

WHAT CAN I DO?

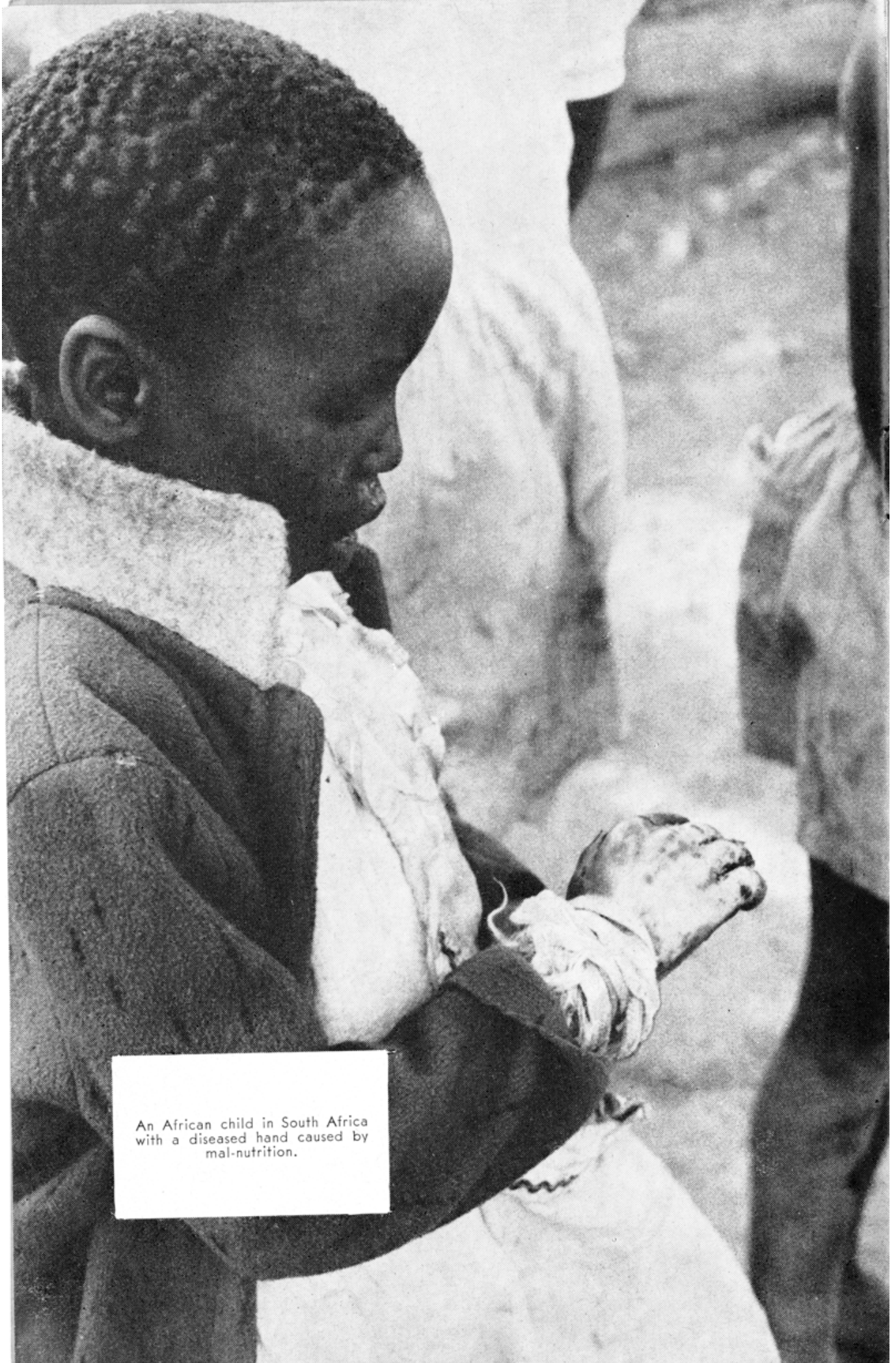
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**A Guide to
Action
Against
Apartheid.**

This brochure has been published by the African National Congress of South Africa with the cooperation of the World Assembly of Youth. The participation of WAY in the publication of this important project to further support for the campaign against Apartheid is in the context of the WAY 9th Council resolution urging WAY and all its national committees to do all possible to support the Boycott against South African goods, and to support other measures designed to achieve at the earliest possible date full and genuine democracy in South Africa.

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An African child in South Africa
with a diseased hand caused by
mal-nutrition.

FOREWORD

This issue is one in a series of African National Congress pamphlets.

The formation of the African National Congress on January 8, 1912, marked the birth of African nationhood, the symbol of African unity, the mouth-piece of the oppressed people and the instrument for their national emancipation.

Throughout the 48 years which preceded its ban by Dr. Verwoerd's government, the African National Congress endeavoured with varying degrees of success to fulfil its historic mission as conceived by its founders. In 1949, the African National Congress at its annual conference, adopted a programme of action which was to transform the organisation from a reformist body into a dynamic movement waging exciting battles and winning important victories for the African people.

