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Security Stack

# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



49 Rathbone Street  
LONDON W1A-4NL  
Telegrams & Cables:  
SECHABA LONDON W1  
Telephone: 580-53 03

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## SECHABA

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- **White Political Parties unanimously oppose liberation movement**
- **All express fear of guerrilla activity in South Africa**
- **S. A. Police behead Black Rhodesian baby**
- **Sophisticated military training for White South Africans**

During the recent election campaign in South Africa the main issue debated in the hustings was the threat of guerrilla activity in the country.

Every single Party, including the Progressives were unanimous in their condemnation of the liberation movement and pledged to fight so-called terrorism.

All of them labelled the liberation movement as being communist inspired or led - a favourite catch phrase in White politics.

Ray Swart, national chairman of the Progressive Party had this to say on the subject:

"It could not be discounted that Por-

tugal would eventually withdraw its forces from its African provinces. South Africa is in dire peril.

"The vicious attacks over our northern borders, which are doubtless only an outward manifestation of insidious communist underground activity, are obviously only the beginning of a concerted intrusion across our borders."

Ignoring the fact that the ANC's Rivonia leadership was not found guilty of being communist but of leading its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) Harry Pitman, the Natal leader of the Progressives told a meeting that the Com-

# An Appeal

As you may be aware, since we began publishing SECHABA in January 1967, we have only appealed twice to our readers to come to our aid. On both occasions the reponse was magnificent.

We appeal again as our financial situation is desperate. Please respond as you have done in the past.

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munist Party of South Africa had been tried at Rivonia and "found guilty several years ago."

This blatant pandering to the most reactionary elements among the white electorate clearly shows that the so-called Progressive Party is a party of the White laager and all the noises it makes on the subject of apartheid is just that - noises, no more.

Let us compare these statements with those of the ruling party.

Connie Mulder, the Minister of Interior told a meeting: "While I am the last man in South Africa to sow panic, we must accept the situation will worsen with communist arms now being channelled into our sub-continent where they are no longer necessary in Vietnam.

"The terrorists are not going to stop . . . it's Pretoria, Bloemfontein and our other centres that they are after." In a blood and thunder speech, the Minister of Labour, Marais Viljoen told a meeting:

"There are people after our blood, after our country. They are gathering their forces - from the terrorists on our borders to the leftist trade unions who want to boycott South Africa.

"Their objective is to bring South Africa to its knees and to force White authorities on to their knees.

"For our own security, there is no better way of answering our black-mailers than to vote for the National Party", he said.

That is exactly what White South Africa did. Vorster's National Party was returned with an increased majority, giving it a total of 122 seats and an overall majority of 75.

The Progressives also increased the number of their seats: from one to six.

Both Parties gained from the pro-apartheid United Party who won 41 seats.

\* \* \* \* \*

## 19 SA "Police" Killed

At least nineteen White South African "policemen" have died and 42 injured while on border duties in Zimbabwe and Namibia since 1968 according to a report in the Rand Daily Mail. No figures of the number of Black members dead or wounded were available according to the report.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Black Child Murdered

Neither the South African nor the Rhodesian authorities are prepared to make a statement on the allegation by, Mr. Ronald Sadomba, an African MP, in Rhodesian, naming two White South African policemen who had cut the throat of an African child after taking her from a woman. The illegal Rhodesian Minister of Law and Order, Desmond Lardner-Burke, characteristically, dismissed Mr. Sadomba's allegations as a 'communist ploy'.

He said this statement was made purposely to undermine friendship between South Africa and Rhodesia. His deputy director of Information said: "We are not saying anything about this. If the South African Police say anything about it, that is up to them."

But South Africa's Deputy Minister of Police, declared that he was not prepared to comment and that the Commissioner of Police, General Crous, curtly told reporters not to ask him any questions. He added that any complaint against the South African police in Rhodesia was investigated by the police there.

Lardner-Burke's ignorance of the allegation is obviously feigned and the statement by the Deputy Director of Information reinforces this view.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Frightened Police

"Shoot and ask questions afterwards", is the attitude of the South African Police. This at least is their attitude to Blacks.

However, recently some policemen opened fire on armed White naval reservists engaged in a mock land-fighting exercise in bushes and mangrove swamps near Durban.

They were, it is reported, mistaken for guerrillas, thus emphasising again just how edgy White South Africans are.

Six shots were fired before the mistake was discovered. Five bullets went wide but one struck a reservist. The incident was sparked off when a member of the public became suspicious when men in overalls and armed with rifles were seen darting among the bushes.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Sophisticated Training

Meanwhile the South African National Institute for Defence Research (NIDR) with its headquarters in Pretoria is engaged in an intensive campaign to recruit high school-leavers into joining a wide-ranging training scheme for engineers and technicians.

Conditions of enrolment include:

- Successful candidates will be paid an annual salary of R1440 × 120 - R2400 × 150 - R2700 plus an additional 15 % pensionable allowance;

- Appointment is permanent, with a probationary period of one year;

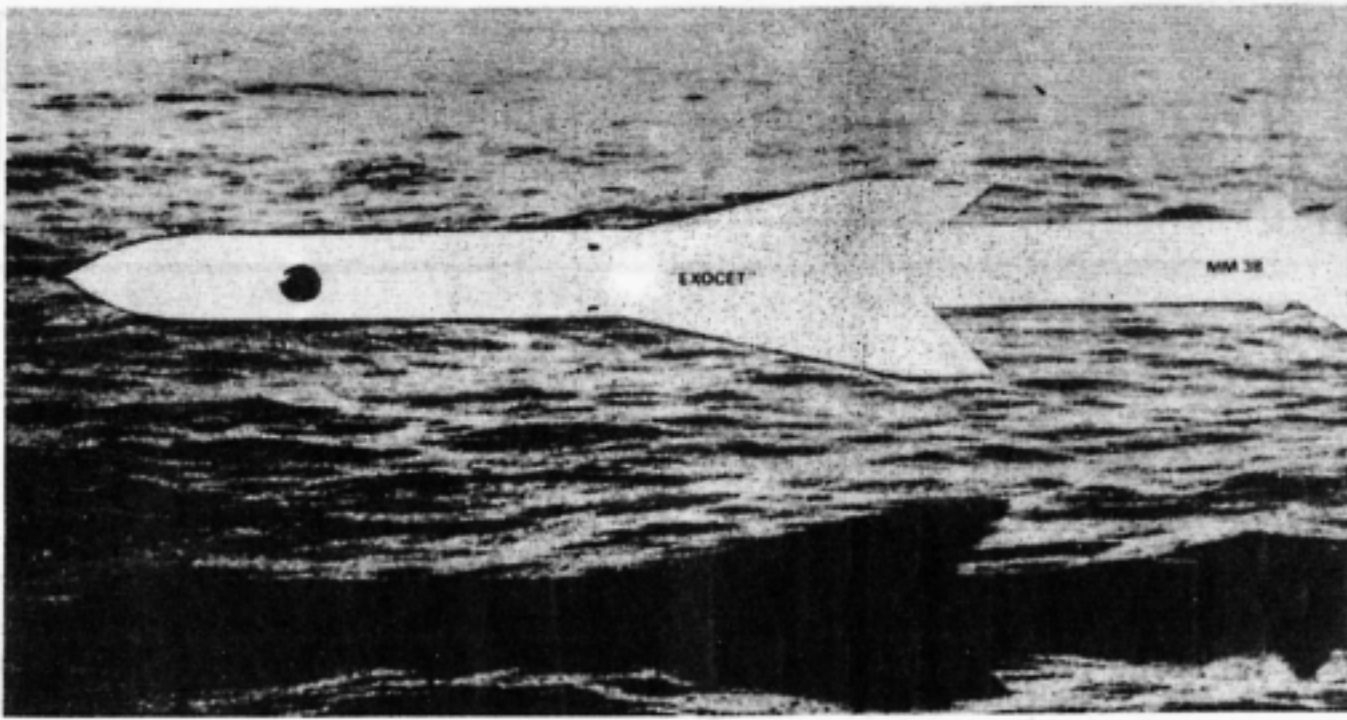
- All potential engineers will be required to take and pass Mathematics 1 and Applied Mathematics 1, extramurally during their probationary year, before being eligible for full-time in-service study for a B.Sc. (Eng.) degree at a university of their own choice.

Another form of encouragement for prospective candidates is the policy of the NIDR to send some of them abroad, mainly to France, for further training. A hand-out issued to prospective candidates explaining the specialised fields of study offered to the candidates states in part:

- „**Electronics Systems:** . . . here the suitable candidates should be proficient in applied mathematics, there exist possibilities for communication engineers who will have to study and evaluate modern systems; control systems engineers who will have to study analog and digital control of weapon systems; computer programmers for scientific programming, e. g. for digital simulation or other computer systems. Excellent large-scale computing facilities are available in the Institute.

"For the more practically orientated engineers there are many possibilities, as the aim of the Institute is the development of practical weapon systems . . ."

- „**Defence Research:** . . . South Africa is being forced to do more and more of its own technical thinking on arms procurement, not only through boycotts but also because of its unique requirements. There consequently exists an unsatisfied demand for suitably trained personnel in this field, providing good opportunities with tremendous potential of expansion . . ."



France's reply to UN sanctions against South Africa — supply of arms and aircraft to the racist regime

"Arms procurement from abroad is at best very expensive insurance and your participation in Defence Research and Development will therefore be a direct contribution to the development of the industry and economy of the country . . ."

"South Africa has a threat and your contribution may help to better our preparedness. It may be later than you think . . ."

● **"Testing:** The test section is responsible for the testing of all systems developed in the N.I.D.R. on behalf of the SA Defence Force, the Armaments Board, etc. Consequently it is the meeting place of all the disciplines in the Weapon industry, and the accent is on a wide general knowledge for the testing of systems, as well as the expert knowledge for the testing of sub-assemblies . . ."

"At present the Test Section consists of 3 groups:

1) **Environmental Group**

Establishment of facilities for and the test of sub-assemblies — this of course includes all disciplines of the weapon industry.

2) **Instrumentation Group**

The building-up and operation of advanced equipment for use on the missile test range at St. Lucia.

3) **Flight Test Group**

The establishment of facilities for and the organisation and execution of tests on weapon systems. At present this is limited to the execution of flight tests on missiles . . ."

● **"Operation:** For the industrialisation of projects the closest possible co-operation with the Armaments Board and industry is envisaged . . . "A directed training programme in collaboration with the Armaments Board and industry is envisaged."

● **"Mechanical Systems:** The Mechanical Systems Department plays an important role in the development of weapon systems. The major part of the work on any weapon system is mechanical by nature. For instance, in the case of a missile, aerodynamic design and tests must be conducted

in wind tunnels and in free flight; the airframe design and stress analysis use advanced materials and low safety-factors to limit weight; the steering mechanisms, which usually consist of hot and cold gas, hydraulic or electric servos, are mechanical or electromechanical, while many of the sensors such as gyroscopes, rate gyros, pressure transducers and accelerometers are electromechanical . . . "The Mechanical Systems Department is equipped to do work in the following fields:

- 1) fluid mechanics;
- 2) stress analysis;
- 3) materials;
- 4) mechanical design and development;
- 5) electromechanical design and development . . ."

● **"Missile Propulsion:** As rocket propulsion incorporates a number of disciplines, the proposed post-graduate course in missile propulsion engineering will cover a fairly wide range of subjects and make provision for selected subjects in mathematics, advanced fluid mechanics, strength of materials, thermodynamics, ballistics and the physics of explosives and explosions. The course will further make provision for practical training in the techniques and technologies related to rocket motors, propellants and explosives . . ."

## Tea Airlifted

Air Malawi has begun a 21-ton tea airlift to South Africa because guerrillas have disrupted rail traffic. According to a tea importer, J. Woolf, South Africa had no tea from Malawi since December last year and that the stocks were getting "pretty low".

"We used to get tea every month by rail from Malawi, but there has been no rail shipments since December", he said.

## »Terror« Trial

Mr. Nkutsoeu Petrus Motsau, Secretary of the Sharpeville Youth Club, is appearing before the Rand Supreme Court, charged with having "participated in terrorist activities with the intention of endangering the maintenance of law and order in South Africa and with the intention of furthering the objects of communism". He also faces allegations that he incited one or more persons to undergo military training.

Mr. Motsau was kept in detention for over six months before being brought before the court.

The prosecutor told the court that documents seized in a raid on the offices of the Sharpeville Youth Club by the police showed that the Club advocated violence.

Referring to a newsletter published by the Club, the prosecutor read:

"We, Blacks in South Africa, are the world's most shameful case of minority oppression. Three hundred years of Black blood and Black sweat invested here in the Southern Hemisphere, still the White man has the Black man begging for the left-overs from the master's table."

The prosecutor added that other indications of violence appeared in a drawing of what was called a "Socio-Political-Economic Pyramid". This drawing which he said was found on the wall of the SYC offices, called for the toppling of the Whites and the establishment of a Black government. The State also alleged that Mr. Motsau, at a meeting of the SYC, put forward a plan to attack White inhabitants of Vereeniging "at suitable places, such as cinemas and other places where people congregate."

### Hostile Witness

Mr. Peter Majoke, a member of the SYC was declared a hostile witness, when he told the court that he could not remember what he said in a statement to the police about a meeting of the club.

Under defence cross-examination he said he was made to stand a whole day before he made a statement.

Replying to a question by the State prosecutor, he said that he had not been threatened not to give evidence although some members of the club had spoken to him about giving evidence.

