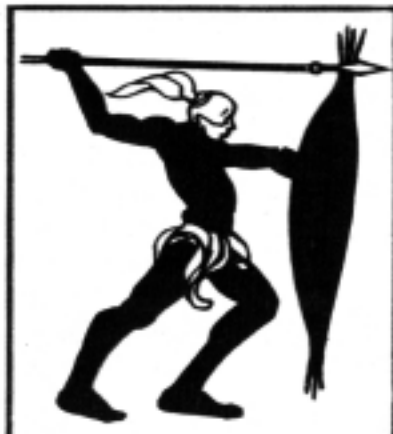


VOL 8

No 3

MARCH

1974



SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa



ROBERT RESHA - Obituary see back cover

SECHABA

Vol 8
No 3
March 1974

49 Rathbone Street
LONDON W1A-4NL
Telegrams & Cables:
SECHABA LONDON W 1
Telephone: 580-53 03

CONTENTS

SELL OUT TO APARTHEID
Sonny Ramsdale, a leading
trade unionist introduces a

discussion article on the visit
of the British TUC delegation
to South Africa

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA
White attitudes against Blacks

THE PEOPLE ARE A POWER
Presidential address of C.
Sewpersadh, presented to the
2nd. General Meeting of the
Natal Indian Congress

**ITALIAN CAMPAIGN AGAINST
APARTHEID**
Italian support for ANC

**NON COLLABORATION WITH
APARTHEID**
Sechaba interview with Abdul
Minty - Secretary of the British
Anti-Apartheid Movement

APARTHEID A CRIME
Declaration of the 28th Session
of the United Nations General
Assembly

THE CHALLENGE AHEAD
Underground organ of the ANC -
SECHABA-ISIZWE makes stirring
call to the people at home

ROBERT RESHA
Obituary of a militant ANC
member by H. E. Edwin Ogbu -
Chairman of the United Nations
Unit on Apartheid and Nigerian
Ambassador to the United States 24

SECHABA

Annual Subscription Rates

£ 1.50/Europe, Africa and Asia.
6 dollars U.S.A. and Canada
includes postage

Air Mail Copies

£ 2/0/0 Africa and Asia
12 dollars U.S.A. and Canada
Includes postage
33¹/₃% commission for 12 copies
or more

SECHABA

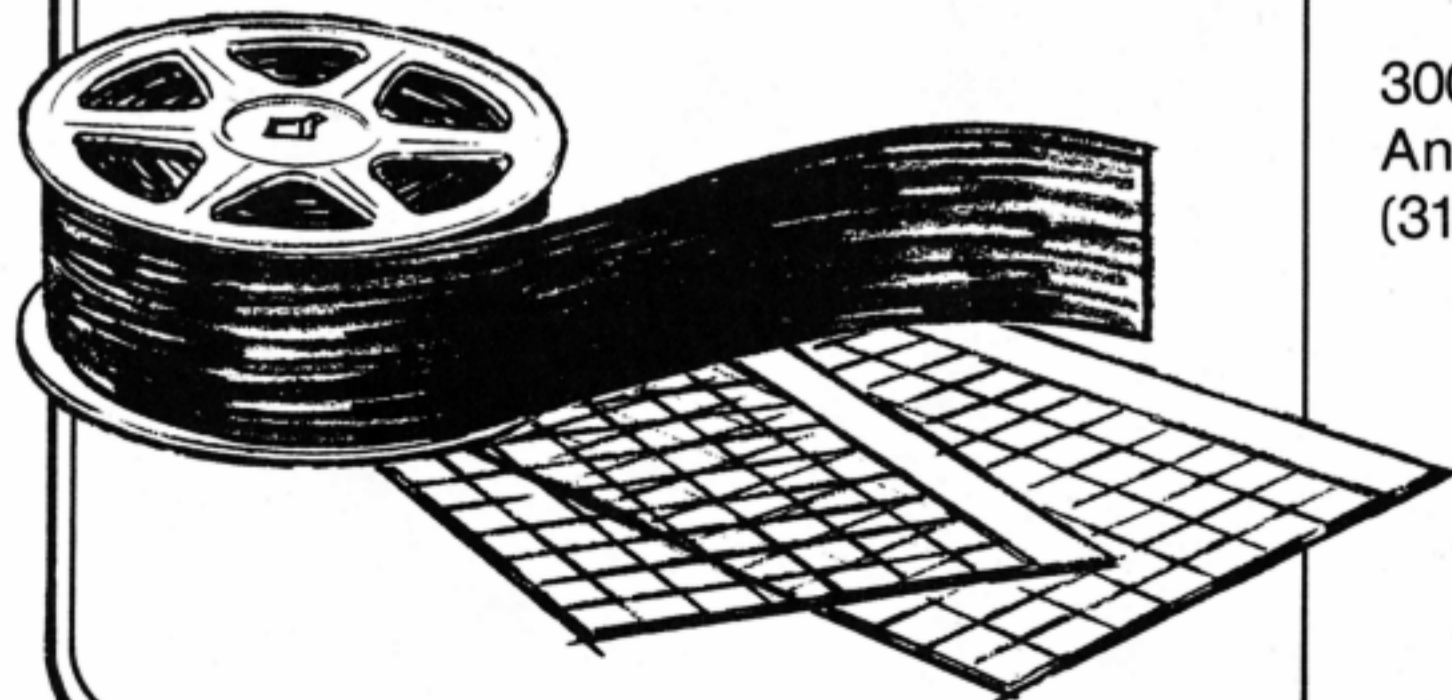
is Available in MICROFORM

...from

Xerox University Microfilms

300 North Zeeb Rd.,
Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106
(313) 761-4700 U.S.A

PLEASE
WRITE FOR
COMPLETE
INFORMATION



The recent visit of a five-man TUC delegation to South Africa has produced a 33-page report of its findings. Here **SONNY RAMSDALE**, a leading trade

unionist, examines the report and comes to the conclusion that the delegation proposes that British workers . . .

SELL OUT TO APARTHEID

The Report of the TUC delegation to South Africa fully justifies the fears held by many that this exercise had sinister overtones.

The conclusions drawn by the delegation are not in question since these are based on facts that were known for a very long time and the information which the delegation gathered in the course of its travels was available in London for a very long time.

This again raises the question which everybody involved in the struggle against the system asked at the beginning, viz. What was the object of this exercise and for whose benefit was it undertaken?

A study of the 33-page foolscap document purports to prove that the purpose of the exercise was, broadly speaking, to create for the African worker some sort of trade union base on which African workers can build their own Utopia. The people whom we are told are to provide this base are the employers, the white orientated trade unions and an assortment of individuals and bodies closely associated with the implementation of the apartheid philosophy. These are the same elements who are dedicated to ensuring the survival of the system and as an integral part of this process to ensure the perpetual enslavement of Black people generally and Black workers in particular.

The total lack of credibility of this exercise is underlined at the beginning of the report when it is stated that "Within the law employers could provide facilities for African trade unions to function . . ." They do not tell us that this "law" within which this trade union Utopia for the African workers is to be created is the Industrial Conciliation Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the General Law Amendment Act etc. etc. Anyone with the most elementary know-



ledge of the apartheid system will know that meaningful trade unions for Black workers just isn't on if it is to be done "within the law". Any illusions harboured by the delegation on this score would, one would have hoped, have been removed by none other than Vorster himself who is alleged to have warned them (para 69) "that they should not interfere with this process" (i. e. the "law"). Just in case they did not understand Vorster's warning, that ultra racist body SABRA told them plainly that "the question of trade union organisation among black workers was a matter domestic to (white) South Africa . . ."

Liberal Reformers

It is against this background that one needs to examine the main conclusion reached (para 95) and the proposals (paras 96-100) to implement this. The main point of this conclusion that "the task of organising African workers is primarily a task for the workers themselves . . ." is a valid one - it is accepted by the African worker with the proviso that organisation of the African worker outside the freedom struggle is meaningless. The African worker understands what apparently the delegation does not understand, viz. that the emancipation of the African as a worker is inseparable from the emancipation of the African as a man. What

"Keep in mind the fact that Blacks already outnumber Whites three to one in industry in South Africa. What is vitally necessary, however, is government approval to enable an organisation such as TUCSA to organise the African worker . . . Let me repeat the alternative - the inevitable alternative - the inevitable emergence of an all-African trade union movement wedded to nationalism, in this instance Black nationalism . . . remember that time is not on our side . . ."

("Our side" being, of course, the White side - Ed)

Tom Murray, TUCSA President

is more, the African worker knows that his enslavement as a worker is part of the enslavement of his fellow oppressed, the Coloured and Indian people. In a word there can be no freedom for African, Coloured or Indian workers without political freedom. And political freedom is not going to be obtained with pious resolutions to institute liberal reforms. This freedom will be obtained in struggle between the Black oppressed on the one side and those who seek to perpetuate white privilege and power on the other. This struggle is in progress and the Black oppressed in Southern Africa will not be diverted from this struggle by Liberal reformers, be they trade unionists or whatever.

Paragraph 95 qualifies its conclusion with the observation that, to bring about these reforms, generous assistance should be given by the International trade union movement. In the light of this one would have hoped that the delegation's proposals (paras 96-100) could be dismissed as an indication of a lamentable lack of understanding of what apartheid is all about. If this was so the whole operation could be dismissed at best as a trade union gimmick and at worst a gigantic confidence trick designed to pull the wool over the eyes of the African and other South African oppressed and to divert us from our chosen course of struggle. Alas it is not as simple as that!

It is when these proposals are examined in the context of the TUC 1971 Congress resolution and its support and involvement in the 1973 June ILO Resolution at the Geneva Conference that the operation takes on a sinister form and begins to answer the question posed at the beginning: What was the object of this exercise and for whose benefit was it undertaken?

Because of the far-reaching implications to the freedom struggle it is important that these proposals be examined clause by clause.

"Up until 1927 we refused to have Indians in the Typographical Union. They then commenced negotiating separately and practically eliminated the European printer from Natal. We then took them into our Union to stop that. The result is that I suppose one could count the number of Indian printers in Natal on the fingers of one hand. They have been almost eliminated. That happened because we took them into our Union."

Tom Rutherford, President of the S. A. Typographical Workers Union and a leading member of TUCSA

Proposal: On Investments

"It is proposed that opposition to British investment in South Africa should be continued unless British firms show in a practical way that they are encouraging and recognising genuinely independent trade unions for Black African workers".

Our View

The campaign for the withdrawal of British investments in South Africa, which the TUC was pledged by the 1971 resolution to support, was never at any time related to the question of wages or trade union rights of black workers employed by British companies. The object of calling for the withdrawal of investments was to reduce the capacity of the racist regime to sustain the reign of terror against the Blacks, it being an accepted fact that the survival of the apartheid tyranny depended heavily on these investments.

The qualification now proposed by the delegation, viz. that



At the height of the Durban strikes at the beginning of last year

TUC opposition to investment should not apply to certain firms is a complete repudiation of the 1971 resolution on this issue and would make this resolution meaningless.