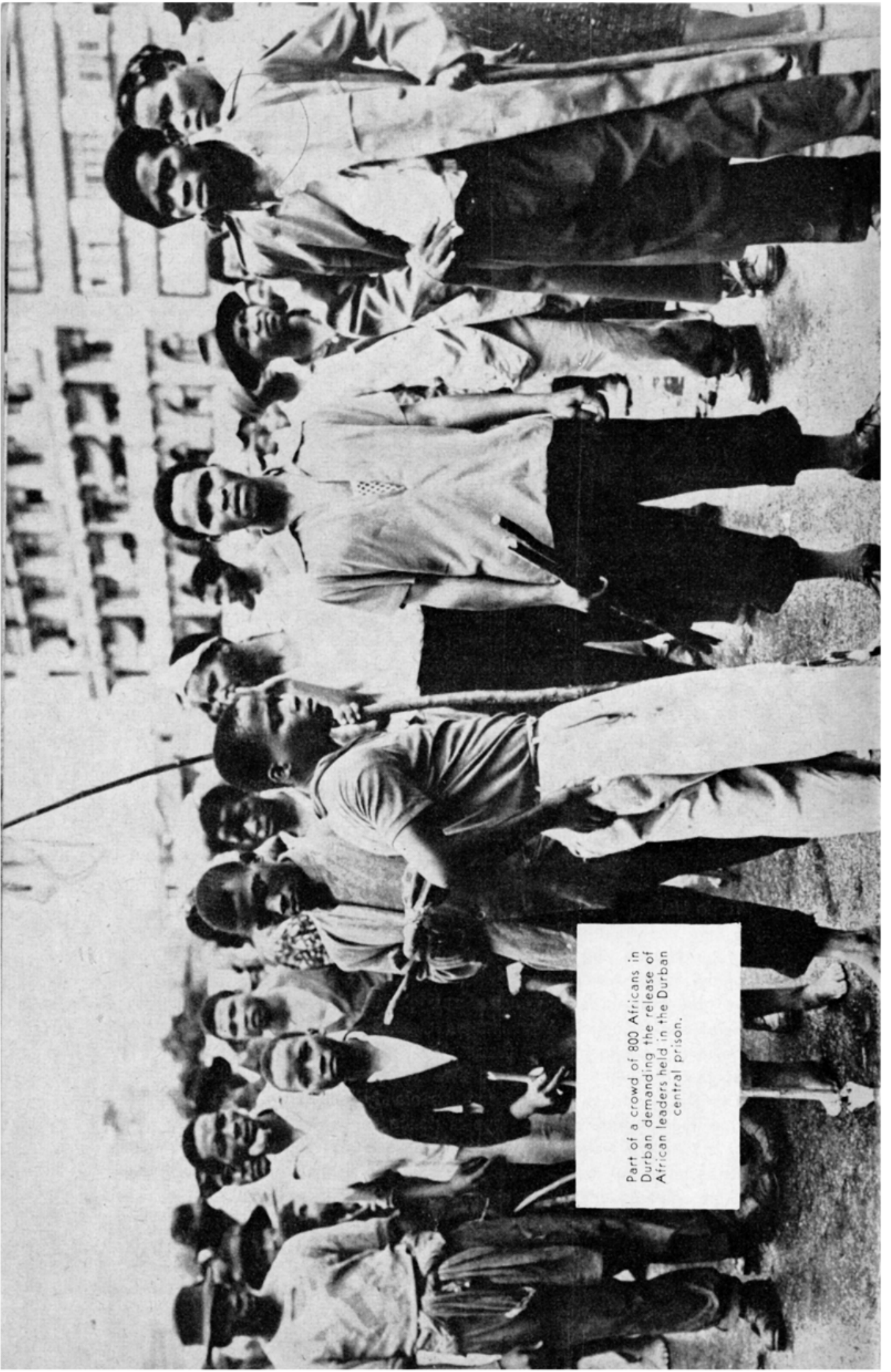
In all its political struggles it has recognised the importance of working with political organisations of other racial groups that have similar aims to its own.

The excerpts which appear at the beginning of each chapter are drawn from the famous "Freedom Charter" which was unanimously adopted in Kliptown on 26 June, 1955, by the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Coloured Peoples' Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

This important political document correctly reflects the aspirations of our people and expresses the demands collected from all sections of the South African population.

Throughout its many years of struggle, the African National Congress conducted non-violent campaigns against the rule of race. Recently however, "Umkhonto We Sizwe" (the Spear of the Nation) has struck against the white state, more than 70 times, boldly, yet methodically. The South African government has clearly demonstrated to the world that it cares little for the ways of peace.

The African National Congress appeals to you and your organisations to assist in our campaign for economic and diplomatic sanctions, for an arms embargo and the total isolation of South Africa.



Part of a crowd of 800 Africans in Durban demanding the release of African leaders held in the Durban central prison.

A DAY CALLED FREEDOM

"There are days that start as mere occasions in the life of a people and become, by a constant cherishing, the altars of ideas. In South Africa the 16th of December is such a day. For on that day in 1838, at the Battle of Blood River, a cluster of white settlers in Natal, armed with rifles against assegais, broke the back of Zulu power for generations. The settlers had promised to raise a church in gratitude to God if they won the battle, and they kept to their side of what they clearly believed to have been a bargain. So the day became known as the Day of the Covenant — the covenant of white supremacy with God — and as such it is now enshrined in the hearts of Afrikanerdom. On the anniversary of the day, prominent members of the South African government address their assembled disciples and reaffirm their covenant with God. From their thin ledge of power, they scan the menaces to white Christian civilisation and exhort their armies to prepare for another Blood River. The 16th of December is the Passover of Afrikanerdom, the festival of salvation, thanksgiving and resolve. It is a day of pride, but also of hatred; of rejoicing, but also of fear. It is a dead day, dedicated to the past and not the future, a cenotaph to corrupted heroes and corrupting ideas.

"There is another day of deep significance in South Africa, a living day, celebrated by different people for different purposes, and celebrated in very different ways. If the 16th of December is a covenant of the Afrikaners with their god, the 26th of June is a covenant of men everywhere with man. It is a day of struggle and of hope, and though it has so far recorded only defeats, its every defeat has been a triumph.

"It began in horror. On the 13th of January 1949 a sudden race riot broke out in the city of Durban, with Africans turning the accumulated rage of their subjection and need against the unprotected Indians. Though the white government moved at last to still the storm of murder, arson and looting, it did little to conceal its satisfaction. For the riot was proof of the hatred inevitable between races, even races equally ravaged by white rule. What more telling argument could be found for the racial separation and inequalities of 'apartheid'? Without white rule

the Africans, Coloured and Indians would rend each other in a fury of greed, vengeance and fear. African and Indian leaders met in urgent consultation. For over fifty years their peoples had given separate battle to the rule of race, and they seemed to have grown only further apart in the very communion of their suffering. The African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress called jointly for a national stay-at-home on the 26th of June 1950, in protest at the whole doctrine and practice of white supremacy. Shifting between sneers and threats, the government waited for the demonstration to disintegrate in racial rivalries. But the demonstration did not disintegrate. Africans stayed away from work in overwhelming numbers, while Indian shopkeepers put up their shutters and Indian waiters disappeared from the hotels. It was the first popular union of Indian and African protests in South Africa's history. It was the first 26th of June.

"On the 26th of June two years later the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress launched another joint protest, of indefinite duration — the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. From June to December 1952 more than 8,500 men and women, mainly Africans and Indians but with a scattering of Coloured and rebellious whites, went to jail for having publicly and peacefully broken the segregation laws. With almost the entire leadership imprisoned, and new savage penalties, including lashes, enacted by the government at the beginning of 1953, the campaign trickled to a close. It was a defeat, for white supremacy had not surrendered. But it was also a triumph. For the first time in South Africa, Coloured and whites, however few, had joined with Africans and Indians to defy the law. For the first time there had been formed an alliance of humanity against race.

"The alliance demanded a testament. And on the 26th of June 1955, at the village of Kliptown near Johannesburg, some 3,000 delegates from all over the country, a parliament of the people, provided one. There were five sponsors now, no longer two — the African and Indian Congresses, the new South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation and white Congress of Democrats, and a South African Congress of Trade Unions to which workers of all races could belong. Dockers and clergymen, teachers and servants, shopkeepers and students, the delegates assembled to formulate their Freedom Charter. Surrounded but uncowed by armed police, they spoke and sang together and listened and approved.

'We, the people of South Africa', they cried, 'declare for all our country and the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can

justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people'.

"The Charter listed the aims of struggle:

'THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN; ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS; THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH; THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT; ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW; ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS; THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY; THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED; THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT; THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP.'

