

# APARTHEID SUPPLEMENT

## community singing



The Anti-Apartheid Committee has composed a Bumper Song Book" with songs for all times and places. One of them is the "Battle Hymn of Hannes Marais" there include, "Prick go the Boks", and "Oh Come all ye racists" and many other jolly tunes.

### BATTLE HYMN OF HANNES MARRAIS

"Oh, my name is Hannes Marais  
I'm a Springbok of this land  
I've tried to do my duty  
& to gain the upper hand  
But they've made me out a racist  
They've stamped me with a brand  
As the Boks go marching on.

"I'm just another Springbok  
From good old white S.A.  
Forgotten on a battlefield  
6,000 miles away  
While life goes on as usual  
From J'burg to Kimberlay  
As the Boks go marching on.

"While we were flying into Mascot  
They were marching in the street  
While we were staying out at Bondi  
Afrikaners faced defeat  
While we were playing racist rugby  
There were smokebombs at our feet  
As the Boks go marching on.

"With our voices we faced the bastards  
With our blood we played we played right on  
With our tears we faced the hecklers  
& the flares kept coming on  
Still all of us are Springboks  
Both on & off the job  
As the Boks go marching on."

So let's show the bloody Springboks  
We don't want them on our grass  
& let's show them our abhorrence  
& make their game a farce  
Let's take their racist football  
& let's stick it up their gunnys  
As the Boks go rolling home  
GLORY GLORY HALLELUJAH!!!!!!!!!!!!

## force as a tactic to stop the tour?

After more than twenty years of being violent oppressors, (The only philosophy which the White South Africans could understand), is a philosophy of force. The arrogant and seemingly impregnable boers have not been influenced at all by words from outside but only by force from outside. In response to outside pressure they have introduced massive propaganda campaigns which can only be likened to the Nazi campaign. They have rewritten South African history, introduced the fraud of separate development, and doctored statistics. They sucked in many people — how many of us accepted that Black South Africans have the best standard of living for blacks in Africa and that people migrate from Tanzania and other states to work in South Africa, or that the whites were really the first settlers in South Africa.

Results have however, come from the application of forceful action which would not be compromised by such fraud but only by a weakening of apartheid. It is only through the application of sanctions that we can temper the white oppression. The first cracks in apartheid on a sporting front are already appearing — a significant section of the whites are now in favour of sporting commissions and some minor ones have already happened. The question is the most important issue in White South Africa today. If apartheid in sport is broken black and white may meet on more equal terms and the reign of terror and hate which is perpetuated and fuelled by ignorance will receive a permanent and massive setback.

The whole world is indeed watching Australia — the white South Africans believe — and we must in the interests of oppressed peoples everywhere make a determined

stand to ensure firstly that the world sees and hears our opposition and secondly to stop this racist sport from taking place now in Australia in the future.

Physical violence is necessary, morally intolerable and the tactics of the other side. The violence must be seen as it has been so far, as the product of apartheid. We have won a partial victory in that the Springboks have imported the barbed wire, the police and the dogs which are the violence of apartheid to Manuka Oval. The fact that states of emergency and police concentration camp conditions are employed probably ensure that no further tours take place.

However, to reinforce this we must do what we can to stop this match. Forceful action is absolutely necessary if we are to get home to influential people like the Springboks.

I therefore, urge people to conduct a noisy demonstration against the Springboks at the Manuka Oval.

If it is tactically possible I urge people to attempt to forcefully attempt to stop the game. If the South African system and rugby are our companions running on the pitch is a non-violent action.

We must forcefully express our dissent at their hotel, at the airport and at their dinner party at government house.

The ruling party in Australia and the rugby union are outspokenly, and very forceful and violent action the supporters of racist rugby. We the opponents, have the conscience of the world and the lives of the oppressed peoples with us. We must not flinch from depriving

a few Australians of a rugby game when that game deprives millions of basic human rights.

Why forceful action to turn the Springboks away? So far the campaign has been successful.

- 1) The Springboks have entered and left through backdoors all over Australia.
- 2) Police have used violence and tactics never before seen on such a scale in Australia — showing the world the size and power of our dissent and the real violence of apartheid.
- 3) The Authorities in Australia have worked so hard to make the Boks feel at home the whole world and thinking Australians have seen the truth about the Australian government and the South African government — the last visitors a state of emergency was imposed for were the Japanese!
- 4) Every game has been significantly affected. In Sydney on Tuesday a demonstration publicised as ineffective in fact so affected the game that play only crossed to the half of the field where the demonstrators faced about three times.
- 5) In South Africa the support for a break in apartheid over sport has grown and become more vocal in the press.
- 6) The Springboks have said the cricket tour cannot go on.

Let us do our best to keep the pressure up in Canberra

Julius Roe



# Background to Boerdom

V.J.A. Flynn — Research Scholar in the Department  
of Asian Civilisations and a Solicitor.