Proposal 2: On Immigration

"The General Council should declare firmly against the emigration of white workers to South Africa, in view of the availability of Black workers for employment and training, and should recommend accordingly to affiliated unions."

Our View

The TUC is already committed against the emigration of white workers to South Africa. What one would hope is that some pressure is applied to make this intention a reality.

Proposal 3: On a Trade Union Centre

"The ICFTU and the TUC should seek to establish a national African trade union centre in South Africa to plan on a massive scale the organisation of African workers into trade unions. In this connection one aim should be to provide enough funds to employ full-time Black organisers in several industrial centres."

Our View

This proposal is perhaps the most sinister aspect of the package deal. It is an historical fact that the regime does not permit the establishment of organisations for whatever reasons to "benefit" Africans without its approval and this approval is only given if its functions conform to the accepted apartheid pattern and it is subject to police surveillance. It is to be hoped therefore that this proposal represents nothing more than another pipe dream of the delegation.

But looking at it in the context of the report as a whole, one gets the impression that the proposal is a serious one. Whether the proposal originated with TUCSA, the employers or whoever is not clear but is not important. What is important is that if this proposal gets off the ground it will do so only with Vorster's blessing. And Vorster will give his blessing only if it suits his ends.

What then is the motive behind the proposal? It seems clear that if Vorster agrees to this, it will be for two reasons only: (i) The need to create a blunting instrument to contain the spontaneous upsurge of militant struggle by the African workers, supported by Coloured and Indian workers, which began at the beginning of last year and is still progressing. (ii) The need to undermine the influence of the only credible trade union organisation of the Black workers which has the support and allegiance of the vast majority of the Black work force – the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

Proposal 4: On a new Trade Union

"An efficient, small, active, international trade union body should be established in London to mobilise maximum international trade union support for African trade union organisation in South Africa."

TUCSA demands equal pay for equal work, but does not support the major demand of the Black workers, i. e. that they should have equal opportunities as well."

Tom Murray, President of TUCSA



Victorious bus drivers give the ANC salute

Our View

The recent ILO Conference held in Geneva last year and reported in depth in *Sechaba*, Vol. 7 No. 9 shows that International Trade Union support is not lacking. What another international centre could do over and above what is being done by the UN Unit on Apartheid, the ILO Workers Group, the three major international trade union federations and scores of national trade unions including the British TUC who participated at this conference one finds hard to understand. It seems certain that this move is to undermine the main resolution on apartheid adopted at this conference which has the full support of the ANC, SACTU and most anti-apartheid and progressive movements.

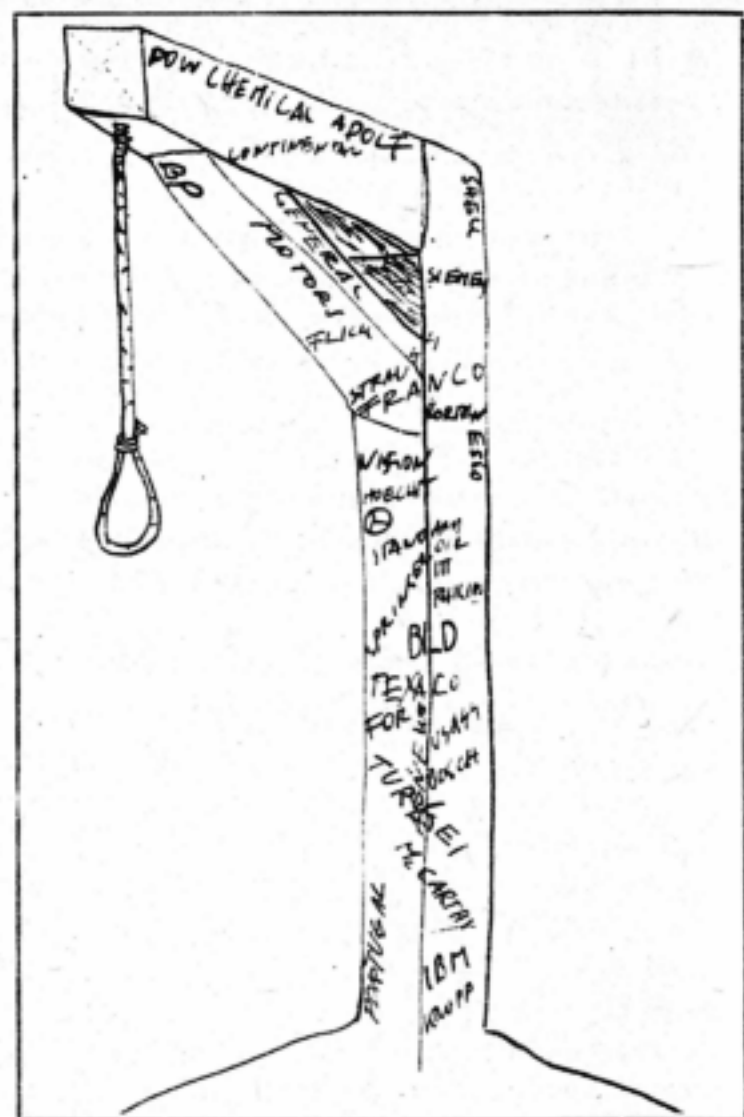
In Britain itself support for African trade unions has been and continues to be organised through the external mission of the liberation movements, SACTU, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and scores of freedom-loving bodies. And the British trade union movement has, by word and deed, in the majority of cases, identified itself with this support, through Congress resolutions, by resolutions and action by many British trade unions and their individual members.

Proposal 5: Another Trade Union

"The ICFTU and the TUC should set up a committee in London to assist the organisation of African workers. The committee should set itself the task of establishing a very sub-



The smiles on these faces are understandable. They have just won a major battle for higher wages and better working conditions



stantial fund – say £100,000 – through appeals directed to trade unions throughout the world, to individuals in Britain, America, Canada, Sweden, W. Germany and other countries, to governments of African countries, and to progressive organisations generally. The intention should be to take practical action, and the committee should aim to raise sufficient funds to help solve organisational problems in South Africa, and also to provide legal defence in case of police repression, to provide strike pay and perhaps to give assistance to workers who are victimised for trade union activity."

Our View

The proposal to set up another committee in London to do exactly what the body set up under the above proposal is to do except for the £100,000 bait, seems in the face of it a very strange proposal to say the least. But when one notes that this Committee is to be set up by the ICFTU and the TUC, as against the "International Trade Union body" it is proposed to set up under proposal 4, the implications become obvious. The TUC representative at the June ILO Conference committed the British trade union movement to the ILO position not only on the South African struggle in general but to the struggle of the Black workers in particular. The British workers should be under no illusion about what this proposal means. If it is accepted and implemented, it will mean repudiating the solemn pledge given to their fellow workers in South Africa in concert with workers throughout the world through the ILO.

British Workers: Act Now

Coming back to our initial question: "What was the object of this exercise?" From the foregoing it is clear that the main object of the

delegation – although we believe some members may have been misled – is to undermine the massive support which the Black workers in South Africa received at the ILO June Conference and the total isolation of the discredited white-oriented and led TUCSA which enjoys the support of some right-wing leaders of the British TUC.

In the light of this divisive move by the TUC delegation to destroy the international unity created, vis a vis the strategy adopted towards the isolation of South Africa, at the ILO Conference, the Report must be seen by British workers for what it is: a retrograde step which can only aid the Vorster regime and the white ruling class in South Africa.

This dishonourable sell-out must not be allowed to succeed. If it does succeed the British Trade Union movement will isolate itself from the world Trade Union Movement.

Happily the record of the British Trade Union movement is such that one can have confidence that the British workers will never stand for this sordid sell out. Those of us who are intimately involved in the struggle for freedom in South Africa have faith in the integrity of the British workers to know that they will not rat on us, nor will they renege on their solemn pledges.

We hope that British workers, and indeed the British Trade Union movement, faced as it is with serious domestic crises will give its fullest attention to the report and reject this obnoxious piece of back-door manoeuvring with the contempt it deserves.

British Workers: Act Now!

Workers of the World: Forward towards the implementation of the 1973 Geneva Resolutions!

(The views expressed here are not necessarily those of SACTU, who at the time of going to press were studying the TUC report).

Africans Organise

Scenes reminiscent of the great influx of Black workers in Natal into the South African Congress of Trade Unions in the fifties are being repeated once again in the Province.

Following the great strikes in the Province during the whole of last year, African trade unionism is snowballing with seven new unions already established and with 20 000 more workers who have enrolled and are awaiting the organisation of unions in their industries.

If the present trend continues, there is no doubt that the 50,000 members enrolled during the fifties by SACTU will easily be surpassed before the end of this year. This phenomenal growth has caused panic among the employers. The management committee of the Natal Employers Association (NEA) has circularised its members with the membership figures "given confidentially to the NEA". The circular states that these figures "suggest that these unions must in the near future represent meaningful or substantial portions of the work force." The circular urges member-firms to urgently advise whether they think the Association should press the government to enact legislation "to control African unions."

Among former SACTU unions that have increased their membership since the strikes are: Textile Workers Union (2800), the Metal and Allied Workers Union (3300), the Furniture and Timber Workers Union (500), the Food and Canning Workers Union (200), the Transport and General Workers Union (350), and the Chemical Workers

Union (500). Among the new unions that have been formed is the Union of Clothing Workers of Natal with a membership of 700.

According to information received by SECHABA over 30 African organisers are in the field and many workers are reported to be prepared to pay as much as R1 a week to become members.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Hotel Workers Strike

Over 8000 hotel employees have won substantial increases in wages following walk-outs by African workers in at least three of the largest hotels in Durban.

Before further threatened walk-outs could be effected, the Hotel Employers Association concluded an agreement with the Liquor and Catering Trade Employees Union. The agreement, details of which have not yet been publicised, covers Durban, Westville and Pinetown. The Union, in a statement, said that it intended to conclude similar agreements with the employers in other areas in Natal.

Before the agreement was reached workers were paid as follows:

Learner waiter: R20 - R29 a month.

Learner stillroom employee: R25 - R35 a month.

Page: R 22 - R26 a month.

Kitchen hand: R 33.42 a month.

In all these categories R4.33 was deducted for board and lodging.

Housemaids received R40 and had R10.62 deducted for board and lodging.

(Note: R1 = approx. 50P.)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Slave Labour

Over 24,000 prisoners (mostly petty pass offenders) are daily made available to work for private individuals, mainly farmers, Government and Provincial departments and local authorities in South Africa.

This system from the medieval past continues despite assurances by the government that prisons are being tailored to rehabilitate prisoners rather than punish them.

This may be true when the authorities deal with white prisoners but in so far as black prisoners are concerned this is most certainly a lie.

Farmers have been encouraged to establish prison outposts in their areas and are allocated numbers of prisoners in proportion to the capital they invest. Other schemes include prisoners who are sent out by the day to work and those who go out on "parole" to live and work on farms.

