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External Mission ?

watching, what I submit is genocide masquerading under the guise of a civilized dispensation of justice. The African and other South Africans, who are being dragged to the slaughter house, face death, or life imprisonment, because they fearlessly resisted South Africa's violations of the United Nations Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights, because they fought against a Government armed to the teeth and relying on armed force, to end inhumanity, to secure the liberation of the African people, to end racial discrimination, and to replace racial intolerance and tyranny with democracy and equality, irrespective of colour, race or creed.

Every single day spent in gaol by any of our people, every drop of blood drawn from any of them, and every life taken -- each of these represents a unit of human worth lost to us. This loss we can no longer afford. It is surely not in the interests of South Africa or even at the South African Government that this loss should be increased any further.

2.2 ACCOIâ\200\230Vâ\200\231IPLICES OF APARTHEID

(Address to the Special Committee Against Apartheid, 22 March 1964)

... In response to the appeals we made in the name of our people, when our delegation appeared before your Committee last year, we are grateful, Mr Chairman, to note that both the Security Council and the General Assembly have adopted resolutions imposing an embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa and calling for the release of all persons detained or otherwise restricted because of their opposition to the policies of apartheid. It is common knowledge, however, that the South African Government has completely, and openly, ignored these resolutions. The behaviour of this member state of the United Nations in persistently ignoring well-considered decisions of this world body calls for immediate investigation.

In conformity with its disregard of world opinion, the South African Government has continued to press on with the enforcement of its apartheid policies, which are invariably aimed at the

We would strongly recommend that this Committee in its search for modes of action against apartheid should give a substantial share of its time and energies to a consideration of the means by which such accomplices can be made to reconcile their public protestations with their deeds. For it would be dangerous, even if it were possible, to continue pretending that the joint condemnation of apartheid by its opponents and anâ\200\230lent supporters is sufficient to dislodge a system, which draws strength from a combination of economic power, military strength and an unbridled zeal for the use of brute force .

It is important to be clear as to what makes apartheid possible and what guarantees its continuance. Reputed leaders of our people -- men of unquestionable integrity and uncompromising enemies of any evil system practised by man on man -â\200\224 are today standing in danger of losing their lives, precisely because they are the men they are. It is true that for many years the whole world has warned the South African government at the unavoidable consequences of its conduct of affairs in South Africa. But it is equally true that for many many years the South African Government has received all the financial and material encouragement it needed for continuing and persisting in its policies and practices. We cannot overemphasize the urgency of identifying all those forces and influences which should be held answerable for any past, present or future loss of life in South Africa.

Mr Chairman, following a long list of political trials in various parts of South Africa, 19 political leaders, including a girl of 17 years, have recently been sentenced in Pietermaritzburg, Natal, to terms of imprisonment of from 5 to 20 years. Twentyfive other leaders are on trial in Lady'smith, Natal, and in Cape Town the case against 11 leaders and trade unionists -â\200\224 among them there are four women -has "been proceeding now for five months, the charge against the accused being incitement to acts of sabotage.

There are many other similar trials, but mention must be made once again of the Pretoria case against Nelson Mandela and others, which is now approaching its closing stages, the State having led all its evidence against the leaders. This case will be resumed on 7 April, when evidence on behalf of the leaders will be tendered. This is the case which was the subject of a resolution

expression to the solidarity which the home countries of these immigrants have with white domination in South Africa. Member states of the United Nations, who have joined in the condemnation of racial discrimination in South Africa and who have either connived at or encouraged emigration to South Africa, are helping to extend the area of racialism and racial conflict in the world to their own countries. We would urge this Committee to take steps to bring this practice to the notice of the United Nations.

Repeated reports indicate that South Africa is enjoying an economic boom. This is no doubt encouraged by a sense of security induced by the belief that with arms supplied by its friends, the South African Government is able to ensure stability in South Africa. In explanation of this stability, gleeful fingers are pointed at the leaders of the liberation movement and other opponents of apartheid, who are either languishing in gaol, subject to various restrictions, being tortured or facing trial on charges carrying penalties which range from long terms of imprisonment to death by hanging.