The question of whether footballers from South Africa should be allowed to play in Australia is not merely a question of sport but also a question of politics, which can't be understood without examining the history of South Africa and the legal premises upon which the present ruling party in that country bases its existing supremacy. It should be remembered first of all that South Africa is not a British, but a Dutch colony; that it was colonised by strict Calvinistic Dutchmen in the middle of the 17th century; that it remained firmly under Dutch control while the settlers spread all over the present Cape province; and that it was not taken from the Dutch until 1795, when a temporary occupation of 7 years was brought about as a result of the British need to guard sea lanes during the French revolutionary wars. In 1806 the Cape, having been returned to the Dutch in the peace of 1802, was again taken, this time finally, by the English; and within a very few years there were violent clashes between the English and the Dutch on the grounds of the treatment that the Dutch meted out to their black servants whom they treated as slaves, and indeed as less than slaves, on the premise that the word of God as handed down in the New Testament compelled the treatment of these people in a base and contemptible manner. Some of these violent clashes are still remembered with affection and pride by the Boers who imagine that the violent resistance of Dutch farmers to British officers attempting to secure justice and fair play for the black servants that those Dutchmen employed were in some way heroic examples of Afrikaner nationalism.

The situation was made worse in the 1820's by the arrival of settlers from England. Their attempts to occupy fair grazing lands, and the Dutch resentment of their presence as intruders, combined with the abolition of slavery in 1833 to provoke many of these Dutch families to move northward into what are now the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. This is the greatest single historical event in the history of South Africa. It is regarded by the present rulers as being a kind of National Liberation from bondage, the bondage not of course being the slavery in which the black natives were held, but the intolerable oppression of British laws, which the Dutch found to be incompatible with their patriarchal right to treat their servants as they pleased. These events are known as the Great Trek and every year Vortrekkers' day is celebrated with pomp and ceremony as the National day of the Republic of South Africa. So it can be seen, that over one hundred years ago the stage was set not merely for what we call Apartheid — the keeping down of the blacks so that the privileges of whites may be more firmly maintained — but also for a determined opposition to British ideas of justice and equality and in particular to the operation of British law. This fact, too often forgotten, cannot be too much stressed, because the legal dispositions of the Nationalist government since 1948, which has been dominated by Afrikaners, have been based on principles utterly alien to any British ideas, and reaching back for inspirations not only to Hitler, whom the present prime minister of South Africa has so much admired while he lived, but also to the rigid and authoritarian interpretations of biblical texts that were current in the 17th century among certain fundamental protestant sects.

Attempts by the English to come to terms with these Boer Republics in the 1850's failed; attempts to coerce them by force of arms in the 1880's also failed; and in 1902, when the Boer war was ended that the Englishmen were in a position, which they occupied for less than a decade, of being able to lay down the law for the whole of South Africa. The solution they chose was to conciliate the Boers by granting independence to the whole of South Africa as an indissoluble Union between the two British colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, and the two Boer territories of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

In granting this Union the British government sought to preserve certain fundamental rights, among them, for example, the right of the very large community of people of mixed race living in the Cape colony to vote. These provisions known as the Entrenched Clauses of the Constitution of South Africa, were among the first objects of attack by the Nationalists after they gained unfettered power in 1948, because — and they were quite open about it — it was not merely contrary to the laws of their God that persons not purely white should have the right to vote, but it was also contrary to their own expressed determination to preserve not white supremacy only, but Boer supremacy. It must never be forgotten that the aim of the Nationalist party is double, to keep down both blacks and British; to discourage as far as possible the use of the English language; to see that migrants from foreign countries, white of course, should learn not English but Afrikaans; to discourage any tendency to maintain cultural ties with England; and, in particular, not merely to discourage loyalty to the person of the Queen, but to laugh and sneer at the whole notion of the British monarchy, and every political doctrine that of these things are antiquated and out of place, but it is wise to remember that what we regard in Australia as elementary human rights are very many of them denied by the Afrikaners as being British notions, alien to the South African tradition, and contrary to the word of God.

Thus it is that the situation in South Africa can be considered without particular reference to the often repeated propaganda of the present government that its aim is to make the blacks happy, because it also maintains the aim of erecting a society in which authoritarian notions, and a paternalistic way of life, are accepted not by blacks but also by whites; in which there are classes not among blacks and coloured people only but also among whites. The apartheid that separates the blacks from the whites is, it is true, legally enforceable. The apartheid that separates the English-speaking from the Afrikaans-speaking whites is not so much the subject of an act of parliament as the subject of the clear and openly expressed policy of the government of South Africa. It should never be forgotten, that when in 1961 South Africa was threatened with expulsion from the British Commonwealth, the then prime Minister Dr Verwoerd came back to South Africa and staged his referendum, among the white electorate only of course, on the basis that to leave the Commonwealth would be the salvation of South Africa from its permanent and final emancipation from the possibility of alien interference. By "alien" he meant British. Thus when the plebiscite was carried, that the monarchy be abolished and that South Africa become a Republic it was carried by a majority of approximately 12% only of the white voters, this being the exact proportion by which the Afrikaner population of South Africa exceeds the other whites. Not only therefore is South Africa divided against itself by black being ranged against white; white is ranged against white, and there is no doubt which white is supreme; it is the Boer. The Boers have won the Boer War.