Because prison labour is available, it serves to keep down the wages of other farm workers. With an assured supply of captive labour there is no incentive for farmers to improve wages and conditions so as to compete with industrial working conditions.

In addition, the existence of prison outposts, in which farmers have invested money, provides them with a vested interest in crime. Those who know the power farmers wield in the rural areas will know it would not be difficult for them to use the police in their areas to keep the prisons filled at all times. This will not be much of a problem in a country such as South Africa which has a myriad of laws under which Africans could be arrested and jailed.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Profits Before Safety

Fifty seven men - all Africans - have died in 15 separate mine accidents during November and December last year. Almost all the accidents have occurred in the gold mines.

The main ones include:

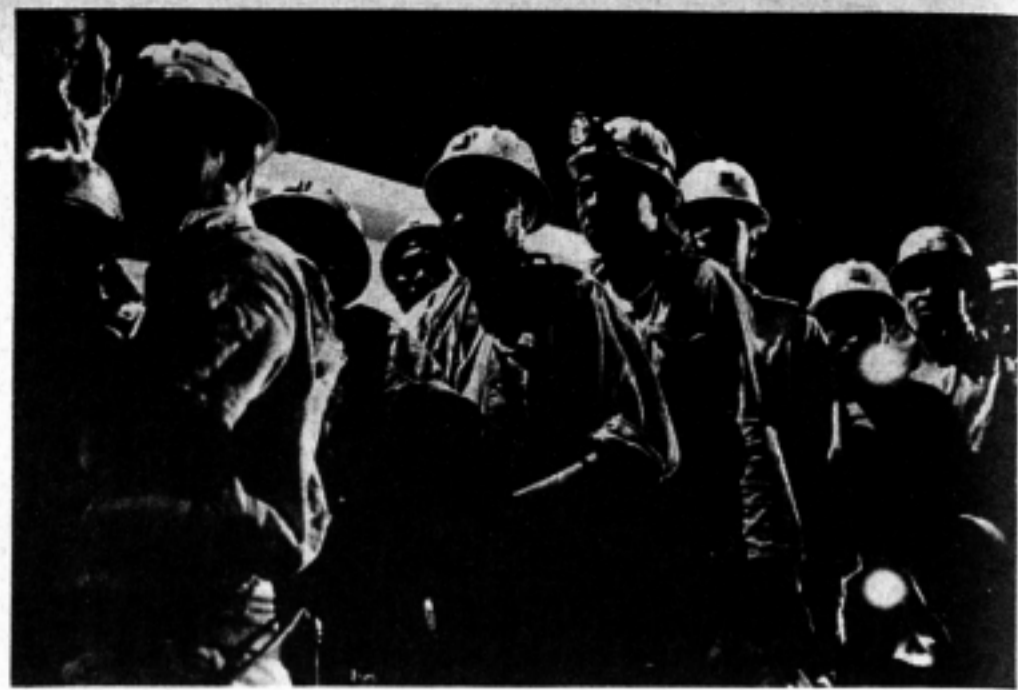
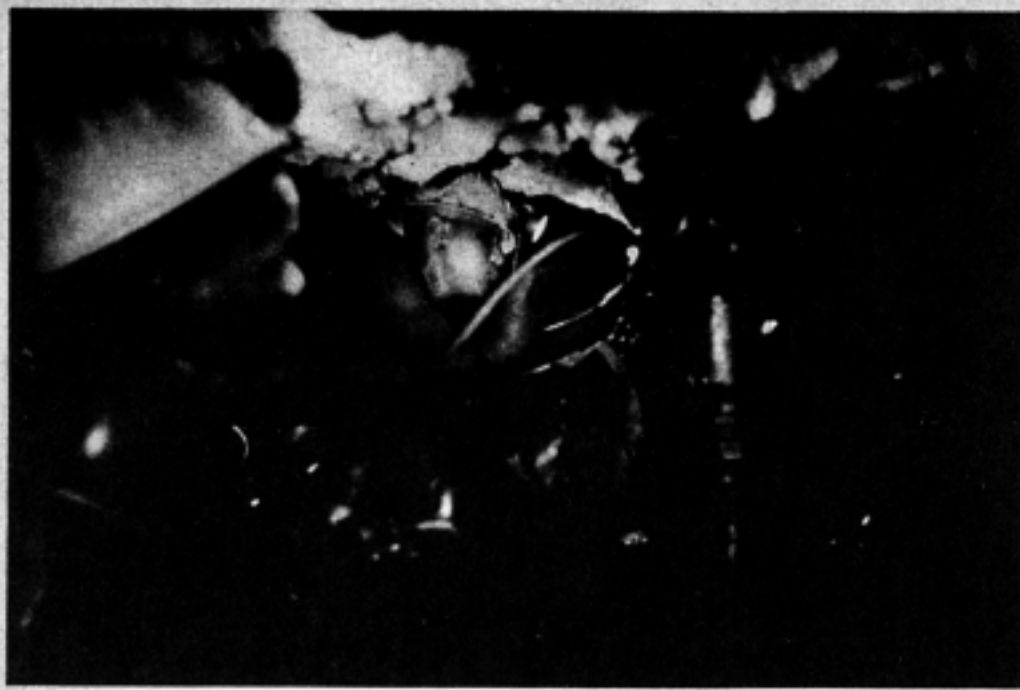
November 3: Seven Africans killed in blast at Prieska Copper Mine, North-West Cape;

November 12: Seven Africans killed in pressure burst at Venterspost gold mine;

November 15: Two Africans killed, one at West Driefontien and another at East Driefontien gold mines;

A SACTU demonstration





Black miners of South Africa – what awaits them down there – death?

December 14: Two Africans killed in a pressure burst at Doornfontien gold mine;

December 19: 18 men killed after rock-fall at Vaal Reefs gold mine.

At an Inquiry held after the Vaal Reefs tragedy the production manager admitted that certain parts of the Reef had been reopened for mining before the accident because of the rise in the price of gold.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

No Bananas

Despite widespread starvation in the Black reserves of South Africa and the ever spiraling cost-of-living five million bananas were destroyed by the Banana Control Board to keep prices high.

The 540 tons of bananas which were ploughed back into the lands in the Tzaneen area could have been a boon to the people living in the so-called Venda homelands which surrounds Tzaneen and where starvation is as rife as in the other African areas.

Despite strenuous efforts by at least two „homelands” and numerous religious and welfare organisations to buy the bananas at a reduced price for distribution among the needy, the Board went ahead with its ghastly plan. The calousness of the whole exercise is seen more starkly when one considers the plea by the Chief Minister for the Ciskei who promised that the bananas would only be distributed in the resettlement areas of Dimbaza, Sada and Illinge where large communities have been dumped with no way to make a living.

“Here, people could not afford bananas, so the Board would not have to worry about the market being affected,” he told the Board.

All to no avail... the bananas were destroyed.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

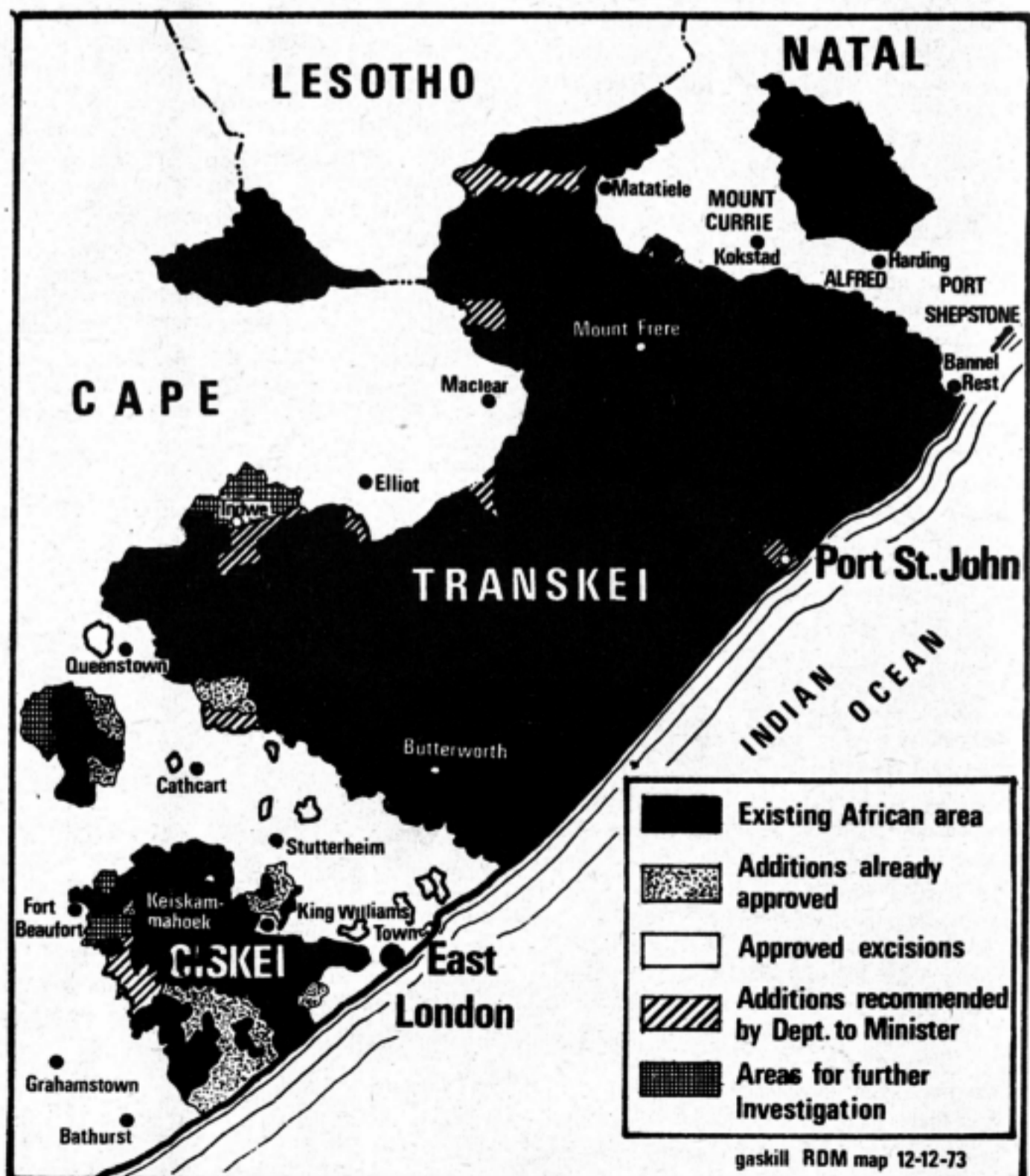
Xhosas Insulted

In reply to a demand by the Transkei Bantustan ‘government’ for a united Xhosa ‘homeland’, incorporating the Transkei, the Ciskei and the White land between them, the Department of Bantu Administration has made proposals which, to say the least, falls far short of the original demand (see map).