"Eighteen months later, at dawn on the 5th of December 1956, police swooped on the homes of Congress leaders throughout the country and arrested 156 men and women of all races on a charge of high treason. The hinge of the prosecution was the Freedom Charter.

"In the six and a half years since then, there have been several days of significance in South Africa — the 21st of March 1960, when police killed 67 peacefully protesting Africans at Sharpeville; the 8th of April 1960, when the government banned the African political movements; the 31st of May 1961, when South Africa became a republic by the vote of its white citizens alone. And one old day has been given a new meaning. On the 16th of December 1961, the Day of the Covenant, members of the Congress movement marked the Battle of Blood River by launching a new group, the Spear of the Nation, which exploded a series of bombs in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth. The violence of repression had produced at last the violence of resistance.

"Yet all the days remained — and remain — illuminated by the 26th of June. For it is the day of South Africa's tomorrow, the promise of a South Africa where men will live together and judge each other not as races, but as men. And so the 26th of June is not only a South African day. It is a day on which men everywhere should say, we are different and we are the same. We belong to each other if we would belong to humanity at all. And when we imprison others in the colour of their skin, we lock ourselves in our own. The 26th of June is everybody's day. It is a day called freedom."

APARTHEID AND YOU

In the early months of 1960 a committee in London asked the British public to make a moral decision, to protest against the racialist policies of South Africa's Apartheid Government. The form chosen for this protest was a consumer boycott of South African goods.

The idea of a boycott spread and individuals in many countries supported it, forming committees of their own, and organising campaigns which have been extended to cover many fields designed, not only to undermine trade, but to isolate South Africa, politically and culturally, from the rest of the world.

Since then, world leaders in politics and religion have united in their condemnation of Apartheid. Many governments have severed all diplomatic relations with South Africa. The last U.N. resolution on South Africa, demanding economic sanctions, was passed by a large majority of nations, and increasing action is being taken by governments to ensure that it is put into effect. The Verwoerd government, intransigent as always, however, has continued to enforce and intensify its Apartheid policies with ever-increasing brutality, abolishing **habeas corpus**, imposing the death penalty for minor offences — even when committed by juveniles — silencing all criticism at home by imprisonment, banning, house-arrest or censorship, and ignoring the protests of the rest of the world. Small wonder, then, that many people should now ask if individual protest has any value when the protests of governments and international bodies are ignored. To them the answer must be given that governments and international bodies can **only** be effective **when** they are supported by the people — by individuals stirred by conscience to use all lawful means available to defeat injustice. Another doubt which is often expressed is answered here in an extract from the Report of the National Executive of the 8th Annual National Conference of the South African Congress of Trade Unions held during April 1963:

"It is sometimes argued, even by well-meaning people abroad, that if the world boycotts South Africa, we, the working people of the country, will suffer most. Even if this were true — and we do not believe it — let us assure our well-wishers abroad that we do not shrink from any hardships in the cause of freedom. As it is, we are starving, and our children are dying from hunger.

The working people of our country do not eat imported food or wear foreign-made clothes: nor do we benefit by the export of South African mealies, wool, wine and gold. To our friends and well-wishers abroad we say that trafficking in the fruits of Apartheid can never be in the interests of the workers who suffer under Apartheid".

It is not those in London who appeal for help in a desperate situation, but the peoples of South Africa themselves.

In "What Can I Do?" we have only tried to indicate some of the ways in which **you** can help, every day, to undermine the Verwoerd regime, its economy, its contacts with the rest of the world, its power over the lives of men; how you, as individuals with democratic rights, can help to smash apartheid with weapons varying from the shopping basket to the ballot box, by cultural isolation and letters to the press, at home and at work, at college and on the playing field, through your church and through your government.

By answering this appeal with action you will not only be helping to destroy the racist policies of the South African government, but you will also be taking a major step towards the final defeat of racism wherever it exists in the world and in whatever form it is practised.

Freedom is indivisible. The moral decision is yours.



The demand for adequate living conditions for all of South Africa's people is a fundamental principle of the 1955 Freedom Charter.



. . . AS AN INDIVIDUAL WITH A VOTE

“We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

“That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people; that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

“That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

“That only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.”

**The Freedom Charter,
Kliptown, Johannesburg, 1955**

With no vote, with a government claiming authority based on the will of a small minority alone and founded on injustice and inequality, the people of South Africa must depend on your vote, your justice and your democracy to help them secure their birthright.

Good will and moral indignation are not enough; they must be directed by well organised political campaigning.

The United Nations has called for sanctions by 67 votes to 16, with 23 abstentions.

By Clause 4 of the General Assembly

Requests member states to take the following measures, separately or collectively, in conformity with the Charter, to bring about the abandonment of those policies (the policies of apartheid of the government of South Africa).

- A. Breaking off diplomatic relations with the government of the Republic of South Africa or refraining from establishing such relations;
- B. Closing their ports to all vessels flying the South African flag;
- C. Enacting legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South African ports;
- D. Boycotting all South African goods and refraining from exporting goods, including all arms and ammunition, to South Africa;
- E. Refusing landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the government and companies registered under the laws of South Africa.

By Clause 6 of the General Assembly

- B. To refrain from any act likely to delay or hinder the implementation of the present resolution.

We believe in democracy and the right and duty of all individuals in a democracy to participate in determining the policies of their government. We believe, therefore, that the U.N. resolution could be effectively enforced. We believe that **NO ARMS FOR VERWOERD** is **not** just another glib and unrealistic slogan, but one which can be realised when individuals recognise that supplying arms to the Apartheid government means arming a small minority with deadly weapons for use against the majority at future Sharpevilles.

Governments remain undecided; they do not commit themselves. The matter remains "under discussion" and conflicting reports appear in the press. Workers in the aircraft and arms industries naturally fear unemployment. But factories can be turned over to the production of goods with peaceful uses when governments are persuaded that this is necessary. Once governments are convinced, neither the workers in these industries nor the people of South Africa need fear for their future.

Governments will only act when individuals are alert and can make their voices heard, not in occasional emotional outbursts after some

tragic incident has taken place, but in reasoned and lucid argument which carries sincere conviction.

Vigilance is necessary.

Pressure is necessary.

Knowledge is necessary.

WHAT YOU CAN DO —

1. Create a body of informed opinion by forming committees to organise **sustained** campaigns coordinated with work being done in other districts and in other countries.
2. Work to enlist your Member of Parliament or Representative on your behalf to obtain government-enforced trade sanctions and other measures called for by the U.N. **Most** urgent is the banning of arms exports.
3. Arrange public meetings, making sure that all political groups and trade unions in your area are notified.
4. Arrange discussion on South Africa in any organisation or club, political or cultural, of which you are a member.
5. See that **all** meetings, of any kind, at which apartheid and the measures to be taken against it are discussed, are covered by the local press — inform them beforehand.
6. Work to extend the consumer boycott of South African goods. Some of the brand names appear elsewhere in this pamphlet — the list can be reproduced and distributed — (the South African government may change the names and labels, so watch carefully and check the country of origin before you buy).
7. Write letters to the press opposing Apartheid and saying what action you and your group are taking.
8. See that people with specialised interests in your area (writers, sportsmen etc.) are aware of action that they can take **in their own field**, as we have suggested on other pages.
9. Follow events carefully and write to us for advice and regular information. We will be pleased to put you on our mailing list. Also, do please let us know what you are doing and what results you achieve.