The legal provisions that support the government of South Africa in its present tyrannical posture all stem from an enactment known as the Suppression of Communism Act. In this Act, Communism is broadly defined to include "any doctrine or scheme which aims at the encouragement of feelings of hostility between the European and non-European races of the Republic — calculated to — [cause] any social change in the Republic by the threat of unlawful acts or omissions. The powers of the Act have been widened since it was introduced in 1953, to give the government the most complete supervision of the moral, intellectual, and political activities of the entire population. The mere fact that there are not many white people now suffering under this Act shouldn't conceal the fact that this repressive

legislation operates equally upon black and upon white. Not only the black Chief Albert Lutshuli, but also the white Mrs Helen Joseph, have been subjected to the most inhumane treatment by being restricted to their houses or to their compounds under its provisions. One might say, "What then of the courts?" The answer to that is, that the courts decide in South Africa, only that which they are permitted to decide. There are many matters which by the law of the country are withdrawn from the supervision of the courts; for example if a person is arrested under certain Acts, he is not himself permitted to apply to a court for his release, his legal representative is forbidden to enquire into the validity of the arrest, the fact that he had been arrested is forbidden to be published, and no reference may be made to anything that he may have said whether before or after his arrest. In short the man, deprived of all legal rights, becomes a non-person in precisely the sense that George Orwell forecast. He is as much an object of tyranny as the man sent to a labour camp in Russia.

The principle that a man accused of a crime is to be denied the opportunity both of legal representation, and of even knowing what the charges against him are, is repugnant to all civilised notions of law and order. Yet the apologists for South Africa pretend, that the country in fact is a smiling garden of civilisation in which all would be well were it not for the mistaken acts of a few agitators. It may well be smiling, but it is no garden of civilisation; a garden rather of fear apprehension and death.

One of the reasons why the South African standard of living is reputed to be so high is that every white man, even the ordinary worker, is able to afford to employ on low wages a few black servants. These people are permitted to live in the houses in which they work under certain restrictions; but should the master of any black servant take it into his head to teach him how to read, to teach his child the alphabet, to even go through some passages of the bible with him, that act is an offence. The servant who hears and the master who speaks are both subject to the severe discipline of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (as amended) a law which provides minimum as well as maximum penalties and which is calculated by creating fear to prevent the growth of any human relations of mutual affection, trust, regard or respect between black and white. The black servant is not to serve his master only but to fear him. The white man is to be encouraged not to use his services only but to despise them. A similar attitude is behind the prohibition against any black attending any university except the former university called Fort Hare, set up as a university for the Bantu — the aim of this act is to ensure that the black is kept as far as possible from acquiring there is any possibility of his acquiring equality with a white man. The standard by which people are judged is not to be the power of their brain or the quality of their morals but rather their blackness or their whiteness.

To deny people rights on the basis of their colour, alone is not merely a denial of the principle of the United Nations Charter, but also a denial of a moral document; but a denial of every free liberal principle which has been put in practice or spoken of, by every European philosopher.

There is nothing British, nothing in the English tradition to justify such bitter and determined opposition to the notion that black can never attain equality with white. It is idle of those who come to this country to play football to pretend that the game has nothing to do with politics, for not only their Minister for Sport, but also their Prime Minister told the footballers before they left that they were to be ambassadors for their country. It is likewise idle to pretend that by reasoned discussion one can make an impression upon the minds of the Afrikaners. Upon individuals perhaps, but the law of South Africa is calculated to prevent discussion of any matter at all. The fundamental policy of apartheid may not be discussed by anyone and it is an offence against the Suppression of Communism Act, an act of communism in fact, to suggest whether for moral or for political reasons that apartheid is wrong or evil. It is equally an offence for a businessman to suggest that it is inconvenient, as for a Bishop to preach from the pulpit that it is contrary to the word of God.

Nor is it any answer to the inherent evil of this policy to suggest, that the ultimate aim is to permit the blacks to develop their own civilisation in their own countries; for the so-called Bantustans which have been erected are not independent, and are not intended to be independent; and it is the policy of the Government that they should remain politically and economically dependent upon it. More than that; the powers of the Suppression of Communism Act, and the South African Government's entire repressive apparatus extend to those allegedly independent enclaves, so were even a chief to say anything the South African Government found unsatisfactory he would find himself subject to the same penalties as if he had been a lowly servant or mineworker in Johannesburg, who had dared to speak publicly against the indignity to which he was daily subjected.

Apartheid is more than mere racism; it is the expression of an odious totalitarianism, masquerading as a form of Christianity and determined to crush any and all opposition from whatever source that comes its way.



# The 'Boks are here and we're ready!

24 hours a day the co-ordinating centre is being manned in Mike Wright's office. To obtain or give information phone 492212 or call in person at any time.

*In particular:*

1. *Wherever there's a Springbok there shall be demonstrators.*

2. *For the game — when we'll SHOW OUR OPPOSITION.*

## **MASS RALLY!**

*Library lawn 12:30 pm*

*Wednesday July 21st.*

**speakers, info. for demo,  
legal advice, transport from  
Union at 1:00pm sharp.**

**Rally 1:30 outside Manuka  
Oval for those who dislike Racism.**

if you are able to provide transport, ring 49 2212  
and have your car at the Union by 1:00

# **STOP THE TOUR**



**If you could see  
their national sport,  
you might be less  
keen to see their  
rugby**



**STOP THE TOURS**

**RACISTS vs. REST OF THE WORLD**

**MANUKA OVAL 1:30 WED 21st.**



## ORIGIN OF APARTHEID

Whenever Europeans have colonised countries in which coloured people live, there has been racial segregation and discrimination; but in almost every case such racial oppression has lessened or disappeared through independence (Zambia, Kenya, India etc.) or integration (Brazil, Trinidad etc.).