All the choice areas still remain in White hands even though they cut across the so-called homeland.

Port St John

Big play has been made by the white press on the proposals (as yet not accepted by the Minister), by the inclusion of Port St John as part of the proposals for inclusion into the homeland. This virtually useless and derelict har-



gaskill RDM map 12-12-73

bour was last used by commercial vessels before the Second World War and is now useless since the mouth of the Umzimvubu River, which runs into it, has silted up.

More than 15 years ago, the South African Railways and Harbours handed over its control to the then Department of Lands because it was "uneconomic".

In 1965 a Government committee considered the possibility of reopening it and, because of its strategic position on the wild Transkei coast, establishing a naval base there.

In 1968 the committee scrapped the plan on the grounds that the limited economic potential did not warrant the massive investment required.

The coastline either side of Port St John is notorious for shipwrecks.

Mr. R. Tickner, local secretary for the Sea Rescue Institute, in a recent statement described the area as "the most dangerous in Southern Africa. The violent swirls and huge waves off Port St John are a constant hazard to ships of all sizes," he said.

In August 1964, the captain of the Edinburgh Castle described how his ship had run into "what appeared to be a great hole near the port."

Philip van der Merwe, writing in the Rand Daily Mail states that the inclusion of Port St John in the Transkei — as recommended by the Department of Bantu Administration — would "be a significant step on the pioneering homeland's road to full independence."

A staff reporter on the same paper a day later added that if the proposals are accepted the Port is "due to become the Transkei's major sea-outlet."

Who are they kidding? Maybe some of the Bantustan leaders; most certainly not the Xhosa people who will rightly come to the conclusion that the whole scheme is a hoax and an insult.

They asked for land to till and house their overpopulated area and all they get is an offer of a derelict and useless port.

Even before the Minister had time to consider the proposals, White residents in Port St John were up in arms. In a statement to a local newspaper, J. E. Harsant, a businessman said: "Dr. Verwoerd promised us that Port St John would never go Black. I am shaken by the news." Other comments were just as strong.

However, the Minister of Bantu Administration, was quick to point out that the proposals by his Department "were tentative and preliminary."

Continuing he added: "I have deemed it advisable to first make these proposals known to the public and to interested parties. This is being done to give interested parties the opportunity to comment on the department's recommendations, before coming to a decision . . .

"It is, therefore, very clearly empha-

sised that this announcement does not represent a decision by me or the Government but merely departmental proposals on which decisions have still to be taken."

How considerate(!) when one sees thousands upon thousands of Black people being uprooted and their homes bulldozed and carted off to make new homes in open, often desert, velds with ever growing frequency, without as much as proper notification and by mere departmental edict.

But of course, when Whites are affected in our bigotted land, elaborate steps must be taken to protect the White master race!

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Swazis Insulted

The Swazi community in South Africa is up in arms over what they consider an insult to them by the Minister of Bantu Affairs, M. C. Botha.

The Swazi Interim Committee representing several Swazi organisations in South Africa had written a letter to the Minister asking him to meet a delegation to discuss the government's consolidation plans for their so-called homeland in the Eastern Transvaal.

The Minister, agreeing to meet a delegation informed the Committee he would meet ten Swazis and insisted on naming the delegation he would be prepared to meet.

Meanwhile the Committee had appointed a fifteen-man delegation in anticipation of the Minister accepting the idea of meeting members of the Committee. Five of the persons listed by the Minister are not even included on the Interim Committee's elected representatives.

The original delegation elected by the Committee comprised of members with differing viewpoints. With the persons suggested by the Minister the delegation is one which will agree to anything the Minister says.

According to Mr. David Lukhele, national organiser of the Swazi National Council, most Swazis were opposed to the government's consolidation plans as these excluded the developed Nsikazi area in the lowveld. They were also not keen on unification with Swaziland at this stage. The delegation as suggested by the Minister however were amenable to both ideas.

At the time of writing the Interim Committee had called a meeting of its members to discuss "this insult" as Mr. Lukhule termed the Minister's dictatorial action.

Once again proof, if proof is still needed, that the Bantustan scheme is a gigantic fraud and that Bantustan leaders who want to work sincerely in the interests of their people even in this limited field are, and will continue to be, hamstrung and insulted by representatives of the central government.

Nothing just can emanate from manifestly unjust law!

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Arthur Ashe: Sell-Out

When Arthur Ashe, the Black U.S. tennis star left Johannesburg after playing before segregated crowds, he was handed a bouquet of flowers from Piet Koornhof, the South African Minister of Sport, obviously for services rendered to the cause of white supremacy.

Mimicking the white South African liberals, Ashe is reported to have said that the time has come for contact with whites in South Africa not isolation. Black sportsmen and administrators are furious at this upstart's advise to those who have to face race discrimination every day of their lives, both on and off the playing fields.

In an angry reference to Ashe's advise, Mr. Abdul Bhamjee, secretary of the non-racial Southern Transvaal Soccer Union addressing a banquet told the guests: "I want to say to foreign sportsmen: If you keep on coming to South Africa we wont get non-racial sport in a hundred years."

He criticised sportsmen like Ashe and the boxer Bob Foster who was also a recent visitor to the country, for appearing before racially segregated crowds.

"They think they are opening avenues for us. I say: no, they are doing far more harm than good." he said.

Dialogue

Mr. Hassan Howa, President of the South African Cricket Board of Control, released details of a discussion he had with Ashe briefly before Ashe left South Africa.

The conversation which was taped went as follows:

"Had you come to South Africa as a tennis player or as a Black tennis player with special treatment," asked Mr. Howa.

Ashe was not prepared to answer, said Mr. Howa.

"You laid down the condition that spectators should be integrated before you played in South Africa. Were they?"

Ashe replied that they were not but players played together and mixed freely.

Howa: "Why did you then come, if spectators were not to be integrated?"

Ashe replied that he was a professional

Howa: "In other words when professionals are IN, principles are OUT?"

Ashe did not reply to this.

Howa: "Was your treatment special?"

Ashe: "Yes."

Howa: "If that is so, I leave it to your conscience whether you should return or not."

THE PEOPLE ARE A POWER

The following is the Presidential address delivered by Mr. C. Sewpersadh, to the Second General Meeting of the Natal Indian Congress. Whilst the views expressed are not necessarily those of the African National Congress we, nevertheless, re-print the address to show the resurgence of political activity inside the country. It must be noted that the address was given at a "legally" constituted public meeting in neo-fascist South Africa. Mr. Sewpersadh has since been banned from belonging to any political organisation.

For the freedom struggle in South Africa to be brought to a victorious ending, it is vital for the Black people to become increasingly conscious of their power. Tremendous exertions have been made by the Government and vast sums of money have been spent on creating the impression that the Government is powerful and that the people are weak. This is not so.

The people are a power. This idea must be central to the freedom struggle. We must understand where this power lies and the attempts that are being made to weaken and break this power. The basis of our strength lies in a full and solid unity among the oppressed people and the indispensable contribution of the Black people to the development of South Africa.

The response by the oppressed people to the long years of merciless exploitation has been the formation of political organisations to restore the Black man's dignity and rights. The determined and sustained efforts to keep the Black people in subjection have failed. The freedom struggle has given birth to political organisations with different policies. This is to be expected in a complex situation. While our policies differ, our goal is the same. All seek a democratic South Africa. Any division among us will retard our onward march to freedom and fortify the hand of the Government.

Differences in policies must not become a bar to cooperation among organisations and individuals striving for a united democratic South Africa. Areas where we can co-operate and take united action must be sought and expanded. In united action lies the source of our power and the material for our triumph over oppression.

Flaunting Military Might

The Government, being fully aware of the power of the people spared no effort in endeavouring to create the impression that the Government is powerful and that the Black people are weak. We must not be so foolish as to

think that the Government is not powerful. We must never underestimate its strength. What we have to do is to realise that the masses of the oppressed people are also a power. We must resist and counter-act attempts by the Government to spread fear among the people. The strength of the Government rests to a great degree on this fear.

There is fear of the ruling class, the army, the widespread security policy and laws aimed at suppressing and imprisoning people. Fear builds its own phantoms which are more fearsome than reality itself, and reality when calmly analysed and its consequences willingly accepted loses much of its terror. By the flaunting of its military might, and by the widespread activity of the security police the Government is making a deliberate attempt to spread fear among the people and thereby keep them in submission. The reality is that there is no need to be afraid.

This does not mean that we must become reckless. All it means is that we must try to understand this fear and see if it can be overcome. If all of us were to be afraid of this Government, and its power it would mean one thing and one thing only – perpetual servitude. This we cannot accept.

This fear of a criminal regime that is stifling our progress can be overcome. It will be overcome if we become conscious of the power that lies in the unity of the Black people. Moreover, if we plunge ourselves heart and soul into the freedom struggle we will be assisted by a very great power, the very logic of evolution itself.

Being conscious of our power will open the way for bold united action on a massive scale. The success of a freedom struggle depends upon the entrance of the masses into the realm of rulership over their destiny.

In ordinary times the State elevates itself above the nation and history is made by a few people at the helm of affairs. The rulers make political calculations with no regard to the real Master – who in South Africa are the oppressed people. But as the people become aware of their power they sound the alarm that they are no lon-

ger prepared to tolerate the existing order.

Lit A Flame

Events over the past years have been a clear demonstration of the massive discontent against the existing order. The students at the Black Universities have expressed their feelings in action that is far more eloquent than words; the wave of industrial unrest expressing itself in demands for higher wages and the increasing pressure for non-racial sport are all eloquent expressions that the oppressed people have had enough of the existing order and that their opposition will increase both in scale and intensity if no heed is paid to their demands.

A feature to note in the various forms of action that are being taken to express the desire of the people for a change of the existing order, is the lack of co-ordination in the different forms of activities.

The action of the students in 1972 has lit a flame that will glow brightly in the heart of the freedom struggle for many years to come. They demonstrated, to those people to whom such demonstration is necessary, that they will not be cowed into accepting rules and regulations that are a negation of the underlying concept of education.

Their action was also a total rejection of the concept of separate universities. It is clear to the students that separate universities are part of the diabolical

Happy reunion outside the prison gates – Dr. Yusuf Dadoo with his daughter after serving a prison term in the Passive Resistance Campaign in 1946





Dr. G. M. Naicker - banned President of the Natal Indian Congress

and inhumane plan to divide the Black people.

A university is a place where people are educated. In all civilized societies education incorporates the concept of the universality of man; it is an institution where people of different races, nations, and cultures are brought together in the spirit of a common humanity.

The action of the students also demonstrated, again I say to those people to whom such demonstration is necessary, that the Black students do not want to be torn away from the civilized and long tested method of education.

The students want to be educated at a university open to all races. They have the support of all the oppressed people and democrats throughout the country. The rulers of this land can give no reason why their demands should not be met; they think that by their military strength they will always impose their will on the students and on the people. They are wrong - as the freedom struggle will in due course show.

