time sanctions have severely harmed the Rhodesian economy, although it is not easy to determine to what extent.

Commerce remains in reasonably good shape, reports one South African newspaper, the property market is bouyant, industry is patchy and mining is weathering sanctions. Agriculture is the tender spot. A South African newspaper displayed a banner headline: WHERE THE TOBACCO WENT - Bulk of crop still in the country; with a story from Bulawayo that the Smith regime, while assuring the world that sanctions were not working, was hiding about 160 million pounds of tobacco in stores throughout the country. One pictured was at Belvedere, a disused airfield near Salisbury, where the tobacco was secreted in a hangar. Rhodesia's tobacco crop last year was 240 million pounds, of which only 80 million were sold. The real trouble will come when the new crop comes on to the market. There are about 5,000 white farmers in Rhodesia, half in tobacco, the rest in beef and maize. The farmers form the backbone of the Smith regime, and continue to back the Smith regime, although three quarters of them are irretrievably in debt. Mandatory sanctions will worsen their position, but the immediate result is likely to be an increasing migration from Rhodesia southwards. After all, the white farmer and his family need only drive 400 miles to safeguard his ideas of White civilisation and his high standard of living - the two things that matter most to him. For many it is even easier - they are Afrikaners, returning to their fatherland. As conditions of life become less attractive this draining away of Whites to South Africa will increase. The Rhodesian Front leaders are aware of this and have estimated that an exodus of up to 25 per cent would be tolerable.

But it was on oil sanctions that the British Government pinned its expression of belief in the downfall of the Smith regime, and oil ^sanctions have proved the most ineffective of all. Rhodesia's oil consumption is only 5 per cent of South Africa's, there should not be much difficulty in maintaining the supply. South Africa is taking spectacular steps to ensure an adequate supply of oil, regardless of how sanctions are applied. The programme, given highest priority, was originally designed in response to the general threat of possible sanctions to South Africa over such questions as South West Africa. It involves the expansion of South Africa's own tanker fleet to make it independent of foreign carriers; coupled with a

massive project for vast storage tanks and the building of a new £18m. oil refinery. The signing of a contract with Iran for the supply of 1½-million tons of crude oil was reported in December. In addition, British and American oil companies with refineries in South Africa are reported to be importing 5.6 million gallons of crude oil a day, well in excess of consumption.

There is also the possibility of importing oil from Angola, where Petrofina of Belgium is in partnership with the Portuguese Government, and where oil production is rising; and in the longer term, South Africa's search for oil on its own territory which has attracted the British, American and French oil giants.

If Britain could crush the Smith rebellion without clashing with her interests in South Africa, she would. But it cannot be done. Thus the British Government is verbally pledged to bring the illegal regime down, while unable to take the necessary steps against the country that is virtually an economic dependency of South Africa. White supremacy has consolidated itself in Southern Africa. Majority rule for Rhodesia can now only be achieved when the whole area is liberated. Mandatory sanctions may cause the Rhodesian economy to bleed, but South Africa can supply enough transfusions to keep the Smith regime alive.

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