The glaring exception to this rule is Southern Africa, and in particular South Africa. Until the present Afrikaner Nationalist government gained power in 1948, coloured people had some representation in parliament, and the beginnings of racial tolerance and intergration could be perceived. But since 1948 discrimination against non-white South Africans has been massively increased, and perpetuated in hundreds of discriminatory new laws, so that today South Africa has the harshest racial laws in human history. (1). And some of those laws (the Mixed Marriages and Group Areas and Immorality Acts) are probably taken - sometimes word for word - from the Nazi Nuremberg Laws of 1935, forbidding relationships between a white herevolk and "inferior" races.

Is this coincidental? Or is it evidence of the origins and true nature of Apartheid? The following facts and statements are offered without further comment.

Dr. D.F. Malan was the first Prime Minister of the current South African regime. Seven years earlier in 1941 as a Member of Parliament he negotiated with Nazi Germany behind his Government's back while it was at war with Germany. (2).

Dr. J.B. Vorster the present Prime Minister was in 1942 the leader of the Stormjaers (Storm troops) division of the pro Nazi whites only Osewabrandwag guerrilla group which blew up South African power lines, rail tracks, telephone links and even people. (4).

In 1942 Mr. Vorster publicly proclaimed "We stand for Christian Nationalism, which is an ally of Nazism". (5). Soon after he was interned as a threat to Allied wartime security. "Christian Nationalism is today official South African ideology; and in 1968, as Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster publicly unveiled a monument to his wartime leader, Dr. H. van Rensburg, South Africa's foremost pro-Nazi quisling. (6).

Mr. Vorster's brother head of South Africa's largest church and creator of the South African Council to Combat Communism, stated publicly on September 15th 1940, "Hitler's Mein Kampf shows the way to greatness - the path of South Africa". (7). He, too was interned in World War II as a menace to his country.

Mr. Ben Scheeman, Mr. Vorster's second-in-command in government and today Minister of Transport said in 1940 "The future of our people is dependent on a German victory. (8). And the present Minister of Finance Dr. N. Diederichs in 1935 attended a Nazi training school in Germany. (9).

Dr. H. Verweerd the third Nationalist Prime Minister was in 1943 denounced by South Africa's Supreme Court for making himself and his newspaper, "Die Transvaler", a "tool of Nazi propaganda" in South Africa. (3).

Many other leading men in South Africa today have similar records, including a Senator who led South Africa's Greyshirts in the late 1930's. But the point is not so much their war records, but the fact that they have only risen to lead their country today because a majority of white South Africans, fully aware of these facts, has knowingly and deliberately voted them to power. White South Africa has not only the government it deserves, but the government it wants.

Do these facts reveal the true origin and nature of Apartheid? Judge for yourself. Because in 1936, in order to avoid German isolation in sport and save the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, the Nazis allowed foreign non-whites such as Jesse Owens into Germany to compete in an international contest, and so provide respectability for Nazi racism. But German national sports teams remained "herenvolk-only". And in 1971 white South Africa has "relaxed" sports apartheid in much the same way, and for the same purpose.

### Sources:

1. Opinion given in 1969 by International Commission of Jurists.
2. "The Rise of the South African Reich," Bunting, Penguin 1969.
3. South African Press, 24-8-1943.
4. Ibid. 1942 and for instance the London Times, 1942.
5. "The Rise of the South African Reich".
6. Head of the Osewabrandwag. See his autobiography.
7. "Die Suidsterem", South Africa, 16-9-1940.
8. "Die Transvaler", 6-11-1940.
9. "The Rise of the South African Reich".

# APARTHEID IS NOT A GAME

## APARTHEID IS NOT A GAME

(From the "New Statesman")

The first thing to say about the South African rugby players' tour of Great Britain is that it should not be happening. Prevention is better than protest, and much of the opposition to the Springboks's matches here should rightly be seen as the opening moves in a campaign to prevent South African cricketers playing here in 1970. It is a disagreeable act, and a dangerous precedent, to have a game called off at the last moment because of the South's racist motives and taken their seats. To hold up the game by non-violent occupation of the pitch - still more, to put the pitch out of action for several future games with oil or trenches - requires considerable moral justification. But let us look closely at the facts. A South African rugby team is not in the same position as a Spanish soccer team or a Russian orchestra. It has been recruited on deliberately exclusive racial principles, and it comes here to bear witness for a racially exclusive way of life. The South African rugby players are not merely sportsmen who happen to come from a country whose policies we disapprove of. They are a roving embassy for apartheid - and apartheid is not a game.