Trade Union Rights

The workers, when they took action for higher wages also had the support of the people. The workers showed that they are a reality and a fact; they are not a theory for manipulation by others. The days when their wants could be ignored are over. They want higher wages and they want the right to form registered trade unions.

The naked and cruel discrimination against African workers by denying them the right to form registered trade unions should be removed.

Trade unions are vital to the workers. The denial of trade union rights is a denial to the worker of his right to get a fair return for his labour. The workers will never be satisfied until they get what is their due. This means, among other things the rights of all Black workers to form trade unions and the right to share in the control of those trade unions.

While the hearts of all the oppressed people were with the workers and the students in their struggle, that support was not translated into action. Political organisations must direct themselves to co-ordinating the different facets of South African society labouring for liberation. The struggle of the workers, students and the sportsmen and the struggle of all other sections of the oppressed people should be linked as part of the liberation struggle as a whole. The demands of one section should be given concrete support by the others.

The deep-rooted desire of the Natal Indian Congress for the unity among the oppressed peoples is expressed very clearly in our policy of non-racialism. We have always been prepared, and we shall always be prepared, to co-operate with all organisations and individuals striving for a democratic South Africa. Basically democracy has two sides to it. It is a political arrangement and it has economic aspects.

As a political arrangement our policy is that of adult suffrage. Any individual who is of a particular age, whatever be his literary qualifications, privileges, or property should have the vote. One person one vote - we thus affirm the equality of all human beings. Democracy cuts across the differences of class, caste, race and religion; whatever these differences may be they are irrelevant to the sanctity, the dignity of man as man. We should respect the human individual for his human nature. Each human being is a candidate for the highest life.

Equal Opportunities

As an economic approach the aim of democracy is to end poverty and to give all men equal opportunities for expressing whatever possibilities they have. No man who feels for his country can feel happy or complacent when he looks at the tremendous poverty of millions of people. This is a challenge to us all. We must combat and abolish this poverty and share the wealth of our country on an equitable basis if our country is to be called democratic.

The present regime in South Africa which has made a temple of the concept of injustice, has amply demonstrated its unwillingness, to grant the Black people what is their due. The Natal Indian Congress has no alternative but to continue with its struggle against the hideous injustice of a soulless regime.

We have no doubt that our method of non-violent resistance to all forms of evil, will in the end, bring us the victory for which so much sacrifice has been made by thousands of people dedicated to democracy - both black and white. We shall not weary of the struggle, nor falter or flinch along the long road.

We have faith in ourselves because we have faith in man.

Mass meeting at the Red-Square in Durban to welcome resisters from prison





ITALIAN CAMPAIGN AGAIN

With the setting up of an office of the African National Congress in Rome early last year, the growth of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Italy has been phenomenal.

Whereas in the past small groups in many parts of Italy took up the issue of apartheid, today these have been consolidated into a powerful liberation support movement – the "Movimento Liberazione e Sviluppo".

The campaign against apartheid was launched on May 1 last year at a mammoth meeting held at Milan's Piazza Duomo, where over 100,000 workers heard Comrade Zola Ntambo, a representative of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, explain what apartheid meant to the people of South Africa and the conditions under which the Black working class were living and working.

On this occasion the "Movimento Liberazione e Sviluppo" published and distributed two documents: the first, about apartheid, repression and torture in South Africa and the second, on the role of the Cunene and Cabora Bassa dams in the strategy of expansion of South Africa in Southern Africa. In the meantime a campaign was launched for the mobilization of the Italian workers for the release of political prisoners in South Africa, and a collection of signatures was started, to be delivered, together with a document of protest, to South Africa's Embassy in Rome.

The campaign went on until the observance of South Africa's Freedom Day – June 26. A mass meeting was held on June 25 in Milan at which the main speaker was the Mayor Mr. Aldo Aniasi. On June 26 in Rome another meeting was held and representatives of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), the Italian Socialist Party (PSI), the Trade Unions and several other democratic and progressive forces, participated. At both meetings Antonio Ngalo, the ANC's representative in Italy and other speakers stressed the necessity to organise a wide movement of solidarity with the struggle of the South African people.

The speakers also denounced the complicity of the Italian Government and its military, economic and diplomatic support to the fascist regime of Pretoria, and demanded that the Italian Government change its policy towards South Africa and support the freedom movement in the country. According to a representative of the Movimento Liberazione e Sviluppo, Comrade Enrico Dodi, an exhibition describing apartheid was also held.

"We hope to develop the campaign against the racist regime in South Africa even further in the coming months and hope to rally massive support for the struggle led by the African National Congress against fascism and racism and for full democratic rights for all in South Africa", added Comrade Dodi.

Another view of the Freedom Day





Mr. Ntambo of ANC addressing the public during a meeting at the Milan Trade Union Office. On his left Mr. N'galo on his right two representatives of "Liberazione e Sviluppo" (extreme left)



The celebration of S. Africa's Freedom Day (June 26) in Milan (left and right)

ST APARTHEID

meeting



The entrance to the hall with posters on Life Under Apartheid



Sechaba interviews Abdul Minty, of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, London, on the proposed campaign by the movement and its policy of . . .

NO COLLABORATION WITH APARTHEID



Sechaba: Could you give us an idea of how governments are reacting to this idea of no collaboration with South Africa and where they are currently situated with respect to South Africa?

Minty: The boycott policy is almost ten years old and one of the remarkable features of modern day international relations is that whilst at the United Nations the resolutions on boycott have drawn increased majorities in their support, at the same time South Africa has never enjoyed as much international trade with as many countries as it does today. The major collaborating countries are the Western countries, Britain, the US, Western Europe and to them have been added new countries such as Japan, Persia, some South American countries - South Africa is encouraging the establishment of links with countries in the third world as a kind of re-insurance policy, not just for the economic benefits it brings but also to draw onto its side people in the non-aligned world.

Sechaba: How is your call for non-collaboration with South Africa going to be viewed by these governments?

The Effects of the Boycott

Minty: These governments often declare themselves against South Africa and indeed say that they will not support the regime. For example the Japanese government insists that it will

not invest in South Africa, it will simply trade. And I would suggest that if there hadn't been this international demand for a boycott of South Africa the Japanese government wouldn't have felt inhibited in terms of investing. Secondly there are a number of other situations: for example West Germany, a new recruit to the United Nations, was involved heavily in the Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique. With a great deal of West German and French capital South Africa was able to get Europe involved in the conflict in Mozambique. Pressures were applied on the Bonn government not to give financial credit guarantees to a company that was going into Namibia with Rio Tinto Zinc to exploit uranium. This has meant that that company has not been able to secure credit from the banks themselves. The best I think one can claim on a long-term basis is that if it had not been for the Movement's demands South Africa would today be enjoying very many more links. I don't think it is possible to expect the major Western countries which have heavy investments and draw huge dividends from South Africa to reverse their policies. But future action lies with people and organisations in these countries rather than directly with the Governments.

Effects of Wider Economic Developments

I should add that we can't divorce investment policies from other developments over which there doesn't seem

to be very much control. For example the fact that the price of gold has increased phenomenally in the last year or so has given South Africa a great boost. It doesn't need to raise money on the foreign exchange market any more. But in 1970-71 when South Africa was trying to raise foreign exchange the South African financial press indicated that it was more difficult to obtain money for South African government projects than it was for companies operating there. And that both these groups found it more difficult because of the controversy surrounding the question of investments. The greatest boost there has not been our campaigns as much as the decision of the World Council of Churches to withdraw its investments and that has given a lead and created controversy.

Sechaba: A non-Governmental body?

Minty: Yes. I think this is really the key. In the future, as in the past, it is non-governmental organisations that are going to be far more effective than certain governments in putting pressure both on a government directly and indirectly in the case of sports tours and so on. It is non-governmental action that in fact either forces a government to stop a sports tour or indeed forces the sports bodies to cancel it.

The Weaker Links

Sechaba: Are there any governments who are a weak link in this collaboration process?

Minty: Again it is a question of levels and issues. For example, on the arms boycott, the strong countries, there are Britain which still breaks the boycott but is stronger than France and Italy who supply South Africa with weapons. Canada is very firm and the United States is also imposing a partial boycott. So the experience of the arms boycott has been that over the years it has been eroded rather than strengthened. But a great deal at that level depends on the diplomatic efforts of the African and Asian countries. If they were more diligent and prepared to work hard, united pressure could be put on these metropolitan countries which, I suspect, would be far more effective. But it is extremely difficult to organise sixty or seventy countries into joint action.

The Organisation of African Unity

Schaba: And how helpful and committed is the OAU in this respect?

Minty: Irrespective of the Southern African conflict the OAU is a highly successful regional organisation. There is slight confusion in that on Southern Africa the OAU considers that action should be taken through the United Nations and to this extent limits its area of operation. Regularly resolutions at the OAU say that the Africa Group at the UN should take up issue X or Y. So much more reliance is put on the United Nations than on the OAU. Then there is the whole question of support for the liberation movements. At their early stage of struggle it was very important for them to get political support for their struggle, and later of course financial assistance. Perhaps they are not putting as much money and assistance as they ought to but the movement is in the right direction.

There are of course some members of the OAU who continue to increase links with South Africa. Some of these were encouraging a dialogue with South Africa a few years ago. Though the dialogue initiative at the political level is now dead, particularly after the last summit meeting in May 1973, this does not mean there aren't any countries in Africa that are establishing links. Indeed the "dialogue" countries are establishing more links with South Africa and consolidating that relationship. South Africa is posing these countries with a very difficult alternative in economic terms. They are all poor countries. I understand now that if a car manufactured in South Africa is made available to them it costs something like £500 or £600 cheaper than the same car coming from this country. Faced with these alternatives under-developed countries who have balance of payments problems and so on have to make real

decisions. So for them to boycott South Africa and maintain isolation reflects a very high degree of commitment, far higher than Britain.

But at the OAU one doesn't need to do a great deal of lobbying work because the policies on the whole are agreed by the African governments. The problem there is carrying the policies out. The second problem is that these countries are weak, they do not have the economic power that many major European countries have and therefore there is a limit to the kind of influence they can exert on other Western countries.

The Commonwealth

Apart from the OAU our most successful experience has been at Commonwealth level. Our first success at isolation was getting South Africa excluded from the Commonwealth and

this resulted in our developing very close relationships with Commonwealth Governments. Although its not always on South Africa, sometimes it's on Rhodesia, or at the last conference on the Portuguese territories, we are able to put our views to them.

Schaba: Why do you think that South Africa fears international isolation so much?

Minty: Probably because its is so highly dependent on international trade and support.

Vested Interests

The major Western powers from time to time say to lobbyists that they cannot take a more positive position with regard to South Africa and the violation of human rights because of their vested interests; or because of South Africa's particular economic and mili-

Protest demonstration in London against the Carltonville shootings



tary position it is impossible to enforce international sanctions on the issue of Rhodesia. When it comes to a choice between human rights, carrying out United Nations obligations and an international mandatory programme on the one side and on the other the interests that are involved in South Africa, then the choice is always these interests.