While we do not feel the need to argue with those who regard this form of stability as real, we consider it pertinent to ask who, as between the white supremacist in South Africa and the profit-seeking foreign investor, is the happier to see the Africans and other opponents of racial discrimination hounded, harassed and herded into gaols, tortured, sentenced and hanged? Who is the greater racist as between those who formulate and enforce the theories and policies of racial superiority and those who furnish the capital, technical knowledge and manpower for the execution and maintenance of those policies?

In the past we have stated, and we repeat now, that the oppressed people in South Africa must and will settle accounts with their oppressors by any methods and means open to them, the determining consideration being whether they want to achieve their freedom at all costs or to live in bondage forever. But insofar as the South African situation is the immediate concern of the United Nations, then those outside South Africa who are accomplices in the perpetration of an acknowledged vice, must account for their conduct to world opinion.

8 Preparing for Power

black people at South Africa -I would include all who are not considered white and pursued for the sole benefit of the white population. Giving added encouragement and strength to this sustained persecution of our people, foreign investment have continued to pour into South Africa in an unbroken stream.

Last year, we proposed that those countries, which have involved themselves economically on the side of our oppressors, 'be called upon to withdraw forthwith from the arena of conflict in our country and that they should be specifically indicted in the forums at this Organization. We went on:

As a first step in the process of ensuring those bodies and organizations which deliberately ignore the decisions of this Organization by giving support and aid to the white racists in South Africa, we propose that a blacklist of companies such as De Beers Limited, African Explosives and Chemical Industries and others which collaborate with the South African Government in the manufacture of ammunition in the compiled. Members of this Organization should be called upon to sever relations with these companies.

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We are pleased to note that at its recent meeting in Lagos, the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity has decided to establish a Committee charged with the task of compiling a comprehensive report on the nature and extent of trade conducted by certain countries and companies with South Africa, on the one hand, and with member states of the Organization of African Unity, on the other hand. This report, we learn, will be submitted to the Conference of African Heads of State for decision and necessary action. It is our hope that such a report will be made available to member states at the United Nations sympathetic to the cause of the African people in South Africa and wishing to join the African states in taking measures against the South African Government and all its active supporters.

White immigrants, mainly from Great Britain, have recently been entering South Africa in large batches, no doubt to share in the all-white looting of African labour, to render numerical support to the South African Government and to give political

adopted by the General Assembly in October last year. The fact that this trial continued uninterrupted, despite that resolution, presents the United Nations with one of its crucial tests. It is a case which is capable of giving rise to serious complications in South Africa and beyond its border, and one which should be kept under the closest observation by the Committee.

We would urge the Committee in its reports to underline the importance of individual member states at the United Nations taking active steps to prevent the South African Government from embarking on acts and carrying on a policy so inescapably subversive at peace. It is our feeling that not enough is being done at the international level to challenge the right of the South African Government to hold as criminals, to persecute and even kill men, women and young people, whose basic and sole offence is their opposition to inhuman practices.

If there was any doubt in the minds of anyone that what the South African Government is asking for is trouble, the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, now before the all-white South African Parliament, should remove that doubt. In one of its key clauses the Bill establishes a network of what are euphemistically termed 'Aid Centres'. These are in fact slave labour detention camps, which are intended to entrap all Africans out at the Bantustan area. It will be recalled that the Bantustan scheme seeks to confine some four million Africans in poverty-stricken, cheap labour reservoirs, presently known as reserves. Africans forced by hunger and starvation out of these reserves or Bantustans will be caught in this network. Those at present living outside the reserves will similarly be regimented into the scheme. The African: enmeshed in these 'Aid Centres' will be distributed as black labour to white masters and farmers throughout the country. The end result will be a homeless, migrant, slave population of 11 million Africans. Even the practice of catching Africans in the streets and selling them to white farmers, which was stamped out by the courts a few years ago, is now being reintroduced and legalized in the Bill.

Thus, straight from listening to years of condemnation of the ruthless system by which whites maintain themselves in power over Africans, and after hearing warnings that such a system