In other words, those football-lovers who troop to see the South Africans are not merely apolitical men enjoying an isolated aesthetic pleasure. They are voting with their feet for the selection of sporting teams on racial grounds. Some of them, no doubt, would defend this explicitly, but many of the players who have been to South Africa return not merely neutral athletes, but convinced defenders of South African domestic policies. Far from bringing down prejudice, sporting contact tends to reinforce and spread it. We have been playing games with the South Africans since the 1890's. During this time, their racial ideas have made more headway with us than ours with them. Even in sport, they have tightened rather than loosened the rules. The first New Zealand team to visit South Africa included Maori players - or, as the South African Prime Minister prefers to say, players of Maori blood. It was the South Africans who took the initiative in refusing entry to Maori players after the Second World War; and it was not sweet reasonableness by the New Zealanders, but the cancellation of one All Blacks' tour, that reversed this absurd judgment. If we do not want a repetition of the D'Oliveira affair - if, that is, we actually dare to claim the right to pick our own team - we should make more fuss, not less.

We should not overstate the moral impact which that fuss will make. Sporting contacts do not make converts, but nor do sporting rebuffs bring evil regimes crashing to the ground. This particular rebuff will do more than most, since rugby really is the most important international stage on which the South Africans perform. A threatened Olympic boycott made Mr. Vorster's government admit the theoretical possibility of mixed South African teams - a small concession in all conscience, but a rent in the allegedly seamless garment of segregationist theory. Nevertheless, one must admit that this particular abuse could be remedied without South African society as a whole making great strides towards justice.

Sides are being picked on either bank of the Zambezi. No Western nation can continue indefinitely to be a friend of both black and white Southern African states. If we do not choose now, the choice will be taken for us later. For this reason, our decision not to sell arms to South Africa is perfectly sound, even though the South Africans have found a substitute supplier in France. At least some European nations can be seen to be different from others. The notion may prove useful one day; it may even save European lives. But even if it does neither, the arms ban is still absolutely right.

Nobody who saw the South African Prime Minister on television this week can nurse the illusion that a little friendly persuasion will make British liberals not an argument, but a struggle. In this country both Right and Left probably think too much about the effect of their actions on the South African white community. That community, after all, is only one

fifth of the country's population, and whether we please or displease it will be greatly tighter or looser its hold on the remaining four-fifths. Black South Africans are also eligible for moral consideration, if not for rugby teams. How much does the present structure of South African sport wound their sensibilities? Enough, at any rate, to guarantee that visiting teams rather than the Springboks get the applause from the coloured sections of South African football grounds. This is not good manners; they are simply cheering their enemy's enemy.

Let us, then, bear in mind the South Africans who are not here, and the reasons for their absence. Those reasons outweigh, even the legitimate demands of a sporting public which has paid its money and expects to see a good game. To invite players or supporters to violence would be foolish - in more ways than one. But to try to have matches called off, by all means short of violence, is reasonable. As the white South Africans themselves so proudly claim, they are a special case.





# Reaction :

NOT A SPORTING WAY TO BEHAVE

"I'm all for the South Africans touring here, white or black," says Tony Miller. "The South African side is the best in the world, and I know I want to see them. I mightn't agree with their politics, but it's a thing I don't want to enter into. I only want to look at it as a sportsman, that's all, because this is a sporting side."

Mr Miller is 42. In his Rugby career he played more matches for the Wallabies (including 41 Tests) than has any other player. He visited South Africa with touring Rugby teams in 1953 and 1961 and played against the Springboks during their 1957 tour. He is a life member of the Manly club and a member of the State club.

Apartheid? "I think any person, black or white, should be an equal if his education brings him up to that standard. And I say 'education', and that's all it means. South Africans have a glib problem, there's no doubt about it, and probably a problem that a lot of other countries would never face. I think in lots of cases they're doing more good for the average native over there than in most of the other countries. Well, you've only got to take New Guinea, for example. This is a problem right on our own doorstep."

The question of apartheid, Mr Miller says, has nothing whatever to do with sport. "Protests against the touring Rugby players reflect on the average Australian. Australia's supposed to be a sporting nation and we're not showing our sportsmanship the way these people are carrying on at present. I don't give a damn what team it is; once it's on its way and it's in the country it should be left alone. Now that the boys are touring Australia, I don't think it's fair on them as individuals."

"I can't see why people want to go round and disturb them, stop them from sleeping. I think this is very childish more than anything else. A lot of these blokes, the people who do this, are just complete ratabags. Where do these people get their finance from in the first place to come out here and disturb people? I heard it's been in the Middle East somewhere via Russia or one of these places. That's what I've heard. I don't know how true it is, but anything's likely."

"There's nothing much I can do about the protests, and neither can the average Australian, probably. The police are the only ones who can step in and possibly do something on the field." Vigilantes? "I don't think this'll be on. Maybe before the big games, the Test matches, but what is it going to achieve? I don't think these groups of Rugby supporters should be anything about it. I think it should be left up to the police, that's all."

# Rugger reactions to Racist rugby

cause the match to be abandoned. Personally I would deplore any violent demonstration because it would be as extremist as the South African viewpoint.

**Toft:** It was a mistake to let them come. It was Vorster who brought politics into sport by excluding D'Oliveira: he made it almost a moral obligation for people here to demonstrate, otherwise he might think that we're beginning to accept his views. There's no difference in South African policies now from when the last Springbok team came here, except that their Prime Minister has acted politically in a sporting context, so that we can't avoid the issue any longer.