. . . THROUGH THE TRADE UNIONS

“All who work shall be free to form Trade Unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers.”

**The Freedom Charter,
Kliptown, Johannesburg, 1955**

In his New Year's greetings to British trade unions on behalf of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, General Secretary of SACTU, M. Williams-Shope, wrote the following:

“Every expression of solidarity, every protest made on our behalf to the South African government, breaks down feelings of isolation among workers in South Africa and reminds them that they are part of the broad struggle of all workers. It is greatly heartening to know that we have allies overseas who do not hesitate to show our government their absolute hostility to the policy of apartheid. The knowledge that workers in other countries are alert has been a factor in making our government hesitate about an all-out onslaught on trade unionists and trade unions.”

The South African government did not hesitate for very long about an all-out onslaught, and General Secretary, Marks Williams-Shope, is now a banned person. That the South African government has long discouraged the activities of the non-white unions was common knowledge. That it has recently provided itself with the legislation necessary for their total destruction is less well-known.

The following are a few examples of anti-trade union action:

- * Arbitrary prohibition of meetings by magistrates.
- * Confiscation of trade union leaflets by magistrates.

- * Incitement to strike made punishable by death.
- * Raids by Security Police of trade union offices.
- * A trade unionist who has undergone training at a trade union school outside the Republic, or who has obtained information which could be of use in bringing about, by unlawful means, any political, social or economic change, or who furthers the objects of an unlawful organisation, is subject to the death penalty.

The lengths to which the government is prepared to go in order to destroy the attempts of African workers to organise, is shown in the following extract from the "Memorandum Concerning the Withdrawal of the Republic of South Africa from Membership of the I.L.O.", submitted by SACTU to the 47th I.L.O. Conference, 1963.

Forced Resignation of Democratically Elected Trade Unionists

In terms of a Proclamation issued on 28th December 1963, 36 organisations are listed (of which the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions is one); and the following groups of persons may not be office-bearers, officers or members of these organisations:

- a. 432 persons who have been 'listed' in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.
- b. Any person who, whether or not his name appears in (a) above, has been banned by the Minister of Justice from attending gatherings.
- c. Any person who, whether or not his name appears in (a) or (b) above, was a member of the now banned Congress of Democrats.

These persons are also prohibited from belonging to any organisation which:

- i. Is in any manner affiliated to or a subsidiary of any of the 36 organisations, or which promotes or furthers any activity which promotes the objects of these organisations; and
- ii. which, in any manner, propagates, defends, attacks, criticises or discusses any form of State or any principle or policy of government of a State or which in any manner undermines the authority of the government of a State.

The 36 organisations appear to have been arbitrarily selected, and at least one of these organisations is non-existent. No person in categories

(a), (b) or (c) above can join any political party, apart from the 36 organisations, not even the Nationalist Party (the party at present in power) as they are forbidden to 'discuss' or 'defend' any form of State!

This Proclamation came into effect on 31st January, 1963, and cannot be challenged in a Court of Law. The following officials of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions and its affiliated unions have been affected:

1. Leon Levy National President of SACTU; Secretary, National Union of African Laundering, Cleaning and Dyeing Workers.
2. Marks William-Shope General Secretary, SACTU; Chairman, National Union of African Laundering, Cleaning and Dyeing Workers.
3. Billy Nair Secretary, Durban Local Committee, SACTU; Secretary, Chemical Workers' Union, Natal.
4. Melville Fletcher Organiser, African Textile Workers' Union, Durban Branch.
5. Marks Rammitloa Secretary, Shop & Office Workers' Union, Transvaal.
6. Aaron Mooketsi Mosata President, African General Workers' Union, Transvaal.
7. Alven Dennie Organiser, General Workers' Union, Port Elizabeth.
8. Mrs. Francis Baard Secretary, African Food & Canning Workers' Union, Port Elizabeth.
9. L. Kukulela Secretary, Hospital Workers' Union, Cape Western Province.
Secretary, African Laundry Workers' Union, Cape Western Province.
10. Lawrence Ndzanga Secretary, South African Railways & Harbours Workers' Union, Transvaal.
11. George Ncqunge Organiser, South African Railway & Harbours Workers' Union, Cape Town.
12. Mrs. Mary Moodley Organiser, Food & Canning Workers' Union, East Road, Transvaal.
13. Cunric Ndlovu Secretary, Durban Local Committee, SACTU (In place of B. Nair above).
Secretary S.A.R. & H. Workers' Union, Durban.

With the exception of Leon Levy and Mrs. Moodley, all the above-named were forced to sever all connection with their unions forthwith. Mr. Levy and Mrs. Moodley are employed by **registered** unions and so did not have to resign, but they are so confined and restricted that it is virtually impossible for them to carry out their trade union activities.

None of the thirteen is permitted to take any part whatever in the affairs of SACTU.

It must be noted that not one of the above-mentioned has BEEN FOUND GUILTY OF AN OFFENCE AGAINST THE STATE OR OF AN OFFENCE in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. They have been union organisers for periods of 1—15 years; yet, suddenly, at this stage, their activities are regarded as "furthering the aims of Communism."

Complaints have been registered with the I.L.O. Committee, under the Provisions for Freedom of Association, on behalf of all the above-named with the exception of CURNIC NDLOVU, who was banned as he stepped onto the platform to preside over a May Day meeting called by the Durban Local Committee of SACTU. A complaint will forthwith be registered on his behalf.

ADDITIONAL BANS SERVED ON THE ABOVE TRADE UNION OFFICIALS

Of the trade unionists mentioned above, several have been served with additional banning and confining orders which:

- i. Prohibit them from entering any factory as defined in the Factories Act;
- ii. Forbid them to enter any African township, hostel or compound;
- iii. Prohibit them from entering any area where Coloured or Indian people reside;
- iv. Require them to report to the police once a week;
- v. Confine them for 5 years to their own magisterial districts;
- vi. Prohibit them from attending political gatherings;
- vii. Prohibit them from attending gatherings the purpose of which is 'social intercourse';

- viii. Prohibit them from communicating verbally, or in any other way, with persons who themselves are prohibited from attending gatherings.

The officials so banned and confined are the following:

L. Levy	A. Mosata
M. Williams-Shope	Mrs. Baard
B. Nair	L. Ndzanga
M. Fletcher	Mrs. Moodley
A. Bannie	C. Ndlovu

The restrictions have been placed on the above-named although they have never been convicted of any offence against the State or convicted of an offence under the Suppression of Communism Act, in terms of which they are banned and confined.

