

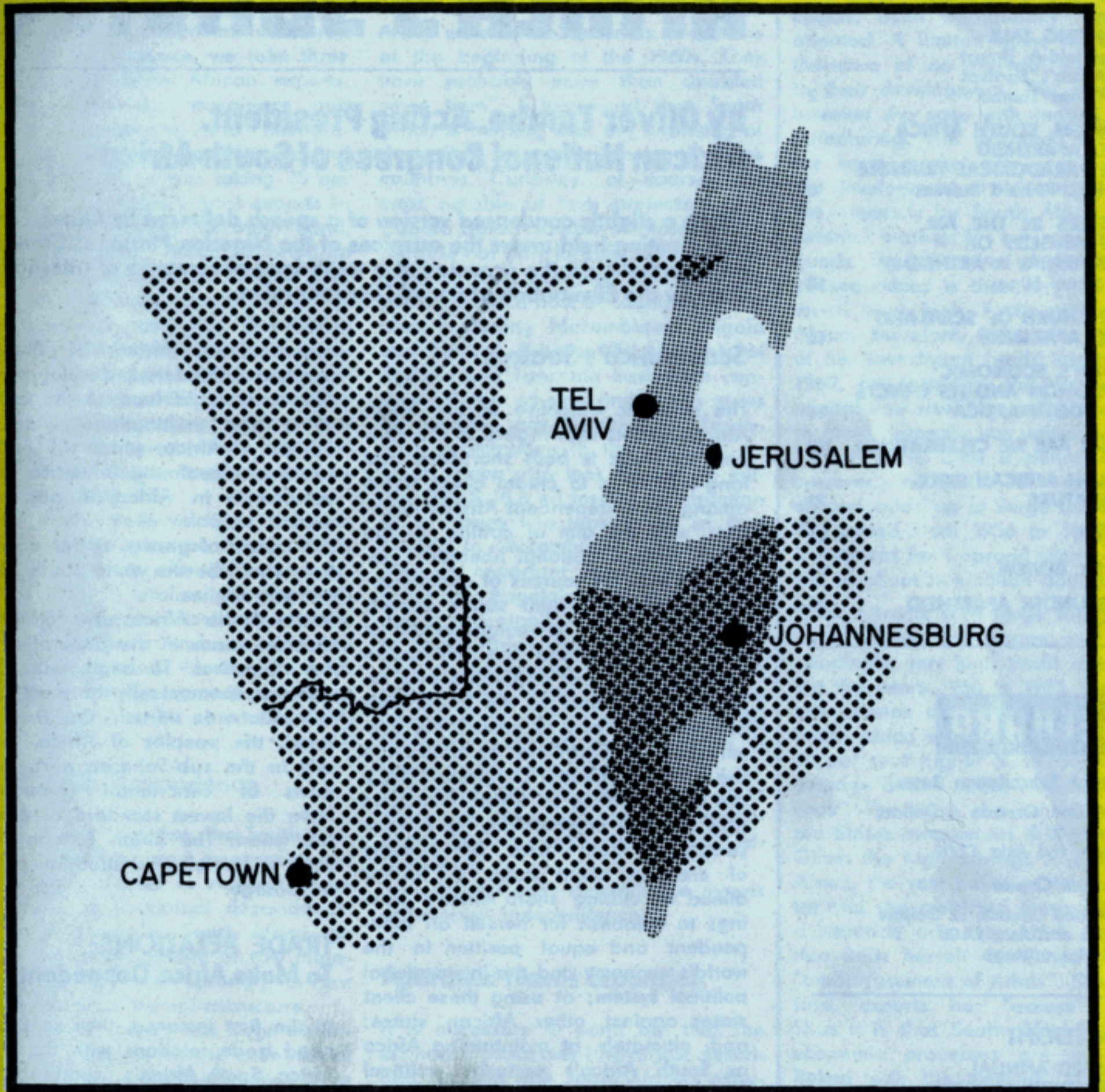
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ZIONISM, SOUTH AFRICA AND APARTHEID

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## SECHABA

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# APARTHEID - A THREAT TO AFRICA'S SURVIVAL

by Oliver Tambo, Acting President,  
African National Congress of South Africa

This is a slightly condensed version of a speech delivered by Oliver Tambo, to a meeting held under the auspices of the Nigerian National Committee on Apartheid, on the occasion of a week-long observance of International Year for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