**Thomas:** The point the anti-apartheid lobby in this country doesn't take into account is the very strong element of liberal opinion in South Africa: Gandar, Helen Suzman, a large majority of the United Party, the Black Sash women.

**Toft:** This is not a very profitable argument. If there's a liberal element there, why don't they make the protest? Why do we have to make it for them?

**Thomas:** You must be realistic. Where are you going to draw the line? Racial prejudice exists in other parts of the world. Australia has a most rigid immigration law against non-white people. Do we stop playing Australia? The New Zealanders pay lip service to integration with the Maoris, but anyone who has been to New Zealand knows that the Maoris are still second-class citizens. That's why I say that most of these arguments against the tour tend towards hypocrisy. I believe the old cliché: you must leave the lines of communication open,

**Thomas:** But at least they've said they'll accept Maoris for the very first time.

**Toft:** There's one unmistakable and indispensable sign of change; and that'll be when they include a black man in one of their own teams.

**Thomas:** This is where we want to get to eventually, and as fast as possible, and we'll get results quicker if we approach the problem rather more gradually.

**Mulligan:** But on the Maoris — don't forget that the only reason this chink has appeared in the armour is that one South African tour of New Zealand was actually cancelled. The chink has opened up precisely through isolation.

**Toft:** The arguments you've made, Clem, have been in force for 30 years and have had no effect. Otherwise we wouldn't be discussing the matter.

**Thomas:** But, surely, now the first gesture has been made we should be encouraging them?

**Mulligan:** What you really need, Clem, was for the Roy Alloways and the Clive van Rynevelds and all those South African Rhodes Scholars to be down there demonstrating and saying this is ridiculous, and then you're making some progress. But it hasn't happened — though in the D'Oliveira affair his van Ryneveld did make some very unhelpful statements about how disagreeable it was to have apartheid in sport.

**Toft:** What about the facilities like for Africans? **Mulligan:** This leads to another great problem. None of us when we were down there — and I very much include myself in this — were sufficiently interested, or aroused, to go and find out what the position of the Coloured rugby players was. There are about 10,000 altogether, and they have their own rugby



# Reason :

The South African rugby team have arrived here for their most controversial tour. Should they be come? Should they stay? Should we watch the games? Will protest demonstrations bring a backlash? Three former international captains — Clem Thomas of Wales, Andrew Mulligan of Ireland and H.B. Toft of England — debate a difficult and potentially explosive moral problem.

**Mulligan:** I've spent the past few days talking to players about the Springbok tour, and there's definitely a new phenomenon appearing, which is that players are prepared to think about the rights and wrongs of the tour, whereas before they wouldn't dare to, or didn't want to. This is important because any action to stop the tour will have to be taken by them: it will never come from the administrators.

Personally, I think we shouldn't really be playing the Springboks. Now that they're here, we can't send them back: the tour must continue; but if there's a confrontation, then the tour should be stopped. The danger is that a stupid backlash from rugby supporters against the demonstrators could do the game enormous damage — and incidentally put these 30 tremendously naive Springboks, many of whom have never been out of their country before, in a most invidious position.

**Thomas:** I believe the tour should continue. I don't think sport should be used as a vehicle for political propaganda. This is where we as a nation could be frightfully hypocritical. Last week we had the Minister of Sport, Denis Howell, saying the South African cricket team should not come here next summer; well, if he opposes sporting relations with South Africa, then he has strong enough grounds to resign, because his Government is condoning economic and political relations with them. To isolate South Africa would be rather like isolating someone who is mentally sick.

**Mulligan:** All right: but what happens if there's real trouble during the tour? Suppose the trouble took its classic form: penetration of the ground by anti-apartheid militants followed by backlash from a vehement section of the crowd?

**Thomas:** I don't think this is going to happen. The demonstrators may prevent two or three games being played by mechanical means: they may also disrupt a game by protesting on the pitch. In Edinburgh they plan to sit 5,000 demonstrators on the pitch at Murrayfield, which would certainly

through liberalisation is going to be a very slow process.

**Toft:** I've had long experience of the Springboks — though only in this country — but I've seen no change in them effected by contact with us on these tours. I don't honestly think the present tour makes the slightest contribution to the progress of man. I find myself in some sympathy with the Rugby Union, because what was valid for previous tours is no longer valid since racialism has now been made an issue within our game by Vorster.

Previously, we could always argue that after all the British — ha, ha, — had to live in a world of less civilised people so they might as well play football against them. I used to think that the politics of the people I played against was none of my business; but once Vorster did what he did to one of my countrymen, he did it to us all.

**Thomas:** I don't approve of your brutal approach. I don't think stopping relations with them will do any good at all.

**Mulligan:** We've been playing them since, I think, 1880 and it's been convenient for both sides to talk about the community of rugby and the importance of social contact between the players of the two countries; but we haven't been able to influence them one jot. If there are confrontations on this tour, the chances are well drive them still further into their laager.