Those so banned and confined have to obtain permission from Chief Magistrates of their areas to obtain other employment, since they are forbidden to enter factories or African townships.

The following five officials of SACTU and its affiliated Unions were arrested on 10th May, 1963, and are being held for "interrogation":

Leon Levy	Former President of SACTU. (Forced to resign this office under the Proclamation of December 28th, 1962).
Stephen Dlamini	National President of SACTU. (Elected at 8th National Conference, April, 1963).
Caleb Mayekiso	General Secretary, Local Committee SACTU, Port Elizabeth. Secretary, S.A.R. & H. Workers' Union, Port Elizabeth.
V. Mini	Secretary, Metal Workers' Union, Port Elizabeth. Member of SACTU Local Committee, Port Elizabeth.

- | | |
|------------|---|
| L. Mancoko | Secretary, General Workers' Union, Port Elizabeth, and member of Local Committee. |
| E. Laza | Secretary, Commercial & Distributive Workers' Union, Cape Town, and Chairman SACTU Local Committee. |

When the Bantu Law Amendment Bill becomes law, the reduction of the African worker to an expendable, unorganised, "labour digit" will be complete. Every aspect of his life will then be under the control of the Minister of Bantu Administration and his officials.

WHAT YOU CAN DO —

- * Make sure that your union remains alive to the South African situation.
- * Press for union action at all levels — Branch, National, International.
- * Protest to the Minister of Justice,
House of Assembly,
Cape Town, South Africa.
- * Urge your union to support the Boycott.

SACTU is in desperate need of financial assistance in order to continue its fight for the rights of the African workers. Please support the SACTU FUND.

Treasurer: Bob Edwards, M.P.,
374 Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C.1.,
England.

STOP PRESS

After a week of continuous discussions during June, 1963, the I.L.O. Conference expelled the South African worker delegate on the grounds that he was appointed by the government without consultation with SACTU and therefore did not represent the African workers.

The vote — 135 for expulsion, 57 abstentions, 3 (the South African delegates) against.

After certain recommendations had been made to the governing body of the I.L.O. the latter body decided to exclude the South Africans from all its committees and prepare a revision of the I.L.O. Charter to give the organisation the right to banish undesirable members; and instructed its Director-General to enter into negotiations with the United Nations to have South Africa expelled from the international community.

The Danish T.U.C. is sending an urgent appeal to the I.C.F.T.U. for a world-wide boycott of South African goods.

**. . . THROUGH YOUTH ORGANISATIONS AND
STUDENT BODIES**

“Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit.”

**The Freedom Charter,
Kliptown, Johannesburg, 1955**

Of all sections of the community, perhaps youth suffers most under apartheid. Deprived of a normal home life during childhood by the disruption of community and family resulting from the Group Areas Act; with all educational ambitions and natural abilities frustrated by the degrading Bantu Education Act, which “educates” only to the extent necessary for servitude, and restricts the teaching of languages to the minimum necessary to maintain relations between servant and master; in sport, denied the opportunity to compete in national or international events; without the opportunity to enjoy the arts or to develop artistic talents; robbed in fact of every opportunity for self-expression or creativeness, and yet unable to raise a voice in protest against oppression or to participate in shaping the future; the youth of South Africa is thrust into a limbo somewhere between the memory of a heroic tribal history and an unattainable vision of a 20th Century democratic world.

From the age of 16, an African boy is required to carry a pass, on his person, day and night for the rest of his life — a ninety-six page document of personal details, his tax receipts, his work-contract, his photograph, signed every month by his employer. Ninety-six pages of

humiliation and indignity, they must be produced on demand, anywhere at any time, otherwise — prison.

Condemned by the Verwoerd regime to the semi-slavery of “white South Africa” or semi-starvation in the over-populated “tribal” homelands, the young African faces a life of want and terror in his own country, while so much of Africa is largely free.

He cannot act — you must.

WHAT YOU CAN DO —

- * Raise money — preferably by regular subscription from your members — to help educate South African students in exile.
- * Persuade your Education Authorities to provide scholarships and grants.
- * Press your government to award scholarships.
- * See that members of the staff of your university do not provide references for graduates applying for staff appointments in the all-white universities of South Africa.
- * See that your canteen boycotts South African goods.

Advice from: The World Assembly of Youth,
66 rue St. Bernard,
Brussels 6.

. . . BY WRITING

“All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands.”

**The Freedom Charter,
Kliptown, Johannesburg, 1955**

Under the General Law Amendment Act of 1962 it became illegal to distribute in South Africa any publication containing any statement written or spoken, by any person “banned” under the Act either in South Africa or abroad. Thus, writers as diverse as Chief Albert Luthuli now living under restriction at his home in Groutville, and Ronald Segal and Ezekiel Mphahlele now living in Europe, have lost the right to speak, or have their books read, in the country of their birth.

Prior to 1962, the government had exercised considerable control over the left-wing and liberal press, not by censorship, but by banning members of their staffs under the Suppression of Communism Act. The daily and weekly press accepted self-censorship in preference to government interference.

Under the latest legislation, the Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963, censorship has been so greatly intensified that it leaves the writer wondering if he should now bother to write at all. In terms of the Act, undesirable publications extend far beyond the obviously political, let alone those dealing with pornography, crime and vice. They include anything that “is blasphemous or offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic” (such as, presumably, criticism of the Dutch Reformed Church and its beliefs);



African miners who receive wages far below their European counterparts, descend into a mine near Johannesburg.

“brings any section of the inhabitants into ridicule or contempt; is harmful to the relations between any sections of the inhabitants; is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare or peace and good order; or deals with “human or social deviation or degeneracy, or any other similar or related phenomenon”.

Nadine Gordimer points out in her excellent article for ‘**Encounter**’ that under the racial laws of the country, “Social as well as sexual intercourse between white and coloured people could be interpreted as ‘human or social deviation or degeneracy’; while in the practical and ideological pursuit of apartheid, any mixing between the races is considered harmful, and criticism of or satire on this curious belief could easily be construed, by those who uphold it, as ridicule and contempt’.”

This censorship is to be conducted by a Publications Control Board of nine members, all appointed by the Minister of the Interior; at least six of the nine are to be “persons having special knowledge of arts, language and literature, or the **administration of Justice**” special committees, again appointed by the Minister, can be set up to deal with the work of the Board, the scope of which is to include films, plays and magazines as well as books.

These, briefly, are the major steps by which Dr. Verwoerd has succeeded in removing not only all possibility of criticism, but anything which might stimulate critical thought.

The South African Centre of International P.E.N. has consistently and courageously fought for the principles of the P.E.N. Charter, but to no avail.