\* \* \* \* \*

## After 10 Years in Jail

Six days of freedom was all that 34-year-old Mr. Girja (Sunny) Singh had after a decade on Robben Island. He was then served with five year banning and house arrest orders.



Girja (Sunny) Singh . . . 10 years lost

Mr. Singh was sent to Robben Island in 1964 after being found guilty with 17 others in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court on charges under the Sabotage Act. He was released after serving his full 10-year sentence.

In terms of his banning orders, Mr. Singh is restricted from attending social and political gatherings, as well as gatherings of students.

He is also restricted to his home between the hours of 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. on weekdays. He cannot leave home on public holidays and Saturdays between 2 p.m. and 6 a.m. on Mondays.

Mr. Singh is also restricted during the next five years from entering African areas, harbours, factories and university campuses.

Two others recently banned are: Mr. Fredrick Gqola, of Vuvu Mount Fletcher, Joel Gwabeni, of Herschel and Mr. Siphon Ndabana, also of Herschel.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Two Convicted

Two banned Black leaders were convicted and sentenced for having

contravened their bannings orders. The two are Mr. Siphon Herman Buthelezi, 28, a banned former university lecturer and secretary-general of the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC) and Mr. Nyameko Barney Pityana banned law student and secretary of the South African Students Organisation (SASO).

Mr. Buthelezi was found guilty on 12 counts of contravening his banning orders.

He was found to have received visitors at his Mandeni home, to have been absent from home during his hours of restriction and to have attended social gatherings.

On two counts of absents himself from home he was sentenced to nine months; on five counts of receiving visitors he also received nine months; and on five counts of attending social gatherings he got another nine months - a total of 27 months.

The sentences were suspended for three years.

Buthelezi was served with banning orders on September 2, last year. The orders expire on July 31, 1978.

In mitigation, attorney Mr. M. J. Naidoo, who is also chairman of the Natal Indian Congress, said that the court should take into account that Buthelezi had been in custody for more than five months and had no previous convictions.

The magistrate in suspending the sentences imposed on Buthelezi said that it was rare to see a man of 28 appearing in a regional court without any previous convictions. This, he said, had weighed on the side of Buthelezi.

This rare admission that most Africans have been to prison at one time or another is a serious indictment of the South African society where last year 370 810 Africans were jailed i.e. 1 in every 210 - the vast majority for petty pass offences.

In the second case, Mr. Pityana was convicted on five counts of breaking his banning orders.

In February last year, Mr. Pityana was served with a five-year banning order. He was forced by the order to give up his law studies.

On each of the five counts he was sentenced to six weeks. The sentences on two of these are to run concurrently with the sentences on the other counts. He was, therefore, sentenced to a total of 18 weeks imprisonment.

On one of the charges the State alleged that a former SASO president,



Nyameko Barney Pityana . . . found guilty of breaking banning orders

Mr. Henry Isaacs, had visited Mr. Pityana at his home.

It was alleged that the two men walked out of the house and talked to others at a bus parked outside.

Mr. Pityana has appealed against his conviction.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Meeting Banned

The new Riotous Assemblies Act on which we published a report in the last issue of Sechaba, was used to ban Sharpeville commemorative services anywhere in Durban.

In announcing the ban the magistrate for the District of Durban, Mr. L. A. McKay referred specifically to a Heroes Day - Sharpeville commemorative service to be held at the YMCA hall in Durban.

The meeting was organised by the South African Students Organisation (SASO). Mr. McKay said in the banning notice that he "had reason to apprehend that the public peace would be seriously endangered" by the holding of such a gathering.

Under the old law the banning of this meeting would not have been possible as the old Act specified public meetings held in public places. The YMCA constituted private premises. In the amended Act the word public has been left out and the authorities could ban any gathering.

This law is undoubtedly one which will effectively end all free speech and assembly throughout South Africa.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Full text of a report on prison conditions smuggled out of South Africa's most notorious Prison

Despite certain improvements from 1963-4 conditions on Robben Island are still highly characterised by an element of vindictiveness from the Prison Authorities. This is clearly demonstrated by such unbecoming remarks as "In prison you expect to be issued with new clothing yet you walked in sacks outside". This form of remark is abundant and has always been an indication of the grade in which the prison department regards its subjects. This attitude prevails for as long as there are no visitors coming to the Island. The arrival of visitors is always preceded by such window-dressing as:

- Issuing of new outfits to the prisoners, and a
- Reduced rate of victimization, arbitrary segregation, demotion and other forms of punishment.

The departure of visitors is always the departure of eased conditions – the old practices emerge once again.

### The following are examples:

**Food:** In July 1973 a new diet scale was introduced in the Prison Department. (Annexed was detailed description of the diet – Ed.) Much as this scale leaves much to be desired, the quantity received by prisoners falls far short of the weights displayed on it. Many efforts were made to have at least the quantities as per chart but to no avail. After a few days of the introduction of this scale the weights of prisoners began to fall, leading to their being vulnerable to the fever epidemic that pounced on the country towards the close of the year 1973

**Vegetables:** With very little regard to cries for fresh vegetables from prisoners, the prison authorities made no improvement towards supply of these. Worse still the supply has always been revolving around carrots, cabbage, potatoes and pumpkin. No variety. The International Red Cross donated a sum of R50.00 specifically for fruit to prisoners.

Since 1963 requests have always been presented to the Prison Department Authorities through the various Officer Commanding and Commissioner of Prisons that there be an overall change in the diet, with specific mention that porridge in the afternoon does more harm than good as most of the prisoners no longer take it. Here as it will be noted as appearing on the annexure that food issued to prisoners is mostly starch. As it is the African prisoner has porridge twice a day, the answer that has always emerged in reply to requests for change, is that porridge is his staple food and it is good for him. Remarks such as "This is not a hotel" or "This is not Zambia or Tanzania" never fail to accompany replies to our request. With the diet generally requests have constantly and increasingly always been made for additional fat, for milk and for fresher vegetables. This has always fallen on deaf ears. It has always been a standpoint of our men on Robben Island that they will never appreciate a diet that is based

on discrimination. If one type of food is good for one group it is equally as good for another. This is a unanimous stand by all of us.

### Hospitalisation

● **Mental cases:** With the exception of a few cases people who experience mental breakdown receive no better attention than being kept in the prison hospital and attended to by the District Surgeons and hospital orderlies. Outstanding cases in this regard are that of **Donald Mathengela** who ran insane as early as 1970 but was never attended to. **Norman Sujeka** is in the same fate with the difference that he broke down in 1967. If these people were subjected to the skill of psychiatrists they would have improved and probably regained their sanity. **Donald Mathengela** was brutally assaulted in 1974 after he had (because of his mental state), rejected all the food given to him through the ordinary channels, but resorted to picking from the garbage bin. This was a clear indication of insanity but instead of getting him attended to by a psychiatrist, he was brutally assaulted by about twelve warders and a dog was let on him. He was then put in isolation for about six months. It was only after serving the isolation period that he was admitted to the Prison Hospital.

● **Visits by district surgeons:** District surgeons visit prisoners twice a week i. e. Mondays and Thursdays. Should a prisoner have a serious attack in between only the attention of hospital orderlies are offered him, until the day a district surgeon arrives.

● **Dr. Eidelstein's attitude:** The presence of District Surgeon Dr. Eidelstein on the Island is a bitter experience. In 1972 he made a recommendation to the prison authorities that some prisoners who had visited him be punished because – as he said – they had no reason to visit because they were not ill. Among victims of this were **Roy Ngcamu** and **William Moses**.

In 1973 Dr. Rhom, a junior under Dr. Eidelstein prescribed milk for **Judson Kuzwayo**, bread in the evening and some tonic for **Ephrahim Bahula**. On checking on the files Dr. Eidelstein discovered these prescriptions and immediately cancelled them without prior examination of the prisoners concerned. Judson Kuzwayo took this matter up. He pressed that he be sent for an X-Ray. It was disclosed that he had gastric ulcers and thus milk as prescribed was necessary.

### Hospital Orderlies

The influence of the hospital orderlies on district surgeons is extreme. Should one be in the bad books of a hospital orderly one is bound to be ill spoken of to the district Surgeon and the results are devastating.

In October 1973 the physician chased out of hospital a prisoner that was seriously ill from high blood pressure. The prisoner, **Funani**, had had an attack the previous day. The very next day after he had been chased out, he collapsed and had to be re-admitted. A specialist discovered that he was a serious high blood pressure case. He had previously been chased out of hospital on an allegation that he was playing ill.

# Robben Island

For  
Nelson Mandela,  
Govan Mbeki and  
Walter Sisulu

Shelter of mainland rifle and claw,  
open house of torture and neglect,  
washed and spiked by old sea salt,  
it has always been used like that:  
always a Dutch island of death.

Look now for similar means of murder,  
and they are up everywhere intact;  
at the centre of the lime quarry,  
time's a wire-net of shovel and grit,  
ash clinging to burnt-out dreams!

Knots of limping, chained fighters  
bend under today's whip-crack sun,  
tomorrow's yellow Atlantic mists;  
failing eyes and lungs last out,  
pickled tight in thick lime dust.

Dying men break stones, life's way,  
as cold water seaweed and mud stitch  
illusions as large as far-away ships  
slowly grazing the sunset plumb-line  
down from Table Mountain to death.

A keeper with a flat face of steel  
smashes a breathless sand-carrier;  
his Welcome Valley brother says,  
„Makavane!“ as low as a threshold,  
and „Makavane!“ comes back, an echo.

The hopes of the new men strike iron,  
a sound heard inside Dimbaza, too,  
confidence arcing like a raised axe:  
„The struggle will always be ours!“  
„We'll never forget we'll be free!“

Andrew Salkey

● **Poisoning:** In 1972 one prisoner, **Malgid Ntlebi**, reported that he had contracted fever. For one reason or the other a hospital orderly gave him a mixture that proved itself to be poisonous. His mouth turned black and his skin peeled as if burnt. He wanted to take action against the orderly but was refused leave to contact either his parents or legal advisors about the matter. To date he has not been able to take steps about this matter.

● **Exposure to rain and cold:** Requests that there be a shelter to accommodate people who go for medicine in the dispensary have never been heeded. As a result of this prisoners are made to queue outside the dispensary entirely exposed to any weather condition that may be prevailing at the time. It is worth noting that in certain instances prisoners have to wait for a period of no less than forty minutes before the hospital orderlies open the dispensary. Prisoners are then made to enter the dispensary either one at a time or in small groups leaving the rest at the mercy of the weather.

● **Glasses and dentures:** With very few exceptions the Prison Department has refused issuing of glasses to prisoners. People who have no funds have to suffer. A similar situation applies to those who need dentures. **Matthew Ntaba** had to bear this situation for seven years before he could be issued with dentures which was done only after his family had sent him a sum of about R30.00 for this purpose. **Peter Magano, Ntabanzandile Nogemane** are among those that suffered most for glasses.

On Robben Island road and working places are covered with lime which produces a glare that affects the eyes. As a result of this most of our men experience eye ailments in one form or the other.

## Freezing of Funds

It is a general practice that if a prisoner receives a substantial amount of money for purposes of study, he has either to wait for a period that stretches up to three months before he is informed of such receipt, or in more cases than one this money has been returned to the sender without notification to the prisoner. This for example has happened to **Khulile Maphahlaza**. Emphasis is always made by the authorities that studying in prison is a privilege. Studies on the Island are granted grudgingly. To elaborate on this point one may quote a number of cases where, when a warder takes a prisoner on some complaint to his superiors, the first question that is put to the prisoner is: **“Do you study?”** A positive answer and the prisoner is immediately demoted and if you fall to group 1 you immediately lose your right to study. This was authorised by the Island's Commanding Officer, Brigadier Aucamp, sometime ago when he said he will do all in his power to minimise the number of prisoners studying.

**Philip Siliwane, Abel Chilvane, Curnick Ndlovu, Lombard Mbatha, Ephrahim Bahulu, Stephen Tshwete, Vuyisile Tole, John Maroo, Johnson Mhlambo, Shadrack Dwaba, Clarison Ntwasa** are among those that were victimised in this way. With all the people no court of law decided on the withdrawal of privileges. This was a decision reached in each case by an individual officer confirmed by a prison board which is presided over by Brigadier Aucamp.

### **Illiterate and Semi-Literate**

After UNESCO had stopped its education project on Robben Island, educated prisoners took it upon themselves to organise classes in order to assist those with little or no education. Classes were conducted in cells. Blackboards and tables were organised for this purpose and classes were held. This did not go on for long as the authorities conducted searches and removed all tables and boards, and explicitly ordering that no prisoner may teach another and they (the authorities) will not allow the holding of academic classes. What the prisoners were doing was simply taking over from where UNESCO had ended, as the level of education of the prisoners concerned does not allow them to undertake correspondence courses successfully without assistance.

### **Stationery Orders**

According to a ruling by the prison authorities stationery is supposed to be ordered and delivered once a month. This never happens. There is always a delay in delivery. Delays sometimes cover a period of up to nine weeks. This is an obvious handicap in ones studies. On approaching the study officers we are always told that this is due to the fact that the orders have first to be checked by a senior official to see if the books ordered are authorised and/or prescribed. Unfortunately because of the shortage of funds one fails to buy prescribed books early in the year. On receiving money one immediately rushes an order in the hope that one will receive the books early enough to study for examinations at the end of the year. With the delay, one finds oneself left with a very short time to study before sitting for examinations. **Stephen Tshwete** is a classic example as he once received his book just days before sitting for his B.A. examinations.