There are two great arguments in favour of contact. The first is that South Africa may be on the verge of accepting Maoris in the New Zealand team that's going to tour there. And the second is what happens in Ireland, in what is, after all, an extremely hot environment. There, green and orange go down together in the park and, by totally ignoring politics we've been able to have a tremendously fruitful relationship — which hasn't been the case in other contacts between North and South.

**Thomas:** If the South Africans do accept the Maoris, here is the evidence that there's a new liberal force arising in South Africa.

**Mulligan:** But no, I mean, they've been able to classify Japanese swimmers as honorary whites. They've been able to classify Hastings Banda as white when he stays at the Langham in Johannesburg. But apartheid is still rigidly applied. What they've said now is that they won't thanks very much ... interfere with the way other countries pick their teams. The very thought that they could have the nerve to try to pick our teams, as they did with D'Oliveira...

board, etc. The Africans seem to play mainly soccer. The Coloureds always ask for a game against the Lions, and it is always refused because 'there isn't time'. They're the most ardent fans you find anywhere — and they generally back the visiting team, which is a fair reflection of how they feel.

**Thomas:** They are segregated as spectators at the grounds as comprehensively as they are in their living quarters. Their living conditions are of a much inferior standard to the whites, and so are their rugby pitches. I saw Coloured teams playing rugby and I would have said that among them there would have been some very good players. I resent the fact that they're not allowed to represent South Africa.

**Mulligan:** There've been two specific examples of this. There's a fellow called Jim Windsor, an extraordinary fellow up in Yorkshire, a millionaire with a betting business, who actually found two Coloured players. One of them, Goolie Abed, played first-class Rugby League for about five years and the other — Newman — played brilliant League football and was so good he was bought very expensively by the Australians and now plays for Northern Suburbs in Sydney.

Goolie told me on the telephone the other day that he didn't think it would have been too difficult for him to get into the Western Province team in South Africa, if he'd been allowed to play, so he must have been pretty close to international standard. **Thomas:** Bert, would you apply your approach to the Russians?

**Toft:** There is a difference between political disagreement, as with the Russians, and the degradation of part of the human race. I don't think there's any parallel.

**Thomas:** I firmly believe that these sordid, evil apartheid policies are the result of a very small minority of South African opinion.

**Mulligan:** I think you're kidding yourself.

**Thomas:** Those South African journalists we talked to today said that South Africa would have to liberalise itself to stay in world sport. **Mulligan:** Well, in order to keep contact yes. What they said was that there wouldn't be too much objection on the part of most South African rugby players to playing alongside Coloureds. At the moment this simply couldn't happen under the South African apartheid laws. Under these, you can't play sport with, can't drink after the game with, certainly can't go under the shower with anyone from a different racial group.



# ARGUMENTS

Those who defend sporting ties with racist South Africa advance a variety of arguments. The Rugby Union, for example, said that it would be wrong to give in to a minority who were, in fact, interfering with the democratic right of people who wanted to play and watch rugby. This argument is now being used about the cricket tour. What this argument does not take into account is the frustration of those opposed to racism, who are convinced that the rugby and cricket authorities will never take action against racialism on pure moral grounds or even logical grounds. So far, rugby and cricket administrators have done no more than change their arguments, while continuing to support the racist sports' organisations in South Africa.

Other arguments and answers to them are:

*Only by maintaining contact with South Africans will we be able to influence change in South Africa's racial policies.*

This "bridge-building" theory would have some validity in a normal evolving society but has no relevance to the rigid apartheid society enforced in South Africa. As Mr. Vorster keeps telling the world: "...we are not prepared to compromise, we are not prepared to negotiate and we are not prepared to make any concessions."

*Australia's trade and investments would suffer if sporting ties with South Africa were broken.*

This may be true but in the long run Australia is likely to suffer even more in her trade relations with the non-white nations of the world if she persists in bolstering up racist South Africa. In any case, there is no morality in this argument.

*Non-white sportsmen would be the sufferers if South Africa were to be excluded from international sport.*

After eighty years of sports relations with white South Africa it is hard to believe that the people who support these relations are at all concerned with the fate of black South African sportsmen. The non-whites have been systematically boycotted for all that time so cannot be any worse off. With the Vorster government firmly entrenched in power, non-white athletes in South Africa are permanently denied the chance to test their skill in open competition at home and can travel abroad only by the grace of the authorities.

*Opposition and demonstrations in Australia will harden white attitudes in South Africa and hinder progress towards multi-racialism in sport.*

This is a fallacy. As stated above, the government of South Africa has laid down rigid rules to ensure that there shall be no racial mixing in sport - now or ever.

Demonstrations against white South African sports teams will at least force them to think and to ask themselves what they can do to influence a change. It is well known that black South Africans have been greatly encouraged to hear of the active opposition to racist sports teams. In a letter to the editor of the Johannesburg Post (25/2/70) a reader suggests that Black South Africans should take a lead from the demonstrators and boycott white professional football.

This process has already started in Pietermaritzburg where the leading white professional football side is blaming the government for greatly reduced attendances of Africans. The Johannesburg Sunday Times (5/4/70) reported Mr. Frank Martin, member of the Provincial Council for Maritzburg as saying:

"First the government banned the non-whites from watching soccer at Maritzburg's Jan Smuts Stadium, then it banned non-whites of different races from playing football together... non-white attendance at Maritzburg matches have been right down lately. The club can't survive without this support. It is most unfortunate the government has torpedoed us all (white and non-white)."