Sechaba: Can you be more specific about how these Western powers are behaving in relation to the collaboration issue?

The Strength of Internal Pressures

Minty: Each of the countries behaves in terms of its own links with South Africa and also the level of public consciousness on this subject. For example, in France where there is very little internal controversy on the supply of arms to South Africa, the Government is

able to supply almost all the arms South Africa requires. And the only point of pressure that is exercised against France is diplomatic pressure at the United Nations and elsewhere. Britain is in a different situation, partly due to a much more politicized domestic opinion where the Labour Movement, liberals and the churches have opposed the supply of arms to South Africa, the domestic pressures have coincided with the international pressure and have resulted in Britain taking a more enlightened policy if only marginally, though the margin is important. Then there are another group of relatively minor countries such as Belgium and Holland, but quite important in their links with South Africa, and they are taking a more positive position now partly due to domestic pressure. West Germany is in a unique position because of the problem of two Germanys, because it has a great deal of investment and trade with the rest of independent Africa and it doesn't wish to have an international reputa-

tion which seems to be in alliance with racism. And therefore it is particularly sensitive to international public opinion. It also has a great many domestic groups protesting about its links with South Africa. In Scandinavia the anti-apartheid movements which were set up in the early 1960s have virtually disappeared in the sense that the governments of those countries are now adopting more or less anti-apartheid positions and they are first to support the liberation movements by giving them material assistance.

The "Neutral" Swiss

Then there is a country like Switzerland which is normally considered to be a neutral country but in fact its financial links with South Africa are very important. South Africa is the third or fourth highest investor in terms of the flow of capital via Switzerland and the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Switzerland has compiled and published a book on this. So Switzerland is a major collaborator with South Africa but does not get as much attention as other countries as it is not thought of as partisan. The United States has many investments in South Africa and on the military front there is a great deal more open activity in the form of conferences about collaboration over the sea route, extending the NATO area to Southern Africa. But the pressure at that level is partly the US world role. It has to be careful about its relationships with South Africa because it is an international issue and secondly it has a very big black population and that is an obvious pressure point.

Sechaba: So it seems that each country has its own focal point in relation to South Africa. Or would you say that there is any particular aspect concerning South Africa that makes them all move to some degree of opposition?

A General Move to Opposition

Minty: I think they have all moved to a degree of opposition on the policy issue. Up to 1959-60 almost all these countries talked about South Africa or apartheid as a domestic issue. But now, partly because of African decolonisation and the changed values in the world, but mainly due to the debate about apartheid internationally, every spokesman at the United Nations and elsewhere first declares himself against apartheid.

Sechaba: On what grounds?

Minty: Simply, they say, it is morally indefensible. They also agree that it is the most sophisticated and vicious form of modern tyranny that exists anywhere. Most of them are also agreed, including the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, that it is perhaps the most explosive situation in the world.

Reg September (of ANC) and Abdul Minty (extreme left) were amongst those who took part in the demonstrations against the shooting of innocent miners



Why South Africa is Special

Sechaba: But there are many areas of the world where on moral grounds one could find a great deal to object to and yet the world has not taken up such a strong stand in relation to them. So is not the South African case rather special and what makes it special?

Minty: South Africa is a special form of tyranny. Racism is so deeply ingrained. And it is a superexploitative system where even the basic considerations of family life, human rights are trampled upon. South Africa in many ways remains an historically abnormal situation, with most of Africa now decolonized a kind of sore thumb. To that extent the South African conflict is probably the only one which has so many international repercussions and this is partly due to the fact that it has so many international links. There is no other situation in which international links with a country help to sustain one particular section of the population in power as it does in South Africa. And this division is rather stark and clear, so that all the bridges that cross to the white side, to meet white needs and not black needs. And this is being increasingly appreciated outside.

Sechaba: How do you see the no collaboration campaign unfolding at the popular level?

The Consumer Boycott

Minty: This particular campaign is going to concentrate on a consumer boycott of South Africa once again because we feel that ordinary people can take direct action in that field and refuse to buy South African goods. What we are really concerned with is getting across a policy of disengagement from South Africa. People will refuse to buy South African goods but they will also make sure that in their canteens and refectories where they work or study there will be no South African goods. We will ask local authorities to ensure that in the feeding schemes for their schools and hospitals the contractors are obliged not to provide South African goods. Many have already supported this. In addition we will ask individuals not to emigrate to South Africa because this is the most direct form of support South Africa is getting. Then there will be side aspects but quite important ones: a medical boycott, an academic boycott, a cultural boycott. These campaigns will depend on the kind of support we get within professions in these categories, the architects and so on. But we expect everything to focus around the consumer boycott. And the strength of this boycott movement will be an indicator both to the government in Britain, to people in Africa and the world, of the strength of support for the policy of disengagement.



One of the many demos by British AAM in London



Sharpeville Day demonstration - March 21 1973 - outside SA Ambassador's residence in London

Sechaba: When you say to someone "Don't buy a particular commodity" how do you raise this beyond the level of a gesture?

More than a Gesture

Minty: It is very difficult. When you refuse to buy an orange or an item of food you don't see it as meaningful, particularly for those who have been doing it for 10 or 12 years who

don't see any significant change. I would say to them that one indicator of our success is the great deal of advertising that South African fruit importers engage in. Secondly that they try to deceive the public by not labelling fruits as South African. And by refusing to buy one particular item of fruit one is registering support for a total boycott. It has a number of side effects too in that in Europe and Britain now there is more racism developing and this kind of activity on the side of

justice and against racism is also a demonstration to the minority racial groups in Britain that large sections of the British public support justice for human beings. So it is a total operation in the context of Southern Africa but also in terms of domestic reform.

The People Back the Boycott

The central issue in this situations is that the people who are suffering apartheid have asked the rest of the world to impose a boycott against South Africa. They consider this kind of action to be meaningful and to assist their struggle, they called for it in 1958-59 with the famous appeal of Chief Lutuli and other leaders in South Africa. So I think this is a central difference from other situations that are also morally disapproved of by the rest of the world.

Sechaba: Would you say then that any act of boycott has side effects which can stimulate non-collaboration in very important areas.



AAM demonstration against apartheid rugby tour

Australia Joins the Ranks

Minty: Indeed, sometimes in absolutely crucial areas. In Australia and New Zealand we had the boycott campaign develop into a campaign against the sports tour. That created a fierce political controversy in which political parties and trade unions were engaged. And when Labour Governments were returned to power this influenced their foreign policies. So we had a situation where two countries who were very direct collaborators and supporters of South Africa at the UN and the Commonwealth virtually reversed their position. And this arose as a result of national campaigns carried out in their countries. It also made a large number of young Australians and people in the churches aware of the conditions of the Aborigine people there.

On the Sports Front

Sechaba: It has been quite exciting to see the various *volte faces* by sports organisations in South Africa in trying to present a better image to the world. What are the consequences of this and what is the attitude of Anti-Apartheid?

Minty: It's a *volte face* in a sense for the whites but not for the blacks. What they've done is to refine apartheid. Many people have suggested that as a result of these changes in certain sectors of sport we ought now to stop the sports boycott and indeed confer on South Africa international legitimacy and bring them back into the fold. But in fact the boycotts are not designed just to produce minor concessions or reforms within the white

community. They are a demand that unless that particular area of activity has complete non-racialism there should be no collaboration with it. And so-called concessions still involve a very high degree of racism. For example a black athlete still can't compete with a white athlete on the same track and be timed and then be selected for international competitions.

On the Economic Front

Others suggest changes on the economic level and this is a much more important argument: that since Britain and other countries have so many investments there they ought to use them for so-called positive change. That it is impossible to expect businessmen to withdraw their investments, so that our policy is not realistic. Well our response is that we are not trying to be realistic for businessmen because the most attractive feature for them is the high profits that the South African economy provides for them and unless we are able to provide them with another society where they are able to get profits which are even bigger than South Africa they are not likely to move out. So we are not attempting to be practical at the boardroom level. But we are creating controversy among shareholders and we are saying that they are not only profiteering from the apartheid system but directly helping it. We feel that every pound that is invested in South Africa sets up a whole set of relationships. Skills are imported to develop that industry, the technology is improved and this benefits the South African system. With

computers, for example, ICL has sold these to the South African government and they are being used to control the African population. There are now 10 million thumbprints on a computer. And this reduces the cost of the coercive machinery of the state. South African industry is highly prosperous and contributes high taxes to the South African government and it utilizes its state revenue to keep going an extensive coercive machinery stretching from the civil servant involved in controlling the movement of every African worker, to the purchase of aircraft and other sophisticated forms of defence equipment.

South Africa's Super Profits

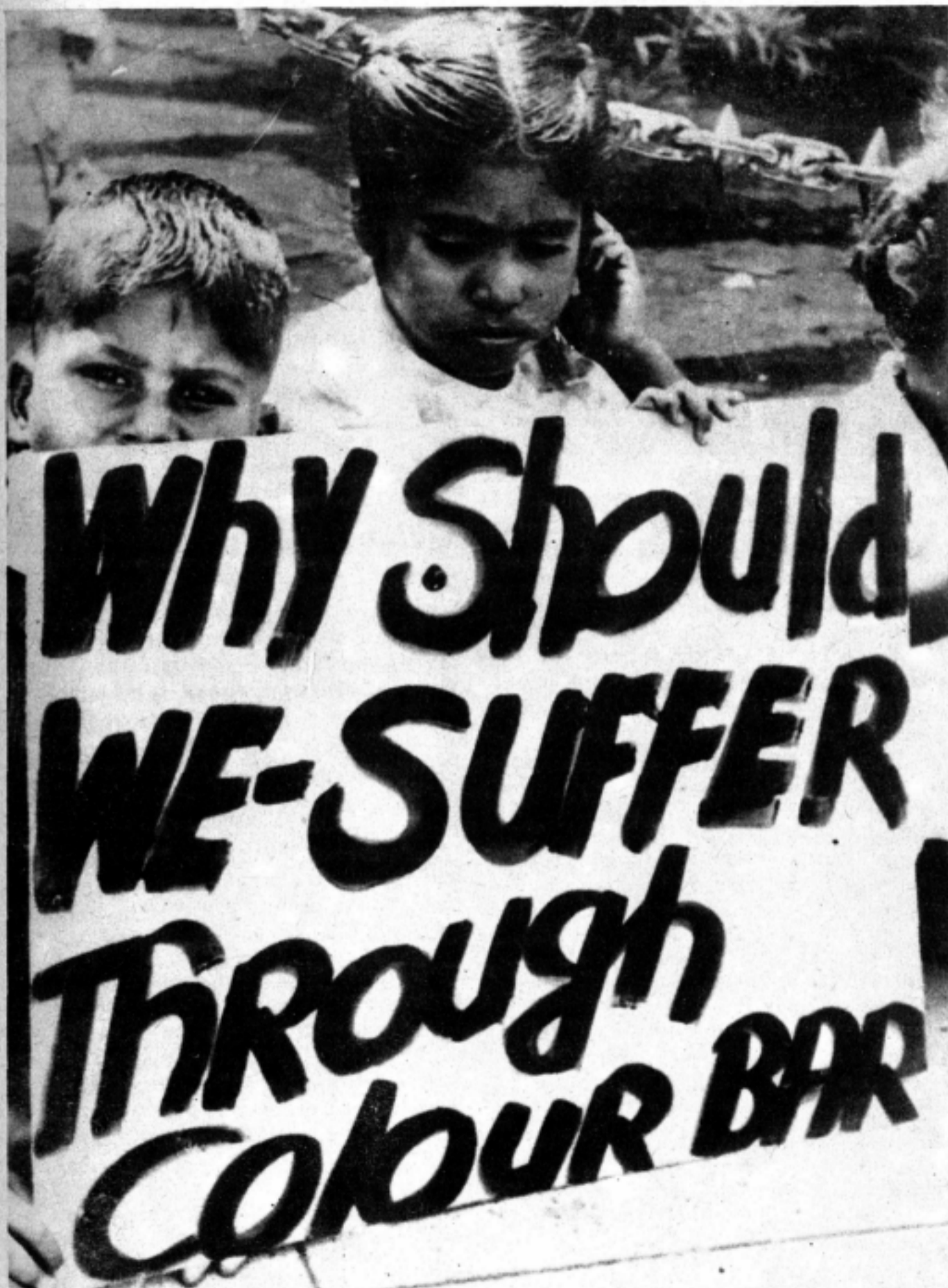
Sechaba: So every act of investment is stimulating the economy and enabling the State to siphon off taxes used in turn to strengthen it and maintain a cheap labour system.