P.E.N. affirms that:

1. Literature, national though it be in origin, knows no frontiers, and should remain common currency between nations in spite of political or international upheavals.
2. In all circumstances, and particularly in time of war, works of art, the patrimony of humanity at large, should be left untouched by national or political passion.
3. Members of P.E.N. should at all times use what influence they have in favour of good understanding and mutual respect between nations; they pledge themselves to do their utmost to dispel race, class and national hatreds and to champion the ideal of one humanity living in peace in one world.
4. P.E.N. stands for the principle of unhampered transmission of thought within each nation and between all nations, and

members pledge themselves to oppose any form of suppression of freedom of expression in the country and community to which they belong. P.E.N. declares for a free press and opposes arbitrary censorship in time of peace. It believes that the necessary advance of the world towards a more highly organised political and economic order renders a free criticism of governments, administrations and institutions imperative. And since freedom implies voluntary restraint, members pledge themselves to oppose such evils of a free press as mendacious publication, deliberate falsehood and distortion of facts for political and personal ends.

The following resolution submitted by the English Centre to the International P.E.N. Executive Committee was passed unanimously:

"International P.E.N. supports and endorses the efforts of the P.E.N. Centres in South Africa to defend liberty of expression against increasingly repressive legislation, and welcomes the recent manifesto of 250 Afrikaans and English-speaking writers of South Africa, opposing the newly enacted law establishing a comprehensive literary censorship in that republic.

"Believing that where the voice of conscience is silenced, the censors must suffer with the censored, and indeed that mankind as a whole is injured when the free interchange of ideas is prevented, International P.E.N. calls for world-wide support for the writers of South Africa in their present struggle to uphold the freedom and integrity of the printed word."

WHAT YOU CAN DO —

- * Make it your business to keep the South African situation before the public by means of informed articles on new developments.
- * Answer the attempts of the South African government and the South African Foundation to present apartheid in a favourable light.
- * Refuse to agree to the sale of your books in South Africa.
- * Refuse to sell your plays for performance in South Africa.

. . . IN THE LAW COURTS

**"All shall be equal before the law!
"All laws which discriminate on grounds of
race, colour or belief shall be repealed."**

**The Freedom Charter,
Kliptown, Johannesburg, 1955**

"In its proper meaning equality before the law means the right to participate in the making of the laws by which one is governed, a constitution which guarantees democratic rights to all sections of the population, the right to approach the court for protection or relief in the case of the violation of rights guaranteed in the constitution, and the right to take part in the administration of justice as judges, magistrates, attorneys-general, law advisers and similar positions.

"In the absence of these safeguards the phrase 'equality before the law' in so far as it is intended to apply to us, is meaningless and misleading. All the rights and privileges to which I have referred are monopolised by whites, and we enjoy none of them.

"The white man makes all the laws, he drags us before his courts and accuses us, and he sits in judgement over us.

"It is fit and proper to raise the question sharply, what is this rigid colour bar in the administration of justice? Why is it that in this courtroom I face a white magistrate, confronted by a white prosecutor, and escorted into the dock by a white orderly? Can anyone honestly and seriously suggest that in this type of atmosphere the scales of justice are evenly balanced?

"Why is it that no African in the history of this country has ever had the honour of being tried by his own kith and kin, by his own flesh and blood?

"I will tell Your Worship why.

"The real purpose of this rigid colour bar is to ensure that the justice dispensed by the courts should conform to the policy of the country, however much that policy might be in conflict with the norms of justice accepted in judiciaries throughout the civilised world.

"I feel oppressed by the atmosphere of white domination that lurks all around in this courtroom. Somehow this atmosphere calls to mind the inhuman injustices caused to my people outside this courtroom by this same white domination.

"It reminds me that I am voteless because there is a parliament in this country that is white-controlled. I am without land because the white minority has taken a lion's share of my country and forced me to occupy poverty-stricken reserves, over-populated and over-stocked. We are ravaged by starvation and disease . . .

"How can I be expected to believe that this same race discrimination, which has been the cause of so much injustice and suffering right through the years, should now operate here to give me a fair and proper trial? Is there no danger that an African may regard these courts, not as impartial tribunals dispensing justice without fear or favour, but as instruments used by the white man to punish those among us who clamour for deliverance from the fiery furnace of white rule?

"I have grave fears that this system of justice may enable the guilty to drag the innocent before the courts. It enables the unjust to prosecute and demand vengeance against the just.

"This is the first ground of my objection: that I will not be given a fair and proper trial.

"The second ground of my objection is that I consider myself neither morally nor legally obliged to obey laws made by a parliament in which I am not represented.

"That the will of the people is the basis of the authority of government is a principle universally acknowledged as sacred throughout the civilised world, and constitutes the basic foundations of freedom and justice. It is understandable why citizens, who have the vote as well as the right of direct representation in the country's governing bodies, should be morally and legally bound by the laws governing the country.

"It would be equally understandable why we, as Africans, should adopt the attitude that we are neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws which we have not made, nor can we be expected to have confidence in courts which enforce such laws."

Extract from Nelson Mandela's Statement to Court,
22 November, 1962.

"In a country which does not claim to be in a state of war, the Government of the Republic of South Africa has secured the passing in the House of Assembly of a Bill, known as the Sabotage Bill, which reduces liberty of the citizen to a degree not surpassed by the most extreme dictatorship of the Left or the Right. This measure is a culmination of a determined and ruthless attempt to enforce the doctrine of apartheid and is not worthy of a civilised jurisprudence. Under the guise of combatting Communism, the Bill drastically reduces the right of free assembly, of freedom of speech, of the freedom of the Press and freedom of movement."

". . . it can be seen that the Bill gives the government, particularly the Minister of Justice, an almost unlimited right to restrict the personal freedom and civil liberty of the subject. The Courts are powerless to interfere with the Minister's decisions."

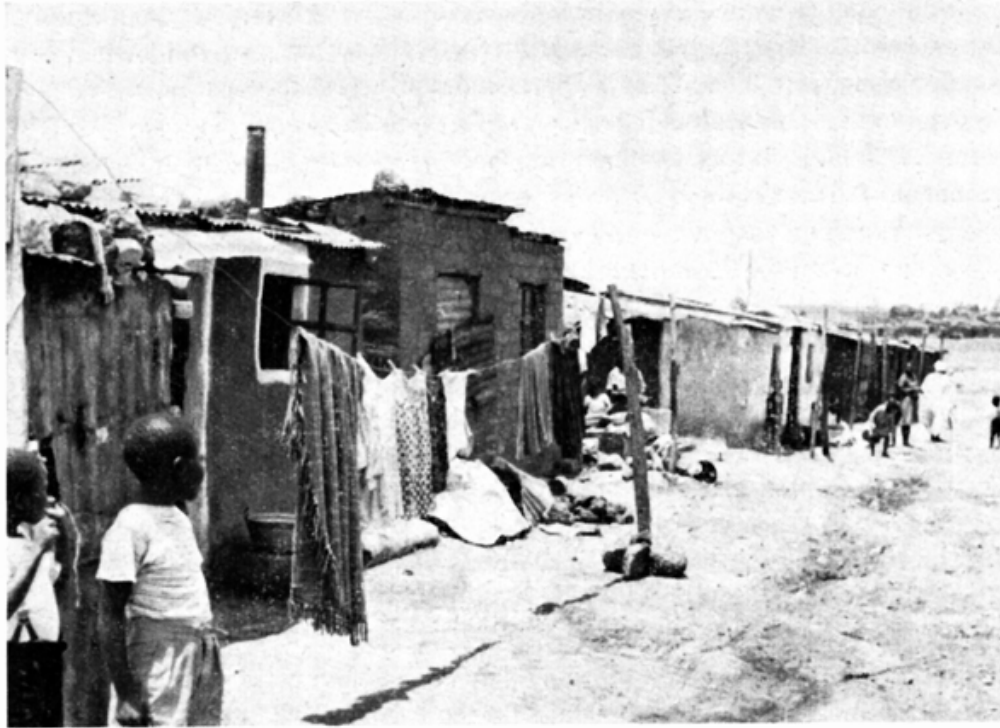
Extracts from a statement by the International Commission
of Jurists on the South African "Sabotage Act."
June, 1962.