### South Africa's Strategy

The strategic objective of the South African racists with regard to the African continent is both short-term and long-term. It is to create client states among the independent African countries, with the aim of cutting off the South African national liberation movement from all sources of assistance; to compel such client states actively to participate in campaigns aimed at our destruction and the destruction of the faith of our oppressed and revolutionary people in the inevitability of liberation; and to ensure the preservation of apartheid by destroying the African National Congress (ANC), the decisive force on whose shoulders falls the task of liberating the African people of South Africa. The strategy of creating client states is further aimed at cutting short Africa's strivings to establish for herself an independent and equal position in the world's economy and the international political system; at using these client states against other African states; and, ultimately, at maintaining Africa as South Africa's exclusive political and economic preserve. In this connection, special mention should be made of the attempt of the South African regime to establish a so-called "Southern African Common Market". A white South African apologist of

apartheid has written: "If allowed to proceed unhindered, developments in this area could lead to the creation of a new multinational giant, the Europe of Africa, which will one day exercise a profound influence on developments in Africa, if not in the world."

The centre of gravity of this combination would be the white South African minority regime.

White South Africa uses many and diverse means in the attempt to fulfil her objectives. To begin with, South Africa is economically the most powerful country in Africa. On the other hand, the peoples of Africa, especially in the sub-Saharan part, on the basis of continental comparisons, have the lowest standard of living in the world. The South African racists seek to exploit this situation to their advantage.

### TRADE RELATIONS: To Make Africa Dependent

In the first instance, they seek to expand trade relations with the rest of Africa. South Africa's exports to Africa more than doubled between the years 1964 and 1968, while her imports from Africa grew by about a third. We need to draw attention to two points regarding these trade relations. First, relative to the rest of the con-

continent, South Africa in the period mentioned – and, I am certain, up to the present – enjoyed a favourable balance of payments. This, of course, necessitates that the African countries must find foreign exchange to settle their debts. South Africa takes advantage of this situation by offering credits to these countries to buy South African goods. The African countries are then faced with the task of periodically servicing their debt to South Africa. Second, South Africa uses Africa as her market for manufactured goods. If, for instance, we take three categories of South African exports, namely, chemicals, machinery and transport equipment, and miscellaneous manufactured goods, we find that by 1968 Africa was taking 75 per cent of South Africa's total exports in these categories. On the other hand, in the same year, Africa exported to South Africa only about 1.5 per cent of South Africa's requirements of goods in these categories. This means that South Africa maintains the classical trade relations between an imperialist country and its colonies. The African countries serve South Africa as sources for cheap raw materials and markets for her expensive manufactured goods.

In all, these trade relations increase Africa's dependence on South Africa and help maintain the African economies at a low level of development. The South African racists further strive to entrench these trade relations by signing agreements, binding on both signatories for an agreed period, as they have done in the case of Malawi.

### To Entrench Dependence

In the second instance, the South African policy of aid and investment has also been designed to entrench these tendencies of perpetual dependence. Funds exported by South Africa go first to the development of raw material extraction and secondly to the development of the infrastructure.

South Africa already has large investments in mining in all the countries of Southern Africa. Her companies have reached even as far north as Mauritania where, in co-operation with French capital, South African money and technique is used in the mining of copper. South African companies are already prospecting for bauxite

and other minerals in Malawi. Newspaper reports have also stated that South African companies, again in co-operation with French capital, are investigating mining possibilities in Malagasy. South Africa, again in co-operation with France, is wooing Mauritius and dangling the prospect of big loans and investments before the Mauritian Government. Mr. Sean Gervasi, an economist at Oxford University, has stated:

"Total (South African) investments in Africa were in the hundreds of millions at the beginning of the 1960s. They have probably more than doubled since then". I have said that South Africa is helping with the financing of the infrastructure in some of these countries. Currently, of course, the most notable of such projects is the Cabora Bassa Scheme in Mozambique which is not only largely South African financed and designed to generate electricity for a host of countries in the area, including Mozambique, Angola and Malawi. But the Governments of Zambia and Tanzania have both condemned the scheme and taken steps to preclude any Zambian or Tanzanian participation in the scheme.

South Africa also lent Malawi £6 million (US \$ 16.8 m) for the construction of a railway line terminating at Port Nacala in Mozambique. She is building an important road through Namibia to Angola's seaport, Luanda, and a gas pipeline from Mozambique to South Africa. Further, she has signed an agreement with Malagasy to open an air route between the two countries, as well as maintain and fly Malagasy's aircraft on that route. If I may quote Sean Gervasi again:

"All these changes creates new links which are essentially ones of dependence for those with whom South Africa deals".

And, let me add, dependence means absence of independence.