Minty: It is not like in any other societies where this happens. But because the profits are super profits - the amount of resources they are able to generate as a result of international trade is considerable. If we refuse to buy a South African orange we are saying "No! We are not going to provide you with the foreign exchange to buy bullets or guns, build more prisons etc." In that sense it is a positive act of refusing to collaborate with this kind of repressive system. Every individual has an opportunity to act against apartheid, not only as a consumer but in their own professional area or other areas where they will find links with South Africa.

United Nations declares...



APARTHEID A CRIME



The 28th Session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution in support of an **International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid**

The resolution **Recalling** resolution 2922 (XXVII) of 15 November 1972, in which it reaffirmed its conviction that **apartheid** constitutes a total negation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and is a crime against humanity, and **Recognizing** the urgent need to take further effective measures with a view to the suppression and punishment of **apartheid**.

1. **Adopted** and opened for signature and ratification the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of **Apartheid**,
2. **Appealed** to all States to sign and ratify the Convention as soon as possible;

3. **Requested** all Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to acquaint the public as widely as possible with the text of the Convention using all the information media at their disposal;

4. **Requested** the Secretary-General to ensure the urgent and wide dissemination of the Convention, and, for that purpose, to publish and circulate its text;

5. **Requested** the Economic and Social Council to invite the Commission on Human Rights to undertake the functions set out under article X of the Convention

The full text of the **International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid** states . . .

The States Parties to the present Convention,

Recalling the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, in which all Members pledged themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Considering the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour or national origin,

Considering the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, (a) in which the General Assembly stated that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in the interests of human dignity, progress and justice, an end must be put to colonialism and

all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith,
Observing that, in the Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, (c) certain acts which may also be qualified as acts of **apartheid** constitute a crime under international law,

Observing that, in the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, (d) "inhuman acts resulting from the policy of **apartheid**" are qualified as crimes against humanity.

Observing that the General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted a number of resolutions in which the policies and practices of **apartheid** are condemned as a crime against humanity,

Observing that the Security Council has emphasized that **apartheid**, its continued intensification and expansion, seriously disturbs and threatens international peace and security,

Convinced that an International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of **Apartheid** would make it possible to take more effective measures at the international and national levels with a view to the suppression and punishment of the crime of **apartheid**,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

1. The States Parties to the present Convention declare that **apartheid** is a crime against humanity and that inhuman acts resulting from the policies and practices of **apartheid** and similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination, as defined in article II of the Convention, are crimes violating the principles of International Law, in particular the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and constituting a serious threat to international peace and security.

2. The States Parties to the present Convention declare criminal those organizations, institutions and individuals committing the crime of **apartheid**.

ARTICLE II

For the purpose of the present Convention, the term "the crime of **apartheid**", which shall include similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination as practised in Southern Africa, shall apply to the following inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them:

(a) Denial to a member of members of

a racial group or groups of the right to life and liberty of person:

(i) By murder of members of a racial group or groups;

(ii) By the infliction upon the members of a racial group or groups of serious bodily or mental harm by the infringement of their freedom or dignity, or by subjecting them to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;

(iii) By arbitrary arrest and illegal imprisonment of the members of a racial group or groups;

(b) Deliberate imposition on a racial group or groups of living conditions calculated to cause its or their physical destruction in whole or in part;

(c) Any legislative measures and other measures calculated to prevent a racial group or groups from participation in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country and the deliberate creation of conditions preventing the full development of such a group or groups, in particular by denying to members of a racial group or groups basic human rights and freedoms, including the right to work, the right to form recognized trade unions, the right to education, the right to leave and to return to their country, the right to a nationality, the right to freedom of movement and residence, the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association;

(d) Any measures, including legislative measures, designed to divide the population along racial lines by the creation of separate reserves and ghettos for the members of a racial group or groups, the prohibition of mixed marriages among members of various racial groups, the expropriation of landed property belonging to a racial group or groups or to members thereof;

(e) Exploitation of the labour of the members of a racial group or groups, in particular by submitting them to forced labour;

(f) Persecution of organizations and persons, by depriving them of fundamental rights and freedoms, because they oppose **apartheid**.

ARTICLE III

International criminal responsibility shall apply, irrespective of the motive involved, to individuals, members of organizations and institutions and representatives of the State, whether residing in the territory of the State in which the acts are perpetrated or in some other State, whenever they:

(a) Commit, participate in, directly incite or conspire in the commission of the acts mentioned in article II of the present Convention;

(b) Directly abet, encourage or co-

operate in the commission of the acts mentioned in article II of the present Convention;

(b) Directly abet, encourage or co-operate in the commission of the crime of **apartheid**.

ARTICLE IV

The States Parties to the present Convention undertake:

(a) To adopt any legislative or other measures necessary to suppress as well as to prevent any encouragement of the crime of **apartheid** and similar segregationist policies or their manifestation and to punish persons guilty of that crime;

(b) To adopt legislative, judicial and administrative measures to prosecute, bring to trial and punish in accordance with their jurisdiction persons responsible for, or accused of, the acts defined in article II of the present Convention, whether or not such persons reside in the territory of the State in which the acts are committed or are nationals of that State or of some other State or are stateless persons.

ARTICLE V

Persons charged with the acts enumerated in article II of the present Convention may be tried by a competent tribunal of any State Party to the Convention which may acquire jurisdiction over the person of the accused or by an international penal tribunal having jurisdiction with respect to those States Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

ARTICLE VI

The States Parties to the present Convention undertake to accept and carry out in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations the decisions taken by the Security Council aimed at the prevention, suppression and punishment of the crime of **apartheid**, and to co-operate in the implementation of decisions adopted by other competent organs of the United Nations with a view to achieving the purposes of the Convention.

ARTICLE VII

1. The States Parties to the present Convention undertake to submit periodic reports to the group established under article IX on the legislative, judicial, administrative or other measures that they have adopted and that give effect to the provisions of the Convention.

2. Copies of the reports shall be transmitted through the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Special Committee on **Apartheid**.

ARTICLE VIII

Any State Party to the present Convention may call upon any competent organ of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as it considers appropriate for the prevention and suppression of the crime of *apartheid*.

ARTICLE IX

1. The Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights shall appoint a group consisting of three members of the Commission on Human Rights, who are also representatives of States Parties to the present Convention, to consider reports submitted by States Parties in accordance with article VII.

2. If, among the members of the Commission on Human Rights, there are no representatives of States Parties to the present Convention or if there are fewer than three such representatives, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall, after consulting all States Parties to the Convention, designate a representative of the State Party or representatives of the States Parties which are not members of the Commission on Human Rights to take part in the work of the group established in accordance with paragraph 1 of this article, until such time as representatives of the States Parties to the Convention are elected to the Commission on Human Rights.

3. The group may meet for a period of not more than five days, either before the opening or after the closing of the session of the Commission on Human Rights, to consider the reports submitted in accordance with article VII.

ARTICLE X

1. The States Parties to the present Convention empower the Commission on Human Rights:

(a) To request United Nations organs, when transmitting copies of petitions under article 15 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, to draw its attention to complaints concerning acts which are enumerated in article II of the present Convention;

(b) To prepare, on the basis of reports from competent organs of the United Nations and periodic reports from States Parties to the present Convention, a list of individuals, organizations, institutions and representatives of States which are alleged to be responsible for the crimes enumerated in article II of the Convention, as well as those against whom legal proceedings have been undertaken by States Parties to the Convention;

(c) To request information from the competent United Nations organs concerning measures taken by the

authorities responsible for the administration of Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories, and all other Territories to which General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 applies, with regard to such individuals alleged to be responsible for crimes under article II of the Convention who are believed to be under their territorial and administrative jurisdiction.

2. Pending the achievement of the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the provisions of the present Convention shall in no way limit the right of petition granted to those peoples by other international instruments or by the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

ARTICLE XI

1. Acts enumerated in article II of the present Convention shall not be considered political crimes for the purpose of extradition.

2. The States Parties to the present Convention undertake in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their legislation and with the treaties in force.

ARTICLE XII

Disputes between States Parties arising out of the interpretation, application or implementation of the present Convention which have not been settled by negotiation shall, at the request of the States Parties to the dispute be brought before the International Court of Justice, save where the parties to the dispute have agreed on some other form of settlement.

ARTICLE XIII

The present Convention is open for signature by all States. Any State which does not sign the Convention before its entry into force may accede to it.

ARTICLE XIV

1. The present Convention is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

2. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

ARTICLE XV

1. The present Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of the deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

2. For each State ratifying the present Convention or acceding to it after the deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or instrument of accession, the Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of the deposit of its own instrument of ratification or instrument of accession.

ARTICLE XVI

A State Party may denounce the present Convention by written notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Denunciation shall take effect one year after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary-General.

ARTICLE XVII

1. A request for the revision of this Convention may be made at any time by any State Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

2. The General Assembly of the United Nations shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such a request.

ARTICLE XVIII

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall inform all States of the following particulars:

- (a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions under articles XIII and XIV;
- (b) The date of entry into force of the present Convention under article XV;
- (c) Denunciations under article XVI;
- (d) Notifications under article XVII.

ARTICLE XIX

1. The present Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit certified copies of the present Convention to all States.

URGE ACTION

While the majority of the member-States at the United Nations have already indicated their support for the Convention, several countries, notably the United States and Britain have indicated their opposition to the provisions in the document.

The African National Congress calls on its many supporters throughout the world, to urge their respective governments not only to ratify the above Convention but to actively implement its provisions.

We recently received the December 1973 issue of SECHABA-ISIZWE, the Internal underground organ of the African National Congress printed and published inside fascist South Africa. It calls on the people to face . . .

THE CHALLENGE AHEAD

The murder of the eleven African mineworkers at Western Deep Levels in September has once again brought the black oppressed people and all the democratic forces face to face with the challenge that the struggle for the liberation of our motherland poses.

Once again the oppressor regime has been unmasked as one which feeds on our blood for its survival.

Never has the need for the removal of this regime been more urgent than today. The murders of Carletonville have come as a warning signal that the enemy is more than ever ready to use any and everything to suppress every manifestation of rebellion.

September 11 marked the end of the period of deceit during which the enemy sought to present himself as a vehicle of progressive development, as a man open to reason, a manoeuvre he had adopted with the aim of dulling the people's anger with a false hope of impending change. Vorster had hopes that after more than a decade of separate development, the oppressed, particularly the African people, would have fallen in the trap of tribalism and defence of the Bantustan scheme.

Bantustan Failure

But the battles the people have fought particularly this year (1973 ed.) have shown the enemy that his schemes have failed, the people are not misled and still see the Bantustan program for what it is, that is, a fraud irrelevant to the real aspirations of the majority. That is why the enemy decided to resort to his customary methods – the mass murder of patriots at Western Deep Levels.

The enemy nevertheless knows that even this way of protecting white domination can only serve further to fire the determination of the oppressed people to be free and heighten the

confrontation between the oppressed and the oppressor.

That is why he is forced to adopt even more deceitful manoeuvres. Already he is talking of humanising the pass laws and doing something to "enhance the human dignity" of the black oppressed.

We must recognise these tricks for what they are – an attempt by the racist government to safeguard white domination in conditions of, and as a response to intensified struggle by the black majority.

The Vorster government has been joined in these manoeuvres by other sections of the white oppressor population who also seek to delude us into believing that meaningful change under apartheid is possible.

It is the task of all activists to expose these lies and to lead the masses of the people in active struggle for destruction of white domination and not its amendment or reform.

White "Opposition" Forces

The murders at Western Deep also exposed the white "opposition forces" of the United and Progressive Parties, Gerdener's Democratic Party and TUCSA for what they are – agents for the perpetuation of white supremacy by other means. Despite all their condemnation of the evils of apartheid, when the murders happened these forces refused to use their strength to overthrow the government which gave the orders to fire.

Instead, all these forces have adopted Vorster's separate development schemes. They fight not for a democratic South Africa, but for the government to speed up separate development to make it more credible.

Efforts to recruit small sections of the oppressed through the formation of

advisory councils, holding white-organised multi-racial conferences, etc. taken together with the imposition of the Bantustan leaderships on the people, are also aimed at strengthening white supremacy by putting black puppet forces between the oppressed majority and the oppressor minority.

Courage that Rises with Danger

We must meet this attempt to give a false direction to our aspirations with united mass struggle. The enemy will respond with increased repression. We must be prepared for that and meet it "with courage that rises with danger" as Chief Luthuli put it.

The way to take our struggle forward is to go over to the offensive. As the oppressed we must rely on our united strength, guided by one objective – to return ownership of our country to the hands of the majority.

We must strengthen our mass legal organizations and direct them to the main task of drawing the people themselves into active mass struggle.



We must continue to build the underground units of the ANC, directing these units to the task of preparing for the inevitable armed confrontation with our murderous white oppressor.

The challenge ahead is that we must make 1974 the year of unprecedented levels of mass struggle to repulse the enemy's offensive which has already begun.

The black oppressed masses of South Africa hold the future of our country in their hands. Let us march together in struggle, without wavering, towards the beckoning goal of liberation!



Sechaba-Isizwe in a special message calls on the youth . . .

TASKS OF THE YOUTH

Thirty years ago this year the ANC Youth League was formed. Doing battle in the momentous and historical period of the 2nd World War when the world's peoples were victoriously waging a titanic battle against Nazism and fascism, it was inevitable that the African generation of '43; of Mandela, Sisulu and Tambo, would burst onto the stage of South African life with all the revolutionary enthusiasm and militancy of their times.

They, of course had their counterparts in Vorster, van den Bergh and Meyer of the Ossewabrandwag who at the same time were tenaciously fighting in defence of a dying and defeated reactionary cause. Few at the time saw that the lines drawn in '43 would put so definite a political stamp on the decades that followed, as they in fact did.

While the masses of our country have followed Mandela, Sisulu and Tambo in a struggle to free themselves from darkness, oppression and death, Vorster, van den Bergh and Meyer have continued to hold forth their torch of destruction, getting ever more blood-thirsty, constantly preparing to shed more blood.

The generation of '73 must carry forward the militant efforts of the generation that founded the Youth League, until victory. They have built up the ANC into the unchallenged vehicle of the national aspirations of the African people. They have defeated the enemy's attempts to splinter us into a

multitude of tribes. They successfully led the people in resisting the oppressor's efforts to smash the ANC by illegalisation, imprisonment, torture, and assassination of patriots. They laid the basis for an ever-expanding unity of all the black oppressed, African, Coloured and Indian.

The generation of '43 went to the people themselves and asked them to draw up their own program of demands. The result was the Freedom Charter, the most popular and revolutionary program of political demands our country has ever seen. The generation of '43 has taken the historically decisive step of creating in Umkhonto we Sizwe a popular army of revolution, cast in the heroic mould of

the armies of Hintsa, Cetywayo, Moshoeshe and Sekhukhune, without which victory is not possible.

The generation of '43 has worked successfully to line up behind us the peoples of the world as participants in the common struggle to free ourselves from racist tyranny.

It therefore remains for the generation of '73, basing themselves on the totality of these conditions, to place themselves in the vanguard of the combat forces of the oppressed of our country, for the ultimate assault on our enemy for final victory. The whole oppressed people have confidence that today's youth will display such courage and daring as will wrench power from the hands of the oppressors.

Already the youth has displayed these qualities, in workers' and students' strikes, in the heroic Mkhonto operations at home and in Rhodesia. What they have done is however not enough. Greater numbers must join the front ranks of the combatants for liberation. The revolutionary youth must participate in setting up underground units of the ANC as well as underground units of Mkhonto and begin to engage the enemy in combat.

The generation of '73 has the unique task of making that supreme effort which will bring to a successful conclusion the strivings of the black generations that have gone before, to re-establish the genuine independence of our country, and to secure the freedom of its people. The generation of '43, whether in prison or abroad, banned, banished or continuing to act under the noses of Vorster's police, remains side by side with the generation of '73, assisting them and imparting to them their experience. Such a combination is invincible. It not only deserves to win, but more, has the capability to win.

Life Histories From The Revolution

Another interesting life history has been published by the Liberation Support Movement (LSM) in Canada. This one is about a fighter of the MPLA, the Angolan liberation movement. **The Making of A Middle Cadre - Rui de Pinto**, is a moving account of a young Angolan who gets involved with the PIDE in Portugal, flees to France, and is then recruited into the fighting arm of MPLA. The story is told at first hand and reveals the politicisation of the young man who then takes us into the front lines inside Angola.

This pamphlet is part of a series issued by LSM who are now a major publishing house in the area of liberation struggles in Africa. (LSM, Box 338, Richmond B. C. Canada)

ROBERT RESHA

The African National Congress regrets to announce the death of Comrade Robert Resha, a leading member of the national liberation movement of South Africa. His funeral was held in London where he died after a brief illness.

His outstanding qualities are best expressed in the following statement by His Excellency Edwin Ogbu, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid and Nigerian ambassador in the United States:

Mr. Resha is very well-known to the members of the United Nations Special Committee on apartheid as an able and dedicated leader of the liberation movement of the African people of South Africa. To many of us "Robbie" was also an intimate friend.

Mr. Resha, born in 1920, has been a militant of the African National Congress for more than thirty years. He rarely spoke of his own outstanding contribution to the struggle and identified himself entirely with the ANC, in good times and hard times, with perseverance and courage.

He worked in the mines, as a journalist and in various other professions. He knew his people well and became a popular leader.

He was for several years secretary of the African National Congress in the Transvaal. He was leader of the volunteers in the historic campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in 1952. He led many struggles of the African people, notably the struggle against the uprooting of the African people by force from the Sophiatown area of Johannesburg.

In 1956, with other leaders of the ANC and allied groups, he was charged with "high treason". As an accused in this notorious trial for four and a half years, he stood steadfast by his convictions and never wavered.

Shortly after acquittal he went into exile at the request of the ANC, to join Mr. Oliver Tambo and others in rallying international support for the struggle of the people of South Africa when they were obliged to resort to underground and armed struggle in the face of the brutality of the South African regime.

He became the ANC representative in Algiers and was placed in charge of activity in Europe and North America. He was a member of the first delegation of the ANC which appeared before the Special Committee in August 1963. Since then he has been invited on numerous occasions to participate in the meetings of the Special Committee and for consultations with the Special Committee and its mission. He has also appeared before the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly and the African Group at the United Nations and in numerous conferences.



The late Robbie together with O. R. Tambo – Acting President General of the ANC at the OAU Conference – held in Algiers

He showed tremendous energy, resourcefulness and wisdom, in all his activities – in publicizing the struggle of his people, in organizing assistance to the victims of apartheid and in promoting support to the resistance in South Africa. Despite all the odds, he had unshakeable faith in the destiny of his people. He was a freedom fighter who was always prepared to risk his comfort and even life for the freedom and dignity of the oppressed people of South Africa.

I have known Robbie in Africa and in the United Nations. He was a dear friend and I find it hard to believe that he is no more.

He has helped us to understand the extent of the inhumanity of apartheid and to appreciate and respect the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa for their inalienable rights. We will always cherish his memory and stand by his people.

On behalf of the Committee I would like to convey its sorrow to his wife, Mrs. Magdalene Resha, herself a leader of the ANC and of the Pan African Women's Congress, and to his children – and to the liberation movement to which he dedicated his life, the African National Congress of South Africa.

We would like to reaffirm to them the Special Committees determination to do all in its power to bring closer the day when the racist criminals will be punished and the people of South Africa will be enabled to join the peoples of the rest of Africa and the world in freedom.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

We, of the African National Congress join His Excellency in conveying our deepest sympathies to his wife Magdalene, his children and all his family.

We rededicate ourselves to continue the struggle in which Robbie played such a prominent part and are sure that his name will forever live indelibly in the history of our country.

**Hamba Kahle!
Amandla! Maatla!**