There is no doubt that the demonstrations overseas are strengthening the determination of black South Africans to oppose racial sport in South Africa.

Since the rugby demonstrations in Britain the National Union of South African Students has come out clearly in favour of multi-racial sport inside South Africa and has expressed its support for peaceful demonstrations in Britain against racist sports teams.

This is a significant advance which can be directly attributed to the demonstrations against the Springbok rugby team and also to the other defeats suffered by South African white sport in the past few years. In other words, the demonstrations have focussed attention more sharply on the unjust sport set-up in South Africa, and the intensity of protests generated by the presence of all-white South African teams outside South Africa has activated several forces to an advocacy of non-racial sports.

It is probably that some white South Africans will harden their attitudes but they are most likely to be found in the ranks of government supporters who are committed to segregation and discrimination as the policy of the future in South Africa. They can only find comfort in this type of argument and must be greatly encouraged by the support their all-white teams are getting from the sports authorities in Australia.

# our job OF UTMOST importance

Our job is to harass the Springboks 24 hours a day during their time in Canberra and in particular to mount a massive demonstration at their game to let them and racist Australians know that they are not welcome in this city. We appeal to all who care to stand and be counted. We have on hand an opportunity to make a decisive stand against racism and for those oppressed by racism. At the same time we appeal for non-violence, as little contact with police as possible and for no unnecessary arrests. We are opposed to violence not because of public opinion but because of our abhorrence of violence. One can work against the racist visitors more effectively by remaining unobtrusive. There is no point in being arrested for racists unless something worthwhile is at stake.

Information and instructions may be obtained at any hour from the co-ordinating office. We would like anyone with information on racists' whereabouts, police activities and so on to contact the office immediately. No matter how trivial the information we shall welcome it at any hour.

At the mass rally on the library lawn at 12:30 pm on Wednesday July 21st there shall be two speakers - Dr Debesh Battacharka and Mrs Sekai Holland - and then information on the form of the demonstration at the game will be given along with legal advice etc. There shall be a large squad of observers and photographers at the game for our use. Free transport from the union will leave at 1:00 pm sharp. Anyone with a car please bring it.

Cloth banners only will be allowed inside the ground. Admission is \$1, and the police may search individuals at the entrance. If you refuse to be searched you will not be allowed in. Further no bulky items such as eskies and bags will be allowed in. Take care - do not be caught with any device etc on your person.

## THE ROLE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES OBSERVERS (AT THE SPRINGBOK MATCH PARTICULARLY)

Experience in other States and Canberra, most recently last May here, has shown that when protesters come into conflict with police, then unjustified arrests, and possibly unjustified violence can occur. Later it is found difficult to assemble reliable reports of what happened, and in particular people arrested are often convicted for lack of witnesses.

Therefore, teams of observers are being assembled to be able to give systematic accounts. Their functions are:-

- 1) Primarily, to report and assemble evidence where people are arrested.
- 2) To report cases where police use unnecessary or unjustified force against citizens.
- 3) Possibly, to give evidence in later court cases.
- 4) To check on what use is made of the police power to search people. It is not certain that there is any general power, but in any case, search procedures should not be used as a means of harassment.

Each team should have at least three people, one camera, and one notebook. It should keep together, to protect itself in case of accidental arrest, and if possible stay apart from groups of protesters.

The suggested procedure when someone is arrested is as follows:-

- 1) Take photos, both for evidence and so arrestor and arrestee can be recognised. Note the time of each photo.
- 2) Also try to get the name of the person arrested, either by asking him or bystanders.
- 3) Try to get the policeman's number - a hazardous procedure, so have witnesses.
- 4) Note down everything you saw and heard, and particularly anything said, by either party.

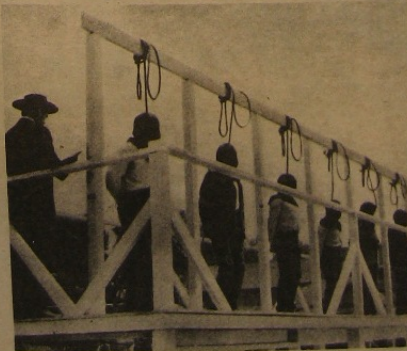
Later write on each photo developed the time taken, and the name and address of the photographer. At the court during the following days we will try to photograph each defendant and so correlate the facts for each case.

If you observe violence, try to take photos. If police are involved, try to take their numbers; where private citizens are involved, you can note the facts, and perhaps draw it to the attention of the police. The same applies to cases of unreasonable or illegal search.

If a dispersal order is made under the public order act, note down the time exactly. Then move to a discreet distance, and note down the exact times of any subsequent arrests.

The provisions of the Public Order Act are very sweeping, and there is some danger of arrest for everyone in the neighborhood of an assembly. Therefore it is suggested that each person going as an observer should make an advance written statement of his purpose, which could be of great advantage in case of prosecution. Forms for this should be available.

For information about these groups contact Nick Stokes at the Maths Department.



SIX HANGINGS PER FORTNIGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA