

unangry. And of course like so much pious South African liberalism—too late.

Raids like this have been a permanent part of South African social policy ever since Africans started asserting themselves and their rights to be treated as human beings. And will remain so; for without such massive intimidation and terrorization apartheid cannot be maintained. In the end there is no just or humanitarian way to maintain white supremacy—as Smith's Rhodesia shows just as clearly as Verwoerd's South Africa. In the end, it can only be maintained by naked terror, because it is minority power held in the teeth of mass opposition, from the majority.

Brigadier Steyn, the policeman in charge of Johannesburg's police, described these particular raids as 'part of my campaign to clean up the city of all criminal elements and "won't works".' The joining of those two categories—criminals and workless—is another typical piece of white South Africanism. An African's duty—in white South African eyes—is to work, where the boss tells him, in the jobs the boss reserves for black men only, at the wages the boss lays down. Anything else is criminal. So the numbers arrested were mainly—if not entirely—a special South African type of criminal—a 'won't work', which means an unemployed man; a 'possessor of dangerous weapons', which means any blade over three inches long, be it hatchet, chopper or carving knife; a 'vagrant', which means a man without a pass properly stamped by the correct authority authorizing him to be in the city at all; or a tax offender, who cannot produce a current receipt for the year's tax.

We will not speak of how the raiding is done. This is old-hat stuff in South Africa, where doors are broken in if not opened quickly enough, men and women roughly thrown out of bed, furniture overthrown or broken. Brigadier Steyn thinks that the debt for this type of thing can be wiped out by a few words of apology. He was sorry, he said, to disturb law-abiding inhabitants. 'But it was necessary for their own good.' One day the people of Soweto will find a way to speak for themselves. And when they do, they will no doubt find a way to throw Brigadier Steyn's words back in his teeth. May we suggest that summary arrest, screening and trial of all criminal elements who ordered and took part in these raids will then be very much in order?

STARVATION AMIDST PLENTY

While the authorities in South Africa were busying themselves with this type of massive exercise—reminiscent of nothing so much as

the 'frightfulness' of the Nazi occupation regimes in Europe in the 'forties—millions of Africans in our country are literally starving to death. Even *The Star* (Johannesburg), owned by the gold-mining monopolies, conceded that 'Thousands of Africans are facing stark famine . . .'

Pitifully undernourished they are dying from diseases like kwashiorkor and pellagra . . . This is the plight of Africans in the Northern Cape, as well as over the border into Bechuanaland.

Other stricken areas . . . are the Bantustans of Vendaland and Sekukuniland in the Transvaal, in Basutoland and in the Ciskei.—*The Star*, 29.10.65.

Officially the famine is ascribed to the past four years of drought. Voluntary organizations like Kupugani and the Red Cross and church missions try to provide such charitable relief as they can afford. After consistently decrying the efforts of such organizations as 'unnecessary' and their reports as 'exaggerated', even the government has felt obliged to provide some grudging 'relief'—which is costing the state R3 million, compared to the R230 million a year on military expenditure.

Certainly there have been drought conditions for the past four years. But the fundamental reason for the now-admitted famine in the African rural areas is landlessness. Over 87 per cent of the land has been taken away from the African farmers and the white farmers allow much of it to lie uncultivated while people are starving.

South Africa is superficially a very rich country. Every luxury is enjoyed by the white propertied and middle classes. Even the white workers, mainly employed in supervisory tasks, enjoy living standards well above those of similarly placed workers in western Europe. This wealth is mainly the product of non-white labour. A recent survey shows that in manufacturing industry there are 630,700 non-whites employed as compared with 218,000 whites. In the engineering industry there are 260,000 non-whites, 60,000 whites. Ample funds could easily be made available for great irrigation and other schemes to overcome the chronic shortage of water. But even the much publicized Orange River scheme, designed for the benefit of the white farm-owners, has been put into cold storage: the money is needed for the ever-growing needs of the army and the huge police state apparatus.

This then, is South Africa as she enters 1966: beneath the glitter of wealth and luxury, the gaunt skeleton of starvation, police terror, mass murder. The brave spirits with the courage to resist are flung

into prisons, like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and now Bram Fischer.

BRAM FISCHER

The arrest of Bram Fischer by the Security Police last November represents not only a personal tragedy for a great man but a serious setback for the whole liberation movement.

When, in January 1965, Bram Fischer 'jumped' bail while on a charge of belonging to and furthering the aims of the illegal Communist Party, he wrote: 'My decision was made only because I believe it is the duty of every true opponent of the Government to remain in this country and to oppose its monstrous policy of apartheid with every means in its power. That is what I shall do for as long as I can'.

For ten months while he was in hiding he was a symbol of resistance to the evil regime of the Nationalist Party. In the letter he had left after going underground, he had written: 'If, in my fight, I can encourage even some people to think about, to understand and to abandon the policies they now so blindly follow, I shall not regret any punishment I may incur'.

He had in mind particularly his fellow-Afrikaners. To try to avoid the appalling bloodshed and civil war that might overtake the country unless the policy of apartheid was abandoned was, he said, 'a supreme duty, particularly for an Afrikaner, because it is largely the representatives of my fellow-Afrikaners who have been responsible for the worst of these discriminatory laws'.

Though the Bar Council, instigated by toadies who at one time were proud enough to number Bram Fischer amongst their 'friends', immediately took steps which resulted in his being struck off the roll, there is no doubt Bram's action won the deep sympathy of thousands of ordinary white South Africans sick to death of living with the guilt of apartheid on their minds yet afraid to take the practical steps which are necessary to end it. We have received reports of Whites, in no way involved in politics, who wept openly at the news that Bram had been captured. The growing number of Whites who are today moved, as much by the increasing brutality of the Verwoerd regime as by the apparent apathy of the White community as a whole, to make a stand, often a sacrifice, against apartheid, must certainly have been inspired by his example, even if they did not share all his ideals.

As for the non-Whites, no more handsome tribute could be paid than that of the African National Congress, whose journal