Under the General Law Amendment Act of April, 1963, **habeas corpus** was abolished.

The Johannesburg Bar Council expressed grave concern, condemning certain provisions as "virtual abrogation of the rule of law". Their protest was ignored.

WHAT YOU CAN DO —

- * Join an Amnesty Group which has "adopted" a prisoner held without trial, to work for his release and assist his family.
- * Work through Amnesty for the care of the families of those banned or in exile.
- * Subscribe to the Defence and Aid Fund who pay for the defence of prisoners in court, assist the dependents of those in prison, and provide funds to send Amnesty observers to South Africa.



"All people shall have the right . . . to be decently housed and to bring up their families in comfort and security" — the Freedom Charter.



. . . IN THE SHOPS

“All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security”.

“Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful, and no one shall go hungry”.

“Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children”.

**The Freedom Charter,
Kliptown, Johannesburg, 1955**

This was the dream of the Freedom Charter, adopted by the Congress of the People on behalf of all the peoples of South Africa. It was adopted by men and women of all races who believed in the brotherhood of all human beings, their freedom and equality. They condemned outright the racist policies of apartheid government and pledged themselves to oppose it by all possible non-violent means. The government remained deaf to all reason, and has continued by increasingly oppressive measures, against the will of all non-whites and those whites who oppose apartheid, to reduce the lives of ordinary people to misery and humiliation. For the African, the “unseen” people on whom the anachronistic privileges of the white minority depend, who supply the manual labour in mines and factories, in kitchens and on the farms, who live in the native townships or labour barracks, or who are relegated to a life of poverty and deprivation in the Bantustans, the new laws have meant the loss of their few remaining rights. Anyone, of any race, who criticises apartheid may be imprisoned or placed under house-arrest — kept

prisoner in his own home — unable to see his friends and deprived of his livelihood.

The demands of the Freedom Charter are denied ruthlessly.

"All people shall have the right to live where they choose and to bring up their families in security". The government now has complete power to control where people live, and can remove them, at any time, against their will.

"All people shall have the right to live where they choose". A father who is compelled to leave home and work in an urban area in order to support his family is often forced to live in so-called "bachelor" quarters. Under these conditions, when his wife wishes to visit him, even if she has travelled hundreds of miles to do so, she must by law limit her stay to only seventy-two hours. If she wishes to conceive, a certificate to extend her visit is required.

A man whose family lives in a remote village may not visit his home and children until his work contract expires — perhaps a period of years.

Under a new bill shortly to become law, a woman seeking work will require certificates of approval from the Bantu Affairs' Commissioner and the Chief in her home area; consent of her guardian whether she is married or widowed; and certificates of approval from the local authority and the Bantu Affairs' Commissioner in the area in which she hopes to work. Legally, all African women will be reduced to the status of minors for life.

". . . and no one shall go hungry". 70% of the African people live **below the bread line.**

". . . no one shall go hungry". Severe malnutrition, the deformities of rickets and other deficiency diseases abound.

". . . no one shall go hungry". In one hospital alone, an average of fifty children die each month from undernourishment.

". . . Free medical care . . ." South Africa has the **highest tuberculosis rate in the world.**

". . . special care for mothers and young children . . ." **The infant mortality rate for Africans is the highest in the world .**

This is what family life is like under apartheid. It is at this cost that you save a few pennies when **you** buy South African goods.

WHAT YOU CAN DO —

- * Refuse to buy any goods with a South African label.
- * Persuade your shop-keeper not to stock South African goods.
- * Have this list of brand names duplicated and distribute it to your friends and to the members of any club or Womens' Organisation to which you belong.
- * Join or help to form a Boycott Committee in your town.

Can you **enjoy** food and wine produced by slave labour at the expense of starving children? Surely not!

. . . ON THE PLAYING FIELD

**"The colour bar . . . in sport . . .
shall be abolished."**

**"Rest, leisure and recreation
shall be the right of all."
The Freedom Charter,
Kliptown, Johannesburg, 1955**

Although there are as yet no laws designed specifically to make non-racial sport a punishable offence, the theory and practice of apartheid have been eminently successful in making it impossible, while magistrates have resorted to such action as ordering the removal of goal-posts in order to prevent a football match in which a mixed team was playing. To raise a voice against apartheid, in whatever sphere, is, however, an offence under the General Law Amendment Act (the "Sabotage" Act) in terms of which, Denis Brutus, Honorary Secretary of the South African Sports Association, was banned. For him the banning order carried the following penalties:

- * He is deprived of his livelihood as a teacher and journalist.
- * He may not attend political or social gatherings.
- * He may not leave the magisterial district of Johannesburg and therefore cannot visit his wife and children at home in Port Elizabeth.
- * He may not enter any township or factory premises, or belong to any organisation which discusses government policy.
- * A collection of his poems to be published this year may not be sold in South Africa.

In 1962 the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) was formed and Denis Brutus elected its first Honorary President, al-

though, under his banning order, he could not attend the meeting.

In May he was arrested after introducing a Swiss journalist to members of the Committee of SAN-ROC, an action which, in the eyes of the Minister of Justice, constituted a breach of his banning order.

On 7th May we issued the following appeal on behalf of SAN-ROC:

STATEMENT

"In 1962 the International Olympic Committee warned South Africa that she would be suspended if racial discrimination in sport was not removed.

"Since then, racialism in South African sport has been intensified. Non-whites are excluded from the all-white bodies and are being forced to form all-black bodies which accept racialism.

"It is important that all sportsmen who are opposed to racialism in sport should take action. They must write to the International Olympic Committee and state their opposition and request that South Africa should be expelled. This must especially be done by organised bodies of sportsmen, especially in the national sporting bodies."

This issue will be discussed by the International Olympic Committee at its Congress in Nairobi in October of this year. But it is necessary that action should be taken NOW, as well as at the Nairobi Congress. We ask all sporting bodies to table resolutions stating their attitude to the question of racialism, and send their resolutions to the headquarters of the International Olympic Committee at Lausanne in Switzerland.

We ask this in the name of those who are fighting for non-racialism and true sportsmanship in South Africa.

WHAT YOU CAN DO —

- Support SAN-ROC.
- Work for the expulsion of South Africa from all international sporting bodies.
- Refuse to participate in sporting events where all-white South African teams are taking part.



A forced farm labourer — who's next?

. . . THROUGH THE CHURCHES

“All shall enjoy equal Human Rights. The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children.”

**The Freedom Charter,
Kliptown, Johannesburg, 1955**

In his autobiography Chief Albert Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize wrote:

“Even the withdrawal of the Dutch Reformed Church from the World Council does not dismay me. I deplore the divisions of Christendom. But I think the withdrawal is logical, for I do not see how any Church which does not openly oppose and denounce apartheid can have much in common with the rest of Christendom. Yet even the Dutch Reformed Church may one day find itself, without contradiction, back within the World Council. The voices of its own ranks which today it derides and shouts down, are the voices of its own prophets.”

So imbued with the idea of white supremacy is the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa that the anomaly of a Christian Church teaching Christian love and white superiority to strictly segregated congregations arouses little comment and less protest. It is the accepted order of things, the natural spiritual concomitant of the political, social and economic rationale of apartheid. It is the rest of Christendom which is held to be in error and it is, therefore, to the rest of the Christian



The torchlight parade in downtown Stockholm which touched off the Scandinavian youth organised Boycott of South African goods, which was undertaken in the context of the WAY 9th Council resolution on South Africa.

Communion that many Africans look today for strength in a country where human dignity and the value of the individual are denied to the majority by law. With reference to recent events the Archbishop of Canterbury said:

"It is alarming that the Government of South Africa has, in its legislation and proposed legislation, gone so far towards removing one of the main foundations of civilisation, namely the liberty of the individual. If this trend continues, based as it is on the fear of one part of the population towards another, it is hard to see how the outcome can be other than violent disaster.

"Christian people in this country must pray that the present rulers take heed before it is too late, and must also pray that patience will prevail amongst the non-European population. We can also aid with our contribution to those who suffer from the hardships of the legislation."

10th June, 1963.

Writing of racial discrimination and human dignity in his Encyclical Letter "Pacem in Terris", addressed not only to Catholics but to all men of goodwill, Pope John XXIII declared:

"Men all over the world have today — or will soon have — the rank of citizens in independent nations. No one wants to feel subject to political powers located outside his own country or ethnical group. Thus in very many human beings the inferiority complex which endured for hundreds and thousands of years is disappearing, while in others there is an attenuation and gradual fading of the corresponding superiority complex which had its roots in social-economic privileges, sex or political standing.

On the contrary, the conviction that all men are equal by reason of their natural dignity has been gradually accepted. Hence racial discrimination can in no way be justified at least doctrinally or in theory. And this is of fundamental importance and significance for the formation of human society according to those principles we have outlined above. For, if a man becomes conscious of his rights, he must become equally aware of his duties. Thus he who possesses certain rights has likewise the duty to claim those rights as marks of his dignity, while all others have the obligation to acknowledge those rights and respect them".

The South African government has done little to help, and much to impede the work of the Churches, particularly those who have been

most critical of Apartheid or those who have not accepted the limitations of the Bantu Education Act in their schools.

WHAT YOU CAN DO —

- * At the present time much work is being done by many denominations in many fields.
- * This work is vital and must be continued and extended.
- * We suggest that you ask your Church to advise you on how best you can help in this tragic situation.

RESOLUTIONS OF WAY

Resolution of the WAY 4th General Assembly

The 4th General Assembly of WAY, meeting in Aarhus, Denmark from 9th to 19th July, 1962:

RECALLING the resolution adopted at the 8th WAY Council in Accra and the massacres at Sharpeville and Langa Townships in South Africa in March 1960;

SHOCKED by the death sentences passed for offences arising out of political demonstrations and the South African government's determination to impose an unacceptable form of self-rule on the inhabitants of the Transkeian Territories and Sekukuniland where martial law has been in operation since 1960, involving the detention of thousands of Africans without trial;

INDIGNANT over the frantic production and accumulation of massive amounts ammunition, stockpiling of bombs and rockets, general mobilisation of the Army and civilians, and the intensive training of the Army in an atmosphere likely to provoke the majority of the oppressed people to resort to active opposition which would give justification to the South African Government to engage in violent countermeasures against its opponents;

CONSIDERING the formidable and repressive nature of the provisions of the General Law Amendment Act of 1962, designed to abrogate the basic principles of justice, democracy, expression, freedom and assembly as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

EXPRESSES its support and solidarity with the youth and people of the Republic of South Africa in their just struggle for freedom, dignity and the elimination of the extreme racial policy of white domination which constitutes a threat to world peace;

DEMANDS the immediate release of all militants now detained without trial, in prison or in exile, and the lifting of the State of Emergency now prevailing in the Transkeian Territories and Sekukuniland as well as the lifting of bans imposed on all the spokesmen and leaders of the oppressed people of the Republic of South Africa;

CONDEMNNS the South African Government's militarism and protests against the general mobilisation of the Army and the civilians;

URGENTLY CALLS upon National Committees, in the interest of international peace, to bring all possible pressure to bear on their governments to:

- a. apply effective economic and diplomatic sanctions and to impose an arms embargo on the Republic of South Africa;
- b. campaign for the amendments of the recommendations made at the 15th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, to make the resolution on economic sanctions against that country binding on all member nations of the United Nations;
- c. support by all conceivable active measures an international boycott of South African goods;

URGES WAY and its National Committees through national campaigns and financial contributions to create scholarships to enable African students to pursue their education overseas, particularly in the fields of technology, administration and agriculture, and to continue to raise funds for the South African Committee for Higher Education in accordance with the resolution of the 8th WAY Council in Accra;

URGES all nations to employ all possible means, either through the UN or by their own efforts, to make available to the African and coloured populations all necessary supplies, such as food, clothing and medicines, which can be procured in order to minimise suffering which is a normal consequence of this emergency situation.

(Original English)

Resolution of the WAY 9th Council

The 9th Council of WAY, meeting in Aarhus, Denmark from 9th to 24th July, 1962:

CONSIDERING the role played by foreign capital investment in keeping the racial regime of South Africa viable and in a position to continue with its brutal policy of repression of the African people of South Africa;

CONSIDERING that in spite of the many resolutions that have been passed to boycott South African goods, very little practical effort in that direction has thus far been undertaken;

REQUESTS all National Committees of WAY to bring pressure to bear on their governments to cut all diplomatic and trade ties with the Government of the Republic of South Africa;

URGES all WAY National Committees to draw up lists of the firms in their respective countries that deal in South African goods and to distribute the lists among their member organisations with a view to starting a campaign for the boycott of these firms.

(Original English)