### **Furniture**

With the exception of one section of 4 cells, no other section is furnished with furniture necessary for study purposes. Even in the case of the furnished section, the said furniture comprises only desks for keeping books on. Reading or writing on them one needs to stand as there are no chairs or benches to sit on. This situation affords prisoners a great problem. Worse still are prisoners studying such courses as accountancy which demands a wide space because a number of books are used at one time and a lot of writing, has to be done (It must be noted that prisoners do not have beds, they sleep on a mat on the floor – Ed.)

### **Recreation**

Recreation is provided for prisoners. They have to buy their own kit at increased prices. Prisoners pay 5 % above the selling price of goods. This 5 % goes to the officers club to which prisoners have no access. This matter was discussed between prisoners and the authorities as it was felt that we could ill-afford such extra payments. The authorities refused to agree.

### **Work**

For ten years the bulk of Robben Island prisoners have been afforded no better kind of work than breaking stones, cleaning the prison yard and rooms. Only an insignificant number do such creative work as brick-laying and fencing of the prison yard. Despite all submissions by prisoners,

that many of them serving long-term sentences are extremely bored with such unproductive work, there has not been any improvement. Significant to note is that a very high number of prisoners suffer with piles and rheumatism. Prisoners convicted under the Terrorism Act are made to work in a brick yard and wood yard. In the latter they chop wood which is brought to them as they are not allowed to move out of their working place which is a small yard behind their cells. The brick yard mentioned is close to their cells (between two cells and even smaller than the wood yard). Their daily movement comprises leaving the cell and turning just round the corner and commencing their day's work.

### **Single Cell Section**

This is a section occupied by about 25 prisoners. Each prisoner has a cell to himself. Because of the limited space in the court yard, they can only take part in tenniquoit, volley ball and table tennis. They are not allowed to mix with the rest of the prisoners.

They are allowed no better work than working in lime pits, filling potholes or chopping down trees, clearing bushes and collecting sea-weed along the shore. They are mainly the Rivonia trialists.

### **General**

**Hot Water system** – there is no hot water system on the Island. Throughout the year prisoners use cold water for bathing. Installation of a hot water system commenced as early as 1969 but to this day has not been completed. It has in fact been abandoned. Promises have been made to such bodies and persons as the International Red Cross and Parliamentarian Mrs. Helen Suzman but these end up promises and no more. Only the prison hospital has a hot water system.

**Alarm System** – Since 1965 the emergency alarm system in the cells have not been functioning. In cases of an emergency when prisoners fall ill at night they summon the attention of a warder by shouting from one cell to another until the warder in charge of the section is told.

This sometimes takes up to thirty minutes. Then the warder calls at the cell where the emergency case is and from there goes to the telephone to summon the attention of the hospital orderly. This whole process normally takes about an hour.

### **Letters and Correspondence**

In 1973 a prison order announced that no prisoner may keep more than two letters that he has received at any given time. These two letters should not have been with the prisoner for more than two months. Exceptions in this order are business letters. Even to keep such letters the consent of the officer commanding must be sought. The rest of the letters are to be burnt. No prisoner may leave with his letters on his release. Submissions to the authorities that with prisoners, letters are the only links they have with their families have met with no success. It must be noted that the majority of prisoners are in the unfortunate position that their families cannot visit them due to financial reasons. Some have not seen their families and friends for the past ten years.

Permission to seek legal advise on this matter was refused by the officer commanding in November 1973.



It is reported that the South African Indian Council (SAIC) the government's apartheid institution established to "represent" South Africans of Indian origin, is to hold elections in August this year. This announcement has prompted a banned vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress to write the following article for SEARCHLIGHT, published clandestinely inside South Africa, headed:

# THE FRAUDULENT INDIAN COUNCILS

**There can be no compromise in our struggle  
for full democratic rights!**

In order to entrench white minority rule and to perpetuate national, ethnic and class divisions, the Vorster regime has set up various institutions for Blacks to work within the framework of the government's apartheid policy.

Thus we have eight Bantustan "governments" for the ethnically divided African majority, a Coloured Council and an Indian Council "representing" the other two Black communities, while the white minority continues to enjoy full and unfettered political rights to rule over the entire population - both Black and white.

The purpose of this article is to deal with the South African Indian Council which consists of 25 appointed members, and the Local Affairs Committees set up in the segregated Indian ghettos and townships.

It has been reported that at the end of the term of office of the present members of the Indian Council on August 31 this year, the Minister of Indian Affairs proposes to increase the membership of the Council to 30, half of them elected.

In the absence of voters' rolls, elections will be conducted through a system of electoral colleges constituted on a regional basis.

There is no clarity as to the basis on which such electoral colleges will be established.

## Previous Experiences

In the past, before the wholesale banning of leaders of the South African Indian Congress which enjoyed the support of the vast majority of our people, little or no discussion was necessary on offers made by the authorities, to establish separate all-Indian bodies to "represent Indian interests" on local and national matters effecting the community.

**The Indian Congress policy was firmly based on the principle that South Africa belongs to all who live in it and that all the people should have equal rights in all spheres of their lives - political, social, economic, civic, etc.**

Therefore, when in 1946, Field Marshall Smuts introduced the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representations Act, the Congress called for the total rejection of this obnoxious piece of racist legislation and launched the first civil disobedience campaign in South Africa since Mahatma Gandhi left the country at the turn of the century.

The first section of this Act is the forerunner to the Group Areas Act which sought to totally segregate the Indian community and to destroy them economically, while the latter section "gave" the Indians the right to vote for three white representatives in Parliament and for the setting up of national and local Indian Coun-

cils similar to the S.A. Indian Council and the Local Affairs Committees now in existence.

Even though Indian Council members at the time were offered an annual salary of £2000, the Indian Congress campaign against the whole of this Act was so successful that not a single Indian volunteered to serve on the proposed Council.

The arguments used by the Congress during the 1946 campaign and, later when the Durban City Council, made a similar proposal for the setting up of an Advisory Board comprising of Indian Ratepayers, stand good today. All the dangers forecast by Congress that all these bodies cannot truly work for the benefit of our people is being proved over and over again. Some, who support the Councils, will no doubt, show some so-called gains by serving on these dummy institutions. But overall, there is ample evidence that these institutions are a sham and a fraud.

## South African Indian Council

The SAIC has, since its inception been condemned by most of our people.

Its composition is of persons who have made little or no contribution to the cause of our people in their struggle for full freedom. Most are self-seeking. It is inconceivable that the government will do away with these "yes men" even if, as they say, the Council will be a partly elected body. One has to only look at what happened in the case of the (Coloured) Labour Party to see to what extent the government will go to keep a majority who favour apartheid in such institutions. National problems of our people are not given the attention they deserve simply because Councilmen are afraid to act decisively on any major matter concerning our people.

During the recent strike wave, the Council was conspicuously silent on the question of our most miserably paid working people. Not only Africans took part in these strikes, Indians also participated in many industries. By the very nature of its composition, the Indian Council could never be expected to act in support of our working people. The composition of this apartheid institution is clearly part of the exploiting class. Many employ Indian and African labour and a close look at their wages policy and their profits will show why these people are incapable or unwilling to support a national minimum wage for all the workers in our country.

## Town Boards

There are at present, two elected Town Boards in the whole of South Africa. Both are in Natal. The first to be elected was the Town Board of Verulem, where "fortunately" there are some Indian-owned industries,



**J. N. Reddy . . . Banker, head of Insurance Company and head of the SAIC**



**M. B. Naidoo . . . former school principal and now member of the SAIC**

fruit and cane farmers and a fairly large mercantile community. Rates accrued by the Indian Town Board does, in a large measure, help to meet the civic needs of the people.

The second all-Indian Town Board is at Isipingo. Isipingo, unlike Verulam, is part of the greater Durban area and consists, not of a town but, only the Isipingo Township.

There are 10 000 Indians resident in this area. The rateable value of land and property is estimated at R19 million. The annual income in rates will be a mere R400 000. Any of South Africa's large departmental stores could boast of better figures. There are no industries, nor are there any prospects of developing any industries. Thus, the situation in this tiny residential island is that it could hardly grow.

Of course, some positions, such as Town Clerk, Treasurer, etc, hitherto open only to whites, have been offered to Indians, but this does not detract from the fact that an all-Indian Isipingo Local Authority is not an economically viable proposition unless it is allowed to increase the rates of property owners or is substantially subsidised by the Durban City Council. Taken on its previous record, one can hardly expect the notoriously racist Durban Council to do the latter.

### **The Local Affairs Committees**

The LACs have practically no power whatsoever as they have to depend entirely on the white councils and Town Boards for the implementation of all their recommendations.

Walk into any Black area and one will see the total and, in many cases, the criminal lack of civic amenities.

Despite the existence of the Indian LACs, the neglect of Indian areas continue; roads in need of repair, bush and overgrowth on pavements uncut; lack of proper street lighting,

little or no public telephones, public toilets, recreational facilities et al.

### **Fight for Equality**

There is no gainsaying that the objective of the government in setting up these institutions is to divide our people and make them believe they have a say in matters affecting them. This is not so. It cannot be so. Because if this was possible then apartheid must end and the government is clearly not even contemplating the ending of this racist concept of the government.

Apart from duping a section of our people the government hopes to dupe the world, which is increasingly critical of apartheid and racism, into believing that some measure of democracy is being extended to the Black people.

The way in which apartheid could be destroyed is most certainly not through such dummy institutions as the Indian Councils and Indian LACs, it will only be destroyed by united action by all the oppressed peoples acting in concert, with determination and, most importantly with courage, to defeat the horrific nightmare of apartheid.

The recent strikes are an excellent example of what could be done by a united and determined people. It is true that in some cases there was not complete unity among the workers, but in the majority of cases there was total unity.

### **Playing with Fire**

To quote Oliver Tambo, who in a recent speech in London, on the subject of the strikes said:

"These strikes are not an accident of time, they are an organic part of a process. They reflect a stage in the progress of the struggle. Ten years ago, the fascist regime would have opened fire on the strikers. Today to do so would be playing with fire. In desperation the South African re-

gime might still do so. But that will not be the end of the struggle. It is much more likely to be the beginning of the end of apartheid rule.

"The strikes occurred in the context of militant political activity directed against the white supremacist structure in South Africa, and embracing not only the workers, but also the peasants, the middle strata, the churches and the youth and students. The aggressive mood of the masses manifested itself in the resuscitation of the Black Trade Unions, the Natal Indian Congress, the establishment of the Coloured Labour Party, the Black Peoples Convention and SASO (the South African Students Organisation)"

All this activity must be seen within the context and background of the African National Congress and its allies, underground, inside South Africa. For ten long years since the arrest of our leading personnel at Rivonia, year after year, trial has followed trial of our militants who were captured by the enemy, tortured viciously and dragged to jail via the farcical formality of court judgements. The most recent sent to jail are the Pretoria Six. The African National Congress has said, and we say as well, "this latest kidnapping act (of the Pretoria Six - Ed.) is neither wise nor calculated to deter the people in any way.

The fascist violence of the 60s has only helped to assert the invincibility of the liberation forces and the absolute certainty of absolute victory for the oppressed.

We must approach the problems of revolution and struggle in our country with both optimism and realism. We must not underestimate the power of the enemies. At the same time we must never be mesmerised by them nor must we cringe before their strength. On the contrary, we must face the racist-apartheid madmen who rule over us with the firm conviction, reinforced by history, that, armed with a just cause, flanked and reinforced by the ever rising might of world forces for peace, freedom and justice, nothing but victory shall be the reward for our endeavours.

This victorious end is a matter of determined and united effort.

In this historic context the struggle must continue! We must not be sidetracked by the guiles of the enemy in his attempts to divide us as a people and our people from the rest of the oppressed Black masses. Our future is with all the oppressed not with the oppressor. Therefore, let us say with one voice:

**Death To The South African Indian Council!**

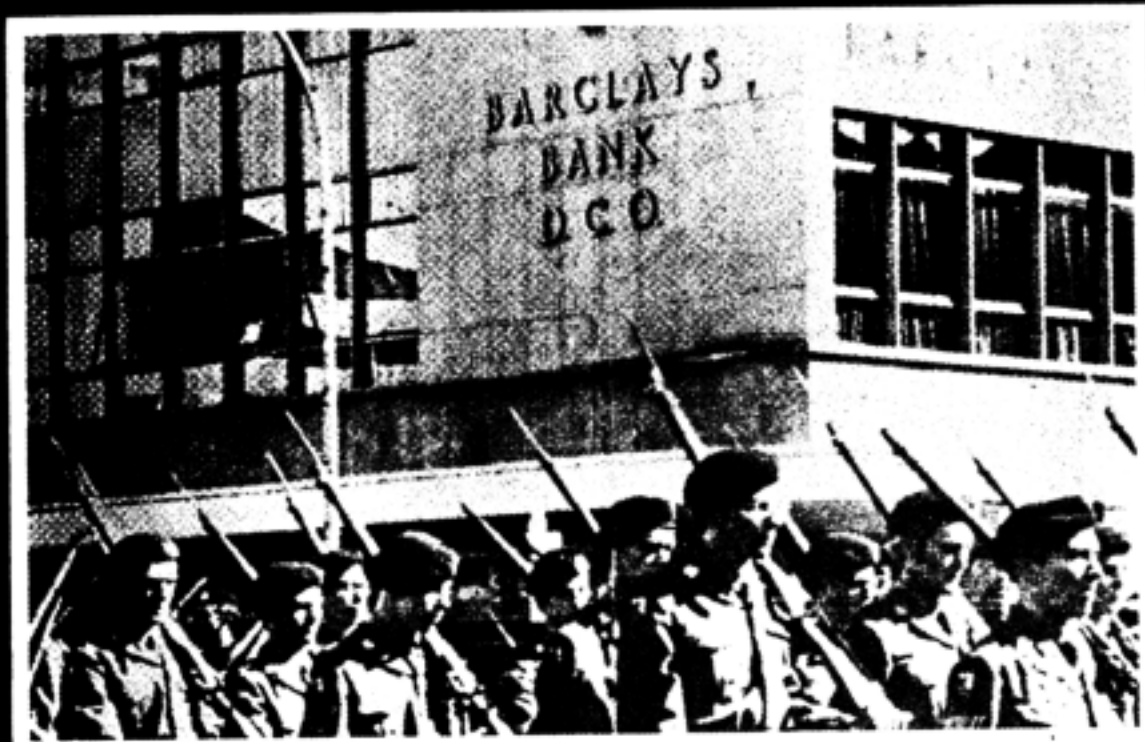
**Down With The Local Affairs Committees and Their Petty Wrangling!**  
**Long Live the Unity of All the Oppressed!**

**Forward to Full Freedom and Democracy for All!**

# BOOK REVIEW

Reviewers do not necessarily reflect the view of the African National Congress

## Business as Usual



### International Banking in South Africa

#### **BUSINESS AS USUAL: International Banking in South Africa**

CIS, 52 Shaftesbury Avenue, London W.1  
(price 30p)

Following on recent exposures of the big banks's role in busting Rhodesian sanctions, a new report follows up the banks concerned and shows their close involvement in keeping apartheid and white supremacy intact throughout Southern Africa. In a bid to uncover the facts, the World Council of Churches commissioned Counter Information Services (CIS) to report on and document the involvement of overseas banks in apartheid. The resulting 32-page report looks beyond the recent exposures of low wages and bad conditions; to the factors that make the apartheid system work. It finds the banks involved and indispensable at every turn, and documents how they dovetail South Africa into the multinational network of their operations. In particular, the report shows how capital inflows from abroad are central to South Africa's economic survival. It shows how the world banking

consortia, including the same banking groups involved in Rhodesian Sanctions busting, arrange these key loans. These loans, the report proves involve close and continuing contact with the South African government, and the projects they finance fulfil key political and strategic objectives for apartheid.

#### **Profit from Apartheid**

This report shifts the critical emphasis, for the first time, from the low pay and bad conditions provided by the firms which profit from apartheid. It lifts the veil on the more basic question of who finances apartheid. It shows that the very existence of the apartheid regime depends on support and active participation by the international banks. Thoroughly documented examples include:

- **the Sishen Saldanha project:** the largest economic scheme ever undertaken in South Africa, likely to cost a total R1000m. An expanded iron-ore mine, a new harbour, and a new railway are all to be built by State corporations, which have recently been raising finance in Europe with the help of European American bank of New York and Morgan Grenfell.
- **the Carlton Centre:** an R88m property development (whites only) in which Barclays have a 10 per cent share, and which costs more than the housing budget for the nearby

gigantic African township of Soweto over the last twenty years.

- **the African Pension Trustees:** a wholly owned subsidiary of Hill Samuel, which runs a pension scheme for African domestic servants and which the report states is as good as useless to the African.'

- **the Land Bank:** central to the scheme of financial support for white agriculture which provides the regime's political power-base, and leads to food being destroyed to keep prices up, while Africans starve due to the high price of food, and farm labourers suffer the worst pay and conditions in South Africa. The report documents how, through the Land Bank, the maintenance of these atrocious conditions is directly financed by the commercial banks, including Barclays and Standard Banks.

#### **Banks Act as Agents**

The following extract from the report shows how deeply Western banking houses are involved in underwriting apartheid:

"The economies of the USA, the UK, Japan and Europe have . . . developed an interest in preserving the political and economic stability of South Africa. The most important agents in this process have been the banks. In every capital transaction, the international banks, either singly or in consortia, have interpreted and met the needs of the South African economy, and even fought among themselves for the opportunity to treat.

From 1965 to 1970 South Africa received a net total of £982m from the West. The annual average net inflow has risen from £93m a year in 1965/7 to £235 m in 1968/70, and in 1970 it reached a record £328m.

In 1971 it rose by a third to reach £447m and the rate of inflow has accelerated still further. The increased attractiveness for foreign borrowing to the South African authorities is well illustrated by the figures of total foreign Government debt, published by the South African Reserve Bank. This rose from R141.5m in 1963 to R502.0m in 1972 - a rise of 254.7%. (Investors Chronicle 24. 8. 73)

But the role of the banking institutions is more poignantly revealed by their role in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when South Africa's political stability was severely shaken. Political unrest among the black population presented a real threat to the apartheid order. In 1960 in the immediate aftermath of the Sharpe-

**In the grand design for my homeland, I see many white capitalists making vast amounts of money."**

*Professor Msimang, Chief Minister of Gauteng*

I've got big plans for my homeland. I see factories. Many of them. All built by white industrialists. All bringing in lots of money for them. And supplying many jobs for my people.

But I'm realistic. I know the white industrialists.

They're a hard-headed, cost-conscious and profit-minded lot.

They'd never think of moving a factory here unless it would cost them at least nothing to do it.

Well, this can be arranged.

The Bantu Investment Corporation will give them a cash grant to move their factory and personnel.

Furthermore, they can also lease the land and the buildings they need for as little as 4% of the value.

They'll get tax concessions not only for their subsidiary in my homeland, but also for their parent company. Plus an extra 25% tax bonus on top of these concessions if they contact us before 31st August.

They'll get up to 45% of the money they need for equipment and working capital, as a low-interest loan.

Their white personnel will get housing loans at 2½% lower than the going building society rate.

And there is a rebate of up to 15% on railrage rates.

What's more, the Bantu Investment Corporation will give any industrialist who asks for it, a complete and free analysis of costs, savings and profits.

(Call or write to them at P.O. Box 213, Pretoria, tel: 48-3523.)

For our part, we will offer one of the biggest labour resources in the country.

It seems this great plan will help many white capitalists make great fortunes. But after they've started developments, there will be a chance for us blacks to make fortunes too.

**Help us to help yourself.**

**The Major Banks in South Africa:**

Bank	Total consolidated group assets	Consolidated group profits after tax	Year End
<i>Commercial Banks</i>			
	<i>Rm</i>		
Stanbic	2,077.6	7.9	Mar 1972
	* 1,893.5	6.8	
Barclays	2,005.7	14.1	Sept 1972
	-	-	
Nedbank	1,056.1	8.5	Sept 1972
	818.8	6.9	
Volkscas	1,006.9	6.5	Mar 1972
	868.8	5.6	
Trust	801.0	4.7	Dec 1972
	728.4	4.2	
<i>Merchant Banks</i>			
Standard	248.4	1.3	Mar 1972
	217.8	1.4	
Senbank	230.7	1.7	Jun 1972
	205.5	1.6	
Union Acceptances	201.9	2.8	Dec 1972
	158.2	2.1	
Trust	51.9	0.5	Dec 1972
	48.6	0.4	
Hill Samuel	48.6	0.5	Mar 1972
	39.7	0.4	
Nefic	47.0	0.4	Sept 1972
	37.0	0.2	
Mercabank	38.8	0.3	Sept 1972
	21.0	0.2	
Western	17.7	0.1	Jun 1972
	5.1	0.04	
Finansbank	9.9	0.02	Mar 1973
	7.0	0.01	

\* Figures for the previous year

**A state advert in the Western Press**

ville massacre (83 people shot down by state police during a demonstration), £48m left the country. By 1964 there was a net outflow of \$21m.

**Repressive Measures**

A breakdown of these figures, however, reveals a striking distinction between direct and indirect investment. The flight of capital around the time of Sharpeville turns out to have been almost entirely due to private overseas holders of equities pulling out. The large corporations that participated directly, by establishing and expanding plant, or more importantly, by making capital available, continued to support the economy.

The repressive measures introduced internally by the state were accompanied by a solid framework of capital. Although new direct investment from Britain in 1961 dropped to a low point it remained a net inflow to South Africa - more capital went to South Africa than was withdrawn.

Over the whole period **British companies** sent an average of \$28m a year in direct investment. **US corporations** were no less faithful. Between 1960/66, South Africa gained £14m of American direct investment on average every year.

The banks played their vital part. In 1958 the **Deutsche Bank of West Ger-**

**many** raised a 50mDM loan for Anglo-American, South Africa's mining conglomerate. And less than two years after Sharpeville the same bank led a consortium of banks, guaranteeing a £4m loan to the South African Government.

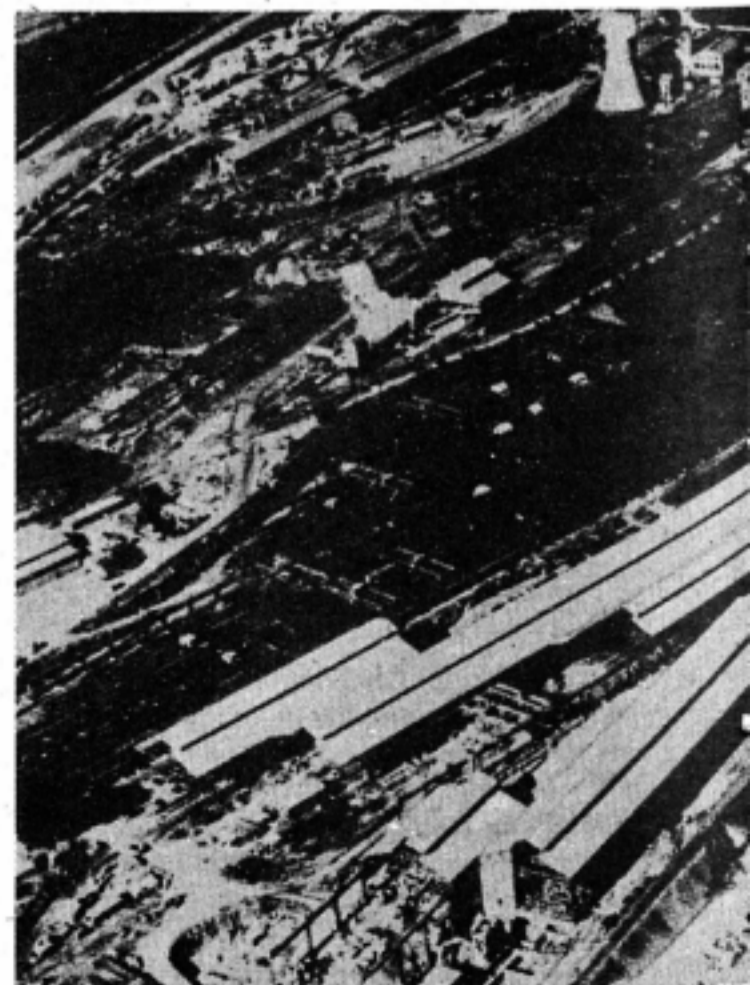
**The First National City Bank**, the largest US bank, unilaterally extended a \$5m loan to Pretoria in 1961, the bleakest year for foreign investment in South Africa. But most important of all in the post-Sharpeville period was a revolving loan of \$40 million which a consortium of ten American banks arranged for the South African Government. **Participating banks were the Bank of America, Chase Manhattan, First National City, Manufacturers Hanover Trust, Morgan Guaranty Trust, Chemical Bank New York Trust, Baners Trust, Irving Trust, Continental Illinois Bank, and First National of Chicago.**

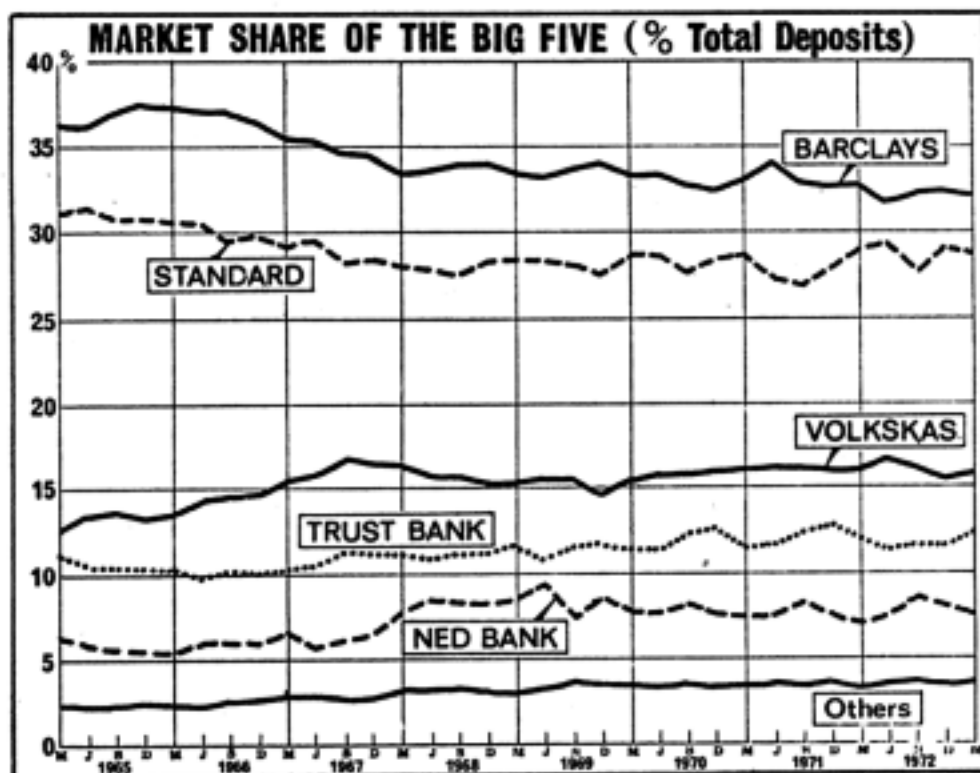
Although the consortium loan has not been renewed since 1969 because of growing pressure in the USA to end support to racist South Africa, less visible support has continued from American banks, notably **First National and Chase Manhattan.** In 1965 Chase bought a 15% shareholding in the British-owned **Standard Bank**, South Africa's second largest bank, and with extensive

operations elsewhere in the continent.

**The Chemical Bank**, having no branches in South Africa, is typical of the majority of international merchant

**Isacor Steel Works in Pretoria**





From  
„The Banker“  
October  
- 1973

banks. K. M. Umy, Chemical Bank's Vice President, declared in 1968 that this bank had maintained a very satisfactory account with the South African Reserve Bank (equivalent to the Bank of England) as well as the New York agency of the Standard Bank. Consequently, 'the Chemical Bank felt obliged to render financial assistance if needed'. (Letter quoted in Africa Today September 1970)

### The World Bank

The World Bank - dominated by American and Western capital - has played its part in the post-war economy of South Africa. To date the World Bank has extended eleven substantial loans to South Africa. Between 1947 and 1962 the Bank lent South Africa \$220m. These were primarily directed at South Africa's economic infrastructure as the loans were specifically for the development of transport and power indu-

stries; \$74m to the Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) and \$148m to the South African Railways and Harbour Board. In 1966 ESCOM received another \$120m from the World Bank. More recently the bank has played a less important role. In the latest Report, 1973, the total cumulative loan provided by the World Bank to South Africa is given as \$241.8m. The governor of the South African Reserve Bank is also one of the governors of the World Bank.

For the South African business community, these loans and their continuance represent what the Financial Mail called 'the desirability of keeping one's name on the important capital markets of the world' (31. 1. 69). Many of the loans raised by the South African government have been accompanied by bond issues offered for sale on the money markets. **The first foreign loan to which private buyers could subscribe by buying bonds on the Stock Exchange was arranged by the Deutsche Bank in the Federal Republic in 1958.**

In October 1970 Pretoria offered bonds on the international markets worth £5m on the London market. They were so oversubscribed that when the market officially opened, it reclosed after ten minutes, sold out.

The framework of confidence which surrounds these South African issues is such that all the main Western merchant banks have 'guaranteed' them; that is, if they are undersubscribed by the public, the banks guarantee to buy those left over.

**In November 1971 a further government bond issue of £12m was backed by more than 100 European merchant banks including Hambros, Lazard Brothers, NM Rothschild, Hill Samuel, Morgan Grenfell and J. Henry Schroder Wagg."**

(This valuable contribution towards the exposure of imperialist involvement with the South African racist regime is a must for all students of South African affairs, solidarity movements and libraries.)

## City of London Profit Man

(a jingle for  
the overseas investors  
in apartheid)

City gent  
money gent  
profit man  
louse  
stuffing your guts  
with goose and grouse  
golf and gin  
and dividends received  
On what else does your belly feed?  
Fat Bug!

From this pin-striped gent  
we understand  
black labour blows its nose in hand  
And what of his civilising spree  
grabbing grub off every tree!  
Swollen Bug!

When infant dies of broken tummy  
aint  
kiddies  
dying  
bloody  
funny?

Has City gent his fill?  
No!  
The profit man is gorging still!  
Bloated Bug!

City gent  
money gent  
profit man  
louse  
pewking  
in his summer-house  
be-gloved be-jewelled  
tie-fidgeting breed

**BEWARE!**  
We'll put  
an end  
to greed . . .

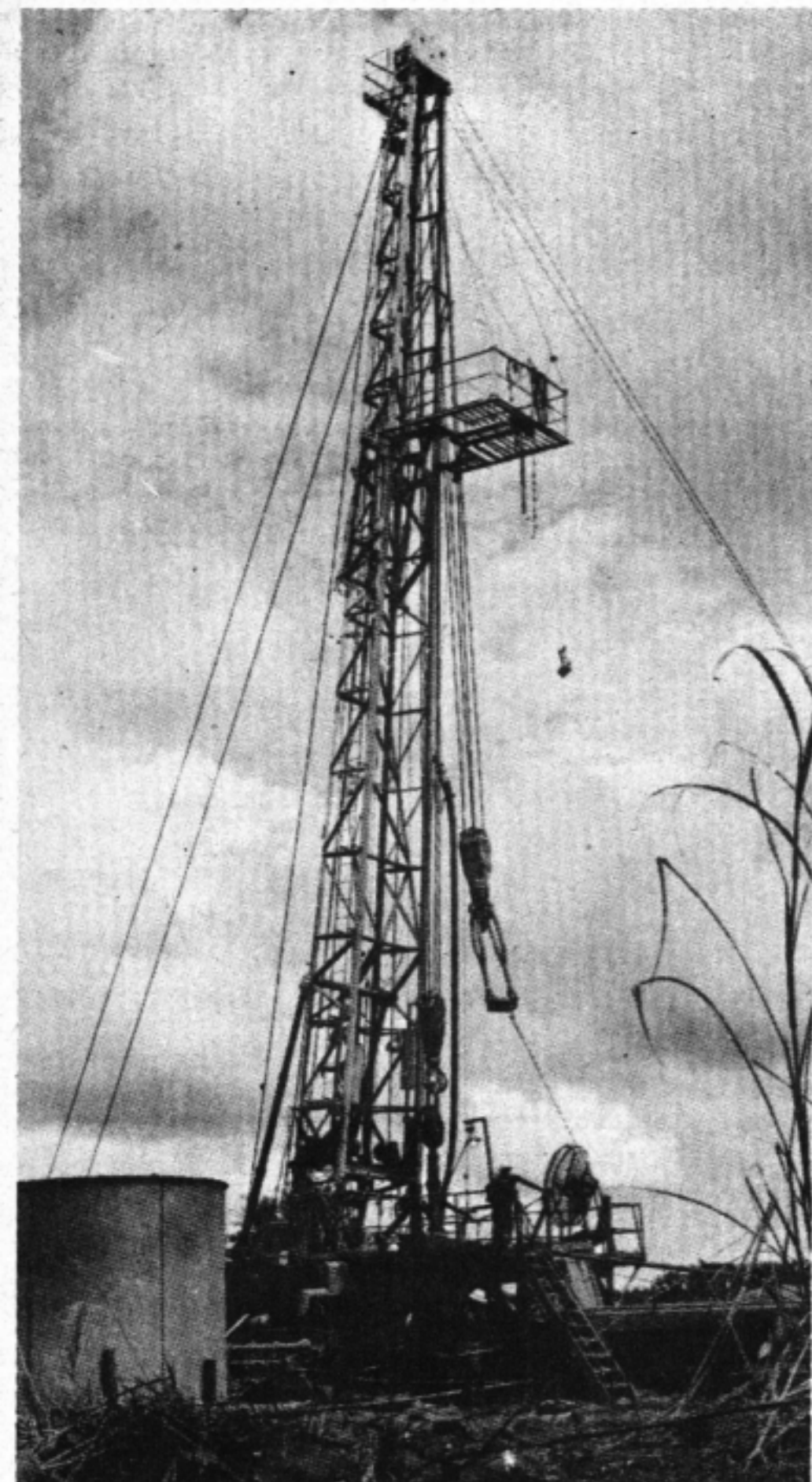
POP!

by: A.N.C. Kumalo



**The use of oil as a weapon in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, apartheid and Israeli aggression and as an instrument for the development of an independent national economy is fully in keeping with the principles of international law. It is based on the fundamental principle of sovereignty which was also confirmed by the UN. This article shows who is . . .**

# OILING THE APARTHEID MACHINE



While American banking interests have demonstrated their loyalty to South Africa in crisis and are presently in the wings, American oil interests have the centre stage. Having played the key role in developing refining facilities for South Africa's imported oil, U.S. oil companies have now assumed an important part in government plans to locate oil within the country itself.

## **Recent Developments**

For 60 years South Africa, rich in natural resources, has been drilling for oil, the one mineral it lacks and needs most to become industrially self-sufficient and therefore safe from any threat of sanctions by the international community. South Africa spends approximately \$190 million per year importing almost all its oil (90 per cent) from potentially hostile Persian Gulf sources and manufactures the remainder of its requirements through an oil-from-coal process. Oil consumption is rising rapidly - 12 million tons in 1969 compared with 7.3 million tons in 1967.

Ignoring the 1963 United Nations resolution urging member states to refrain from supplying oil to South Africa, US companies have taken the lead in the crucial area

of oil exploration (as well as refining and marketing, and in March, 1969, South Africa announced a petroleum gas strike by the Superior Oil Company of Houston. This strike confirmed the presence of oil on the Continental Shelf off Plettenberg Bay in the Cape and has spurred expanded activity off-shore.

The increasing tempo of the search is evidenced by Superior's intention to spend about \$7 million in 1970 on the operations of its huge oil drilling platform, Ocean Traveller, which will operate in the vicinity of the gas strike. Until now, drilling has been carried out from ships such as the Glomar Sirte which pinpointed the gas. The arrival of Ocean Traveller, the first semisubmersible drilling platform in South African waters, is regarded as a significant event in the oil hunt by the Southern Oil Exploration Corporation (SOEKOR), a government agency, established in 1965, to coordinate the search and award concessions. Since its foundation, SOEKOR has spent approximately \$26.6 million looking for oil.

Four years ago South African geologists knew little about oil, but now the agency's exploration methods compare with any in the world. Moreover, SOEKOR has succeeded in leasing the whole of the South African offshore area

as well as all available areas off Namibia – primarily to US companies. SOEKOR works with an annual allocation of \$7 million from the government and will receive increasingly large slices of the off-shore concessions. Under the terms of their agreements, foreign investors will forego a quarter of their concession areas (they decide which quarter) after 39 months, and another quarter after seven years. First retrocessions are due this year. With this in mind and in preparation for partnership in selected off-shore ventures, SOEKOR has hired a consulting firm to coordinate and interpret the results of the off-shore explorations.

### Hive of Activity

The Mossel and Plettenberg Bay areas between Cape Town and Port Elizabeth have been described as a "hive of activity", as second and third US companies have joined Superior in the off-shore hunt in areas ceded by Midlands Oil, a large on-shore concession holder. One company, US National Oil, will operate on behalf of Midlands. Next to the Superior concession in Agulhas Bay, US Natural Resources, Inc. of Delaware, in conjunction with Rand Mines and SOEKOR, will spend \$2,800,000 to explore a 5-mile-wide strip between Mossel Bay and Plettenberg Bay. This will be SOEKOR's first direct participation in off-shore exploration. Transworld 61, a 6000-ton rig built in Japan, arrived off Port Elizabeth in August 1970 to start drilling operations five miles off-shore from Mossel Bay.

A crude oil strike at Colchester near Port Elizabeth early this year has motivated increased activity on-shore. The presence of crude oil was detected in an on-shore borehole in the prospecting lease area of H.M. Mining and Exploration Company where SOEKOR is exploring for oil by agreement with that Canadian company. H.M. Mining is an associate company of the Syracuse Oil Company of the United States.

In the search for oil in Southern Africa, in 1970 alone \$28 million was invested – equal to a total spent by SOEKOR in the previous four years. Present figures are unavailable at present but it could be safely estimated at twice this amount annually. Officials of SOEKOR are saying that while chances of finding commercial oil deposits on-shore are not promising, the prospects for a significant strike off-shore – where the search is dominated by giant U.S. firms – are much better. Credit for the development of this area is acknowledged by the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy: "It is encouraging to observe the vigorous manner in which the South African off-shore leasees (US companies) have gone about exploring their respective areas."

The various US exploration interests are outlined below:

### US On-Shore Concessions

- **Argus Oil**, owned equally by Texans Mike Dodgen, Sam Collins and Warren Thackston, has exploration concessions covering 20 per cent of South Africa's land surface.
- **Ashland Oil**, Valveline Oil Company S.A. is in the Transvaal.
- **Glair and Kestler** is a Los Angeles group with mineral rights at Kareebosch where deep drilling started in July 1966 at a ceremony attended by the late Prime Minister Verwoerd. They make use of a special oil rig built by Keir-Cawder-Amscott of the US with the cost of drilling paid by the South African government.
- **Gulf Oil Corporation** had until recently a 70 per cent interest in Zululand Oil Exploration. The remaining 30 per cent is shared among SOEKOR, Engelhard Hanovia and two other South African mining groups. While Gulf's investment in South Africa was not particularly large, the

company is prominent in the Southern Africa area as a whole with a major oil strike in Cabinda (Angola) and operations off-shore Mozambique.

- **Midlands Oil** is a major land concession holder with rights extending the length of the Cape Coastline.
- **Syracuse Oil Company** of the US is associated with the Canadian company, H.M. Mining, and SOEKOR in the Eastern Cape region.

### US Off-Shore Concessions

- **American Pacific Petroleum** (Los Angeles) in which Pantepec International, Petroleum Corporation of America, Kewanee Overseas Oil Company of Tulsa, Oklahoma, West Germany's **Bochumer Mineralöl Gesellschaft and Company**, and Union Corporation Ltd. S.A. also have interests. Under the terms of agreement with American Pacific, each company acquired an 18.75 per cent working interest in a prospecting sub-lease amounting to 1,152,000 acres north of Durban, covering exploration for oil, gas and other hydro-carbons. American Pacific retains a 25 per cent interest in the property. A marine seismic survey has been started on the block which extends approximately 80 miles north of Durban.
- **Amoco** has an off-shore concession east of Cape Town.
- **Atlantic Richfield** (Los Angeles) has exploring rights off-shore Anniston.
- **Chevron-Regent** (a Caltex subsidiary) is off-shore Stillbar.
- **Esso Exploration Inc.** (New York) arrived in South Africa in 1963, and in addition to marketing, is moving into the oil search.
- **Mobil (New York)** is in a consortium with **B.P., Shell and C.F.P. (Total)** of Paris off-shore Humansdorp-East London.
- **Placid Oil**, owned by the H.L. Hunt family, has exploring rights off-shore Mossel Bay for crude oil only.
- **Security Resources** (East) owned by a group of Los Angeles businessmen will operate off-shore East London-Durban.
- **Superior Oil Company** (Houston) is the operator for a group of US companies including Cities Service Company, Tenneco Inc., and Highland Resources. Major exploration and petroleum gas strikes have been found off-shore in the Plettenberg Bay area.
- **U.S. National Oil** will operate on behalf of Midlands Oil.
- **U.S. Natural Resources, Inc.** (Delaware) functions under an agreement concluded in December 1969, when Rand Mines and SOEKOR obtained half shares in a 52.2 per cent slice of the off-shore concession area (barely 35 miles from the scene of South Africa's off-shore gas strike) ceded to U.S. Natural Resources by Midlands, Engelhard Hanovia and the Transvaal Consolidated Land and Exploration Company will operate in the interest of Rand Mines, and a new corporation, Engelhard Enterprises has recently acquired a 10 per cent interest.

### Refining and Marketing

Caltex (jointly owned by Standard Oil of California and Texaco), Mobil, and Esso control approximately 44 per cent of the market for all petroleum products in South Africa. Caltex and Mobil own two of South Africa's three major refineries and refine half of her imports. Texaco began marketing in South Africa in 1911 while Caltex was formed in 1941. It did not build a refinery until 1966, and is now involved in marketing and manufacturing with 20 per cent of the market. Caltex has a refinery at Kilarney, Cape Province, a \$27.4 million operation with a capacity for crude of 30,000 barrels daily and a storage capacity for crude of 1.2 million barrels. In February 1967 the com-

pany opened a new refinery at Milnerton, Cape Town to process 30,000 additional barrels per day, and recently moved into the final phase of a \$21 million expansion of this refinery which will increase the output to 50,000 barrels per day. With the new equipment in operation, there will be an additional 8 per cent yield of kerosene and jet fuel. Until now Caltex has imported its jet fuels. In 1965 Caltex signed an agreement allowing a South African tanker to ship about 15 per cent of its Cape Town refinery requirements. Through another subsidiary, Chevron-Regent, Standard Oil of California and Texaco also are involved in oil exploration.

Caltex employs 550 blacks out of 1,700 employees, and claims to have an enlightened wage policy. But looking at the weekly wage scale one notes that the minimum wage for a black worker in the Cape is \$18.20 and for a white the minimum pay is \$43 a week.

Both Caltex personnel and the corporation itself openly support South Africa. R.D. Wrigley, Jr., former American manager of Caltex, S.A., is a member of the South Africa Foundation. In addition, Caltex ran an ad campaign in Johannesburg papers and magazines. One ad read as follows: "Ahead of Caltex lies many years of search and perhaps disappointment — or the discovery which will free South Africa for all time from dependence on outside oil supplies."

### Wage Rates

Yet Caltex personnel try to hide behind legalities.

John D. Tierney, Manager, Public Relations Department, claims: "Caltex Petroleum Corporation is not typical in that it does not itself operate in Africa, but owns independent and separate subsidiary companies in some countries there. These subsidiaries are nations of the countries in which they do business."

Table 1 — Caltex Weekly Wage Scale for Black. (1970 figures)

Cape Town

Grade	Wage	Description
1	\$18.20 (minimum) \$16.80 (Reef pay) \$15.40 (other)	least skilled: floor sweeper, kitchen hand
2	\$20.30 (minimum)	drum cleaner, messenger
3	\$22.40	messenger
4	(no information)	asphalt operator, charge hand, chauffeur, chef
5		
6	no information, but note that the white wage scale cuts in at this point, i. e. white staff grade 2 is equal to black grade 6	
7	\$33.88 — \$50.40	gauger, loading rock operator, clerical assistant, truck driver
8	\$40.56 — \$66.78	traveller, sales representative

The oil industry is affected by the general conditions regarding skilled labour including forms of job reservation. For example truck drivers of bulk trucks are white, while smaller trucks can be driven by blacks.

Along with Caltex, Mobil refines and transports half of South Africa's oil. Mobil and Standard Oil of New Jersey (Esso) were combined as Standard Vacuum and operated as such in South Africa until 1962 when a U.S. government

anti-trust suit forced them to split. Mobil Oil retained the entire Southern African operation and took the name Mobil Petroleum Corporation. Mobil has a refinery at Durban, where it recently launched an \$8.4 million expansion, with an annual capacity of 1,450,000 tons of crude, and dealership and service stations throughout South Africa. Additional facilities are located in Natal, Isando, and Cape Town. For the period August 1965, to July 1968 Mobil supplied South African Airways with aviation fuel. Mobil also has joined in oil exploration in a consortium described above. Shell and Mobil cooperated with each other in 1966 to finance a 100,000-gallon oil depot at Messina in the Transvaal within easy reach of the Rhodesian border, a depot which helps relieve the sanctions crisis in that country.

Mobil has an annual sales volume of \$162 million with slightly more than half that amount of the sales held in stock. It controls about 25 per cent of refining and marketing of petroleum in South Africa.

Mobil employs 1,970 whites, 1,250 blacks. It claims that all its workers receive the same benefits, but, as is common, the areas of medical assistance, pension plans and vacation benefits differ between the racial groups. Mobil admits that blacks are not employed in the supervision of whites or in "direct business dealings with Whites", but rather have lower echelon jobs as drivers, clerks and storemen with a few salesmen, "minor Department Heads", lab assistants and computer operators.

In the black grade scale, average wages begin at \$16 a week, while at the top grade, where there are very few blacks, the wage is \$56 a week. Europeans are paid on an entirely different scale based on international standards. Mobil workers are not unionised. Mobil does have a programme for training blacks in service station work and is aiding businessmen in the Transkei and other Bantustans, a programme in line with South African government policy.

### Law Abiding(!)

Standard Oil of New Jersey (Esso) which was the other partner in the Standard Vacuum split, did not re-enter South Africa until 1963. Standard, operating as Esso Petroleum Company, has an automated oil terminal at Milnerton, Cape Town with 10 tanks and a capacity of 7.5 million gallons. They have also built new storage depots at Potchefstroom, Pietermaritzburg, Johannesburg and Kroonstad. Esso markets through 50 or more retailers and has a small work force of several hundred employees. Some predict Esso is planning to enlarge her South African investment and a Financial Mail article reports Esso has been talking to the South African government about the possibility of building a refinery at Richards Bay, which would move Esso from simply marketing to a new stage in her commitment to South Africa.

A consortium formed by Fluor International Inc. (Los Angeles) and Für Mineraltechnik (Frankfurt) is building an \$84 million refinery for National Petroleum Refiners of South Africa (NATREF). Located a few miles from Sasolburg the refinery will process 2.5 metric tons of crude a year and will produce a full range of petroleum products, including liquid petroleum gas, jet fuel, petrol paraffin, diesel fuel, light fuel oil, and bitumen. The process design for the factory was done by Universal Oil Products of Des Plaines, Illinois.

In sum, US oil firms in the refining, marketing and exploration field are at the forefront of the South African economy. Working with SOEKOR and other government bodies, the statement of one oil official seems to be an understatement. He said, "We couldn't live here if we weren't good citizens; therefore we are very law abiding."



# ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENTS IN WESTERN EUROPE

Extracts from  
a report prepared  
for the  
United Nations  
Unit on Apartheid  
by Kader Asmal,  
Vice-Chairman  
and Louise Asmal,  
Honorary  
Administrative  
Secretary of the  
Irish Anti-Apartheid  
Movement.

Throughout Western Europe, anti-apartheid movements have come into being in response to an increasing awareness of the evils of apartheid. Thousands of individuals, whose imagination has been struck by the determination of courageous men and women inside South Africa to end the most highly-organised and all-embracing system of oppression the world has known, have come to recognize that apartheid is indeed a "crime against humanity" as declared by the General Assembly of the United Nations. They have joined together to combat the collusion of their own governments with the South African regime and to render what assistance they can to the liberation movements.

These movements have now become an effective counter to the propaganda machinery of the South African regime and its supporters. There have been some dramatic results from the efforts to assist the people of South Africa who are struggling against the system of apartheid, such as the saving of the lives of some who have been put on trial under obnoxious repressive laws. At other times the results of these efforts seemed disappointing, but they have succeeded in keeping open the channels of communication between the people of South Africa, who are mostly black, and the people of Western Europe, who are mostly white; this, in itself, constitutes an overwhelming repudiation of the philosophy of apartheid.

This paper is not a comprehensive study of all anti-apartheid movements in Western Europe. An attempt has been made to indicate the role of these movements and to deal with certain selected areas of work which have a common significance and in which greater cooperation would be valuable.

As the struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination has developed, so the calls to cease collaboration with the white minority governments have become more specific. The anti-apartheid movements, the liberation movements themselves, and the various organs of the United Nations, have all contributed to detailed analyses of the international aspects of the situation and the formulation of precise courses for action in support of those struggling for freedom in Southern Africa.

As United Nations resolutions become more specific, the Western European governments have become more reluctant to support them. Even those governments which have given financial aid to liberation movements are reluctant to break all economic links with South Africa. The work of the anti-apartheid groups in researching the areas of collaboration which exist, and in carrying out campaigns to educate public opinion, remains essential in order to secure the widest implementation of United Nations resolutions.

## Activities

There are now anti-apartheid groups in all the countries of Western Europe, with the exception of Spain, Portugal, Greece and Luxembourg.

The nature of these groups, their aims and objects, and the methods they use vary widely and they are not formally linked in any particular way, although one European conference and occasional consultations have been held. This is partly a reflection of the differences in the links which each country has with South Africa, and partly the result of particular geographical and political circumstances. Most groups have tried to be broadly-based organisations, and their strength lies in the influence they are able to bring to bear in many different sectors of society. They keep in close touch with the liberation movements of Southern Africa, and many of them were, in fact, set up in consultation with the leaders of liberation movements. The exchange of ideas and cooperation with the United Nations bodies dealing with apartheid, particularly the Special Committee on Apartheid; has grown considerably over the past few years.

## Establishment of A-A Groups

Most anti-apartheid groups were established in the late 1950s or early 1960s in response to a growing international awareness of the monstrosity of apartheid. One of the earliest of these groups, the Fond for Rasfortryckets Offer I Sodra Afrika (the Fund for the Victims of Racial Oppression in Southern Africa) was founded in Sweden in 1959, on the initiative of a few people who had spent considerable time working in South Africa after an appeal in the press by writers, churchmen and leaders of the Social Democratic Party and the Liberal Party.

In countries such as Britain and Ireland, where there were numbers of black students from South Africa, anti-apartheid groups were initiated in cooperation with local sympathisers. These groups started as boycott movements in response to the appeal of the African National Congress of South Africa for the boycott of South African goods. During the same period, other people in Britain, mainly churchmen, became involved in raising money for the defence of the 156 South African leaders accused in the treason trial, which dragged on from 1956 to 1961. The "Treason Trial Defence Fund", as the group was known, was succeeded by the Defence and Aid Fund with which the Swedish Fund became associated.

The Sharpeville massacre of March 1960 galvanised public opinion into greater action. In Sweden, a second body, the Swedish South Africa Committee, was founded for political campaigns and became very active in the boycott move-

ment. The inspiration came again from those who had lived and worked in South Africa, but the new organisation obtained support from many political leaders. Separate groups for humanitarian assistance and for political action were also founded in Denmark and Norway, and in the spring of 1963, the youth movements of all three countries came together to co-ordinate action in support of United Nations resolutions calling for a boycott of South Africa. In the Netherlands, the first organisation set up was the Comite Zuid-Afrika, which was founded in 1960 by a fairly broadly-based group of people drawn from different political parties. The Comite Francans Contre l'Apartheid began to function in France in 1964, after a number of visits by liberation movement leaders. The Finnish Syd-afrikakomitten, the Belgian Comite Centre le Colonialisme et l'Apartheid, the Mouvement Anti-Apartheid de Suisse, and groups in Italy and West Germany were established in subsequent years.

The aims and objects of all the anti-apartheid movements are basically the same; namely: to help achieve the freedom of the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa. All aim to disseminate information about apartheid, to influence the policies of their governments, and to build up public support. However, the precise policies and methods of work differ from group to group, and their activities have broadened over the years to meet the changing situation in South Africa and Southern Africa.

### Information

All anti-apartheid groups consider one of their principal functions to be the provision of information about conditions in Southern Africa as well as the struggle of the peoples in the territories under colonial and racist domination. All of them issue printed material, ranging from duplicated newsletters circulated to members to the monthly newspaper of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Anti-Apartheid News, which by means of eye-catching cartoons, photographs and up-to-the-minute articles and interviews, has consistently maintained a high standard. Established in 1965, the Anti-Apartheid News now has a circulation of between 7000 and 8000 and is an invaluable weapon in the British campaign against apartheid. Most groups also publish pamphlets from time to time.

The success of anti-apartheid campaigns depends upon

solid information material. Documentation produced by the United Nations, the International Defence and Aid Fund, the World Council of Churches and other bodies is frequently of vital importance for their work, especially as it is produced by internationally-known and respected organisations. The South African propaganda machine is, however, highly professional, and the material which they send out to schools and organisations tends to be attractively produced, copiously illustrated, and generally easy-to-read. Factual material alone is not sufficient to counter this; and there is a great need for films of which an increasing number are now available.

The United Nations General Assembly has repeatedly called for wider dissemination of information on South Africa, and to this end, the anti-apartheid movements have made a tremendous contribution, both by producing their own material and by distributing the publications of the United Nations Unit on Apartheid, if available in the language of the country.

Television and radio services are utilized whenever possible. The fact that anti-apartheid groups are now well-established in most countries in Europe has enabled them to build up their contacts in the press and media. Many groups have been able to set up offices and employ staff, with consequent increased efficiency and continuity of experience. The great strength of the movement as a whole, however, continues to lie in the fact that it is voluntary; even full-time personnel do not look on their work simply as a job.

### Humanitarian Assistance

Some organisations have started purely as humanitarian fund-raising organisations, as was the case with the Swedish and British funds already mentioned. Together with similar organisations in Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and Ireland and others outside Europe, these organisations constitute the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa. The developments in South Africa have led more and more people to realise that no distinct line can be drawn between humanitarian and political assistance. Once the Defence and Aid Fund was banned in South Africa, it became a political act to raise money for legal defence and assistance to families of prisoners in



Demonstration in support of striking Black workers in South Africa organised by the AAM in London

Demonstration  
in Austria  
against  
apartheid



South Africa. Moreover, people who were at first prepared to give money for humanitarian purposes only came to see that it was useless simply to assist those who were the victims of apartheid laws without, at the same time, taking steps to change the situation, or supporting those who were taking such steps. As a result, in some countries, committees with humanitarian and political aims merged or operated side by side under a single umbrella organisation. In other countries, the distinct and urgent need for humanitarian assistance is more effectively met by maintaining separate organisations.

In the Netherlands, for example, the Comité Zuid-Africa (CZA) had originally favoured dialogue with the South African Government and with the whites in South Africa, but in the light of its experience in trying to put its ideas into practice, it came to take a position in line with the policies of the liberation movements- that is, of disengagement. Meanwhile, it retained its humanitarian objects. Because some individuals within the organisation preferred to concentrate on one or another aspect of the work, the CZA divided itself into two bodies the Defence and Aid Fund Netherlands concentrates on fund-raising and the Anti-Apartheids Beweging Nederland operates on the political and activist level.

By retaining separate organisations for separate tasks, a wider group of individuals is encouraged to contribute to the struggle against apartheid. It may be noted that the United Nations has set up the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa for educational and humanitarian assistance to victims of apartheid, while the Special Committee on Apartheid deals with political action against South Africa. Many Western European states contribute to educational and humanitarian funds, while they do not support the resolutions on political action. Anti-Apartheid groups have played their part in urging their governments to contribute to these funds.

### Co-operation with Liberation Movements

The inspiration for the foundation of anti-apartheid groups usually came from particular events inside South Africa,

such as the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and the Rivonia trial of 1963-1964, which received widespread publicity. Liberation movement leaders in exile have been invited by these groups to give an authoritative opinion on these events. The United Nations has only recently recognised the liberation movements as the genuine representatives of their countries, but anti-apartheid movements which have not been confronted with problems of an intergovernmental organisation, have been able to do so from the beginning.

One of the principal objects of anti-apartheid groups is to raise support for the liberation movements. Promotional material of the Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement, for example, indicates that one of its major objectives is "to support the liberation movements in their struggle for their legitimate rights". One of the aims of the Irish movement is "to cooperate with and support Southern African organisations campaigning against apartheid". Similar phrases appear in the constitutions of all anti-apartheid movements.

Support for liberation movements is one of the main areas in which the activities of anti-apartheid movements have developed over the years. Fifteen years ago, the question of apartheid was only beginning to be considered internationally. Public opinion was ill-informed and needed to be convinced that apartheid in South Africa was totally wrong. Therefore, anti-apartheid movements placed emphasis on demonstrating the true nature of apartheid to the public. Sympathetic sections of the public were shocked by these revelations but they had yet to accept that there was a case for the use of force against the ruling white minorities. Even some active members of anti-apartheid groups in the early 1960s did not accept that the use of force could not be rejected as part of the struggle.

Thus, support for the liberation movements, was, at first, largely confined to moral support, expressed in resolutions, public meetings and information material. Increasingly, the movements were able to promote greater public understanding for material support to the liberation movements. The South Africa Freedom Day, which is observed on June 26 every year, has become a focus for such activity.

Leaders of the South African liberation movements are in demand on that day to speak at public meetings all over Europe. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement has an advantage in that it is able to conduct a continuous process of dialogue and consultation with liberation movement leaders since the movements maintain offices in London. Lack of funds and geographical considerations prevent smaller countries, such as Ireland, from holding such frequent discussions, but whenever possible, tours are arranged for these leaders.

### More Militant

Gradually, the policy decisions of anti-apartheid movements concerning the liberation movements have become more militant. A resolution of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement in 1968 called on the Movement "to consult with representatives of the freedom movements of Southern Africa upon a concrete programme of international action designed to render moral and material assistance to the armed resistance of the Southern African peoples". Even at that stage, however, the material assistance envisaged was of a humanitarian nature, such as medical supplies and warm clothing. It was felt that appeals for such assistance would achieve a greater public response. Student groups have found it easier to embark on general fund-raising campaigns for the liberation movements, though the response was slow. In 1970 the National Union of Students in the United Kingdom adopted a resolution calling for material support for the liberation movements, but it was only in 1972 that this became a reality, when over £2000 was raised during a special fund-raising fortnight. Each anti-apartheid movement has to determine its priorities for action in the light of the political stance of its own country. In Great Britain, the principal trading partner of South Africa, the attention of anti-apartheid activists has been directed chiefly at ending economic collaboration with apartheid (at the express request of the liberation movements) rather than providing aid in the form of funds and equipment for the liberation movements.

In the Scandinavian countries, on the other hand, the anti-apartheid movements have been able to concentrate on persuading their governments to make grants to the liberation movements. The Swedish Government and Swedish public opinion have proved remarkably sympathetic to the aspirations of the liberation movements, and the Swedish Government was the first to give direct assistance to liberation movements. The climate of opinion in several other countries is such that, though governments might not be prepared to follow the example of Sweden, public opinion might well do so.

One of the main difficulties at present is that the repression in South Africa is so highly organised that the activities of the liberation movements must of necessity be clandestine and appear unorganised. This creates the impression that there is no focus for more active support. For instance to the outside observer, the widespread strikes which took place during 1973 in Durban and other major South African cities seemed to lack prior organisation and overall leadership, making it difficult to convert the sympathy, which was undoubtedly felt in many European countries into concrete assistance to organisations.

Nevertheless, these strikes, which were followed by the shocking shootings at Carletonville, showed that the situation in South Africa was not as rigidified as it seemed. \* During the latter half of the 1960s the white power structure had looked so enormously powerful that there seemed to be little hope of an early change. In the Scandinavian countries, it had become difficult to recruit voluntary workers for anti-apartheid campaigns while there was an up-

surge of interest in territories under Portuguese domination where liberation movements were scoring real successes in the military struggle. The guerrilla wars in Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, and now in Zimbabwe, are presently affecting the whole balance of power in Southern Africa; as the supporters of the anti-apartheid movements came to realise this, their interest in the whole region has revived.

### Over £ 3 m. For Liberation

The most impressive result of Scandinavian solidarity work has undoubtedly been their success in persuading governments to contribute directly to the support of the liberation movements. During 1973-74 the Swedish Government gave about £3.3 million, of which the greater part is allocated to the PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA. In 1970 the Norwegian Government decided in principle to provide development aid to the liberation movements, and it later gave a grant to the PAIGC of 151,515 Norwegian kroner. The Danish Government increased its contributions to the victims of apartheid from 28,666 dollars in 1965 to 2,400,000 dollars in 1973. For example, in 1973, the Government of Finland decided to support the liberation movements directly and gave a grant to the PAIGC.

Other anti-apartheid movements have conducted their own aid programmes. Though the results were, perhaps, less spectacular in terms of the amount of money raised, they nevertheless mark an important step forward in terms of solidarity. The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement has run a medical aid scheme for Mozambique. The Swiss Anti Apartheid Movement has been particularly interested in Namibia and has kept in close touch with its recognised liberation movement, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), and makes contributions towards the publication of the SWAPO journal, Namibia News.

In summing up the relations between anti-apartheid groups and the liberation movements, it can be said that the policy of the former is determined broadly by the latter. Basically, it is for the liberation movements themselves to make their demands, and for anti-apartheid groups to respond. There is, however, a considerable amount of interaction on a number of matters. Anti-apartheid groups have been able to provide information to liberation movements about developments in their countries, and have provided technical assistance and advice on the formulation of demands. To this extent they have been partners of the liberation movements in joint campaigns to change public opinion and alter the policy of governments.

\* (Perhaps this point could have been further elaborated. The underground movement in South Africa has been campaigning over a number of years within the country. Five clandestine publications have been, and are being, published regularly for all sections of the people within the country. Our radio station in Zambia has a daily one-hour programme beamed to South Africa. All this, and the advent of mass organisations such as the black students organisation - SASO, the Black Peoples' Convention, the (Coloured) Labour Party and the revival of the Natal Indian Congress has had much to do with the 1973-74 strike movement. It is also significant that most of the earliest strikes, and many of the later ones as well, were by workers who formed the backbone of the South African Congress of Trade Unions up to the sixties and who have continued to flourish independently as affiliation to SACTU would have meant almost automatic banning for its leadership. - Ed.)



# APARTHEID A CRIME

An edited study of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid by Professor I. P. Blishchenko, Doctor of Political Science and Deputy Chief of the International Law Faculty of the State Institute for International Relations, Moscow.

The modern world is confronted with one of the most revolting phenomena imaginable, to which the overwhelming majority of people in the world have reacted with indignation, protest and the determination to eradicate it by every possible means rightly considering that the development of modern society will be impossible unless it is eliminated. That phenomenon is **apartheid**.

In South Africa and Southern Rhodesia apartheid is a governmental and political system which disregards all fundamental human rights and freedoms and asserts racial exclusivity and the domination of one race over another.

As such, apartheid is viewed from the standpoint of generally accepted principles of international law as an international crime.

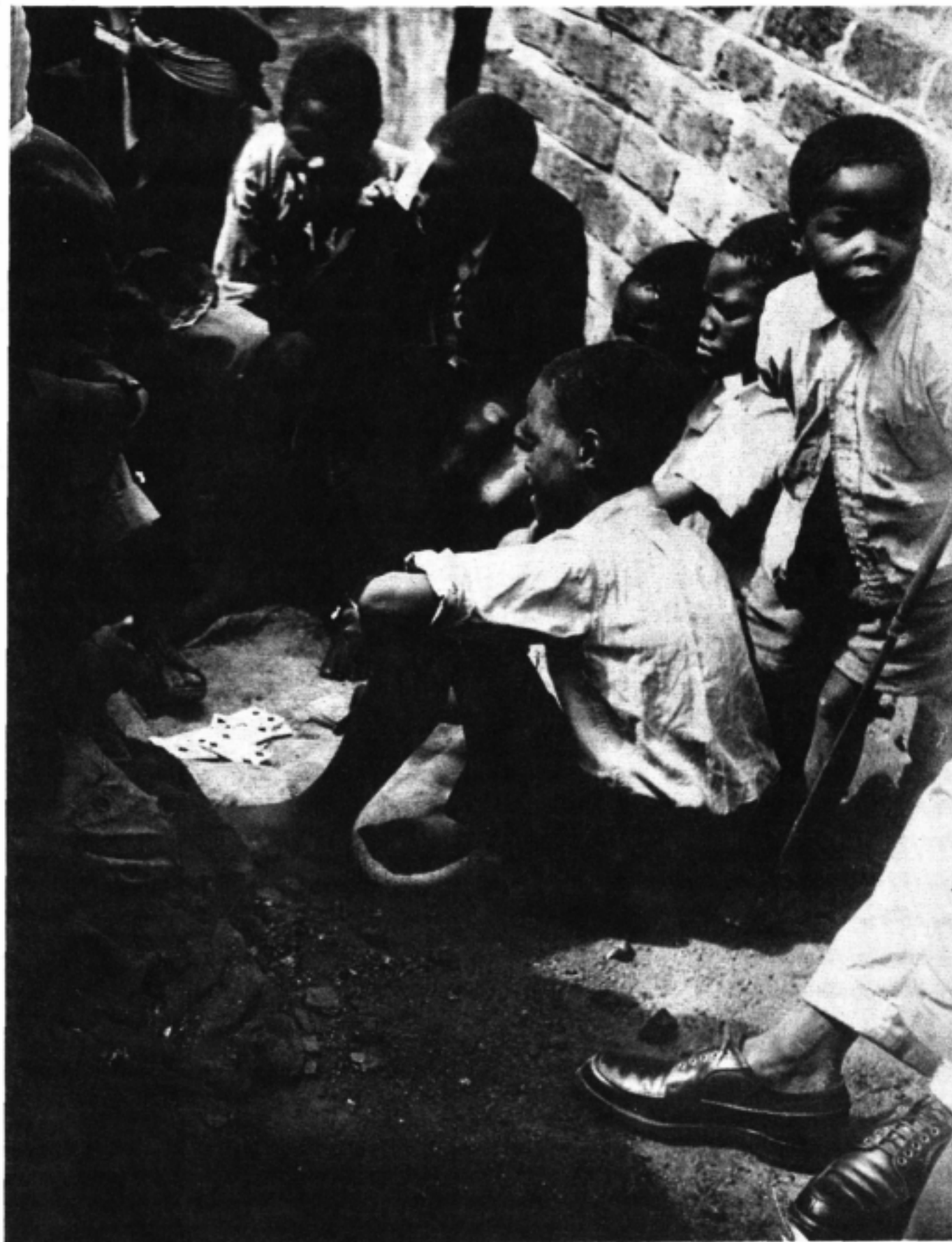
Professor Blishchenko is a member of the Presidium of Soviet Lawyers, of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, of the Soviet Committee for Peace and other organisations. He has written extensively on human rights and international law, and was a consultant to the United Nations Secretariat and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

## Formulation of the Convention

The question of racial discrimination and apartheid in South Africa has been discussed in the United Nations since 1946. Beginning in 1962, the General Assembly has repeatedly adopted resolutions recommending that Member States take specific steps against the Government of South Africa. Since 1965, the Assembly has condemned the policies of apartheid practised by the Government of South Africa as a "crime against humanity". At the twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly, a draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid was submitted by the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Guinea. In the course of the discussion of the draft at the twenty-seventh session, Nigeria became a sponsor. It was decided at that session to transmit the draft for consideration by the Commission on Human Rights at its twenty-ninth session. At the twenty-ninth session of the Commission on Human Rights, a draft convention which had been elaborated by a special working group and which contained all the basic provisions of the original draft was adopted by 21 votes to 2 (United States

and United Kingdom), with 11 abstentions. Lastly, at its twenty-eighth session, the General Assembly adopted the draft convention by an overwhelming majority and recommended that it be signed.

What were the basic positions of States during the elaboration of the fundamental provisions of the Convention? It should first be noted that, following the submission of the proposed draft Convention, a proposal was submitted by Nigeria, Pakistan and the United Republic of Tanzania for a special protocol on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid, to be annexed to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. This idea was initially supported by a number of States, but a number of other States (for example Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Madagascar) were, in general, opposed to the elaboration and adoption of a special convention on apartheid, since they believed that the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was sufficient. On the other hand, a number of States (for example, Syria) thought it necessary to combine the draft Convention and draft additional protocol.



**Too few schools, no jobs, no sportfields**

The position of the Soviet Union was that it was essential "to continue the elaboration of an international legal instrument on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid on the basis of the draft Convention submitted by the USSR and Guinea" and that at the same time "some provisions of the draft protocol designed to strengthen international responsibility for the crime of apartheid could be taken into account in the text of the draft Convention."

A large number of States made specific proposals concerning the draft Convention. Among them, mention should be made of the Philippines, which took an active position and played an important and constructive role in the elaboration of the Convention. On 26 February, 1973 for example, the Government of the Philippines expressed general support for the revised draft Convention and

submitted several specific proposals. The Philippines proposal stressed that "such acts (constituting apartheid) shall be considered crimes in international law for which there shall be individual responsibility".

In March 1973, the Philippines proposed amendments concerning the possibility of a revision of the Convention, which could be made when the General Assembly took certain steps. The comments by the Governments of Egypt, Hungary, Iraq, Oman, Madagascar, Turkey, Zambia, Pakistan, the German Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Republic and Romania expressed general support for the draft Convention.

At its 1202nd meeting, the Commission on Human Rights decided to set up a Working Group to consider the draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and the amendments there-

to, as well as the written comments received from Governments and written amendments submitted by the members of the Commission at the twenty-ninth session; the Working Group submitted to the Commission such draft provisions of the draft Convention as it was able to agree upon. The composition of the Group was: Bulgaria, Chile, Ecuador, Egypt, India, the Philippines, Senegal, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Zaire. The representatives of Austria and the Netherlands attended meetings of the Group as observers. They stated that their participation in an observer capacity would in no way prejudice the position of their delegations with respect to the draft Convention in plenary meetings of the Commission or in the other organs of the United Nations.

Having considered the draft Convention and the amendments thereto, the Working Group agreed on the text of provisions of the draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, which were subsequently adopted by the Third Committee of the General Assembly and then by the twenty eighth session of the General Assembly without any substantive changes.

### **Analysis of the Text**

The Convention, as adopted, consists of a preamble and 19 articles. In the preamble, the parties to the Convention, recalling the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, stress that Member States have pledged themselves "to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organisation 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."

It is significant that the preamble to the Convention reproduces the provisions of resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly. This once again demonstrates the normative character of General Assembly resolutions and their significance as at least an indirect source of international law.

The principal examples of this are the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The preamble to the Convention quite rightly emphasises the link between this international legal instrument and a number of other international agreements which are of vital significance

for the struggle against apartheid and which describe apartheid as an international crime. These are the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the 1968 Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity.

On the proposal of Burundi, an important provision was included in the preamble concerning the statement by the Security Council to the effect that apartheid seriously disturbs and threatens international peace and security.

### Crime Against Humanity

The substantive part of the Convention is articles I and II, in which apartheid is described as a punishable criminal act.

This may be said to be the first time that, in an international treaty in international criminal law, apartheid has been described as an international crime. Apartheid is declared to be a crime against humanity, and a definition is given of the inhuman acts resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid and similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination.

Article I stresses that these acts violate the principles of international law, in particular the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and constitute a threat to international peace and security.

Article I, paragraph 2, in which the States declare criminal those organisations, institutions and individuals committing the crime of apartheid, must be regarded as an important achievement in the struggle of peace-loving forces for human rights, democracy and social progress.

Following considerable work, particularly by United Nations organs, to study the ideology, theory and practice of apartheid and following the heinous crimes which resulted and are resulting in the deaths of hundreds of people, it was possible in article II to specify the actual deeds which constitute "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."

Article II contains a precise list of these acts, which are enumerated below in full:

- Denial to a member or members of a racial group or groups of the right to life and liberty of person:

- By murder of members of a racial group or groups;
- 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;
- By arbitrary arrest and illegal imprisonment of the members of a racial group or groups;
- Deliberate imposition on a racial group or groups of living conditions calculated to cause its or their physical destruction in whole or in part;
- 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 by 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 recognised 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;
- 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;
- Exploitation of the labour of the members of a racial group or groups, in particular by submitting them to forced labour;
- Persecution of organisations and persons, by depriving them of fundamental rights and freedoms, because they oppose apartheid.

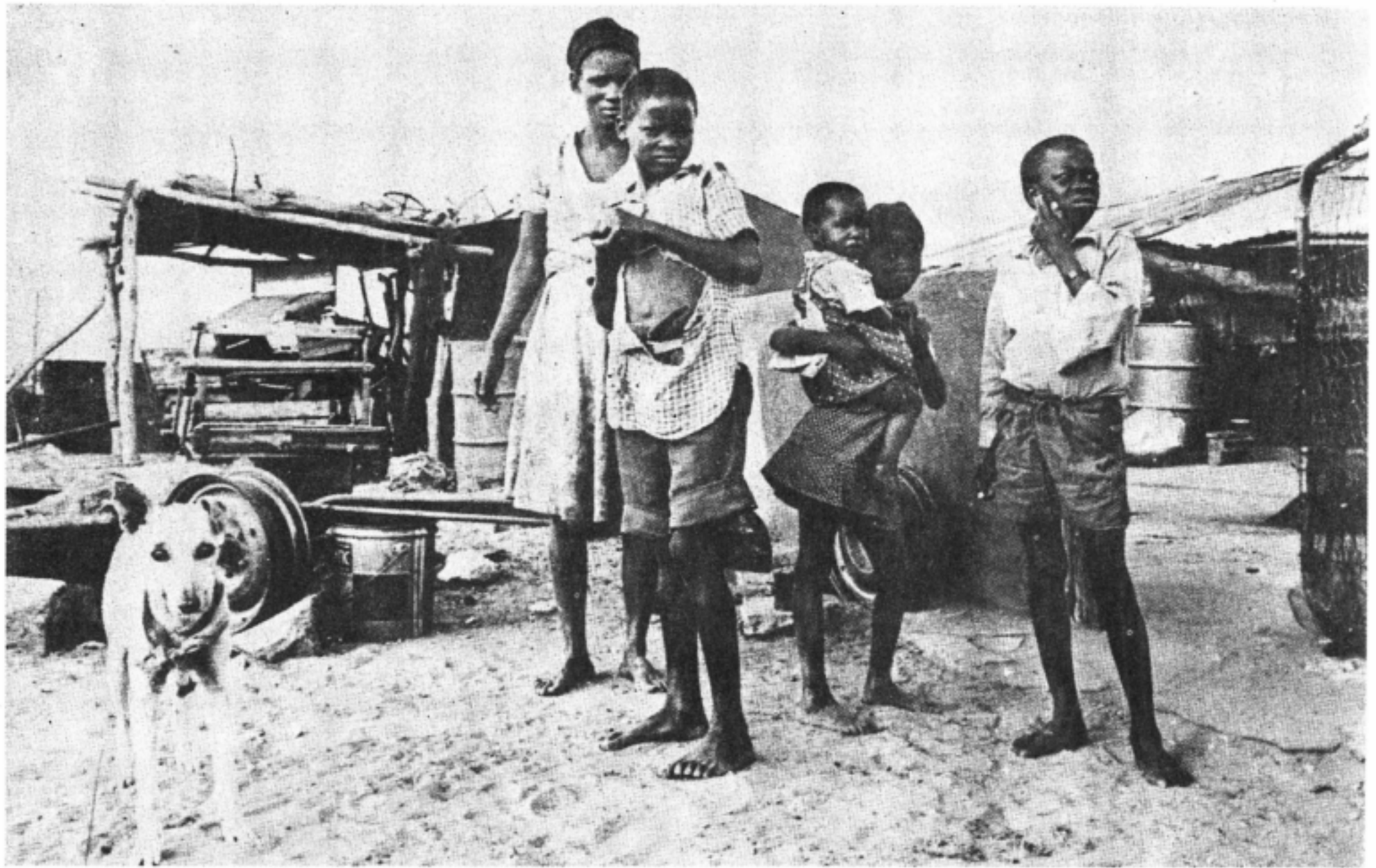
The text is in essence concerned with the two component elements of an international crime – the means and methods of domination of one racial group by another and the annihilation of that group. An element of the crime of apartheid is that the means



### The Choice Offered To Two Mothers Of Five Children

Mrs A., is a young widow with 5 children. After many pleadings and long delays, she was given a Maintenance Grant; but soon after the authorities cut off all her rations. She went to beg an official to continue her rations as she simply could not survive on the Maintenance Grant alone. She was told to seek work. When she said she could not leave her children, it was suggested that she place her children with someone else and go to town. She was seriously considering becoming a migrant labourer to provide for her children when Church assistance kept her family together.

Mrs. P. N. was widowed with 5 young children. Unable to survive on the government rations, she left them with another family and went as a migrant to Mossel Bay. Before long some of her children fell ill through lack of care



Women, children, and the old try to eke out a living in the barren homelands

and methods mentioned above, the practice of apartheid and the physical annihilation of people are threatening international peace and security. This confirms the particularly dangerous nature of the crime concerned.

An important feature of the Convention is the inclusion of articles concerning responsibility and implementation, to which special attention will be given. Article VII specifies that disputes between States arising out of the interpretation, application or implementation of the 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.

The universality of the Convention is important. The Convention establishes no restrictions regarding signature or accession by any State. This naturally enhances the effectiveness of the Convention, and is an important prerequisite for the mobilization of the efforts of all States for the prevention and punishment of apartheid.

### Depositary

The Convention is subject to ratification. The Secretary-General of the United Nations is the depositary.

In his capacity as depositary, the Secretary-General of the United Nations notifies all States of signatures, ratifications and accessions, of the date of entry into force of the Convention, of denunciations and notifications concerning revision of the Convention. The Convention is to 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. The Convention provides for the possibility of denunciation, which requires written notification to the Secretary-General. Denunciation takes effect one year after the date of receipt of the notification.

The possibility of revision of the Convention is contemplated in article XVII. A request for revision may be made at any time by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. In such a case, the General

Assembly of the United Nations decides upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request. Quite correctly, and in accordance with accepted practice, the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts of the Convention are equally authentic.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations is required to transmit certified copies of the Convention to all States.

The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid has marked a new step forward in the international community's struggle for human rights and freedoms, democracy and social progress. The Convention represents a further development of international humanitarian law. We note with great satisfaction the contribution made by the United Nations and its specialised organs to the elucidation of the complex problems of the contemporary world in the interests of the overwhelming majority of peoples.

**Today the task which lies ahead is to implement the Convention, to observe it strictly and to ensure compliance with it by all States.**