### Apartheid Needs Expansion

It is necessary to point out that the economic processes I have just described, dealing with South Africa's external economic relations, are organically linked with apartheid in so far as it is an internal, South African system of economic relations. As a system, one of whose central features is the super-exploitation of the African

people, apartheid results in certain economic consequences. One of these is that since the earnings of the African majority are kept at the bare minimum level, the internal market for industrial goods is extremely limited. This is particularly important in the situation which obtains today wherein manufacturing contributes more to the gross domestic product than mining and agriculture.

Mining and agriculture have, of course, been traditionally export – oriented. A limited home market was therefore of no material significance to their development. The contrary is however the case with regard to manufacturing. The restricted nature of the home market acts as a fetter on the development of this sector. Hence the necessity for South Africa to find external markets for her manufactured goods. The second of these economic consequences is that very low wages mean very high profit rates. South Africa, therefore, generates the bulk of her investment funds internally. In 1969, for instance, the ratio of net capital flow from the rest of the world to gross domestic investment was only 3.2 per cent. Over a period of time, however, the influx of capital from abroad adds up to large amounts. In the period from 1956 to 1968, direct investment from abroad alone amounted to about two billion dollars.

What attracts such large funds is the factor of very low wages, and correspondingly, very high profit rates. During the years 1960 to 1965, for example, returns on British investment in South Africa were consistently "almost 50 per cent higher than those on the average British direct investment overseas". The same can be said of United States investments in South Africa. Given the high savings rate in South Africa, the vast inflow of foreign capital and the restricted internal market, a situation arises in which South Africa finds herself burdened with an "embarrassment of riches". She, therefore, exports her "excess" capital. Thus it is that South Africa's internal economic processes are organically linked with the external. The super-exploitation of the Black people in South Africa is at once the basis of the South African economy and the objective reason for South Africa's quest for external markets for her "excess" capital.

The external relations are clearly the relations of domination and exploitation because, firstly, they are dictated by the objective requirements of the most powerful economy on the African continent; and, secondly, because they are designed and intended to serve the exclusive economic and political interests of the white South African racist minority and not those of the African people, inside or outside Africa. If we take the nature and duration of the economic relations between the United States and South Africa as a timely parallel to South Africa's relations of domination and exploitation in Africa, then we cannot possibly ignore the stern warning already sounded by the French author, Dumont, that the objective of the South African racist regime is to "South Africanize" Africa. And God forbid that Africa, in whole or in part, should be surrendered to these heartless racists condemned to such a horrifying disaster by any African leader or group of leaders.

### Import and Black Manpower

It is worth remembering that South Africa "imports" manpower from Africa. In mining alone, last year, Black workers from outside South Africa constituted 70 per cent of the total African labour force. This system of "importation" of African labour, at highly exploitative wage rates, is as cruel as it is a criminal rape of Africa's manpower. The youth is seized from developing African countries in its prime; it is used mercilessly in the interests of South Africa's mining magnates; and it is then returned home a spent force, as poor as it had left and bringing no wealth for the development of its countries and peoples. As a system which "is leading away from industrialisation and not towards it", and which does not create job opportunities in the countries of origin, it condemns not only the present, but also the future generations to dependence on South Africa. Small wonder that Zambia has decreed against Zambians working in the South African mines.

### MILITARY STRATEGY

The racist regime's military strategy falls into two parts. Firstly, the regime has adopted a military posture aimed

at keeping the white-dominated south of Africa intact, while simultaneously pushing the regime's military defence line far to the north, thus creating a system of buffer states around itself. Secondly, it has made preparations to strike against the independent countries to the north, in terms of what the Israelis, who maintain military contacts with racist South Africa, call "the doctrine of anticipatory counter-attack" or "carrying the war into enemy territory", to quote General Allon, Israel's Deputy Prime Minister. The parallels between Israel and South Africa are, of course, obvious. The difference, however, is that whereas Israel needed to go to war in order to capture and occupy Arab territory, South Africa did not have to do so in the case of Namibia, which she now stubbornly refuses to relinquish despite the United Nations decision terminating her mandate. South Africa's military presence in Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola is by agreement with the sister colonial and racist regimes of Portugal and Rhodesia, members with South Africa of the economic, political, military and intelligence unholy Alliance. Just as Israel has been conducting acts of aggression against the Arab countries, using captured land as her base, so will South Africa use her buffer states for "anticipatory counter-attack".

She has furthermore built a major military base in the Caprivi Strip, in the northernmost tip of Namibia, one thousand miles from her own borders with Namibia. From this base she can strike, quickly and suddenly, at countries far to her north, as President Kaunda has repeatedly warned. Only last year, the world was informed by a South African Cabinet Minister that the new airport being built in Llongwe, Malawi, would be open to aircraft of the South African Air Force. The Minister subsequently published a diplomatic denial of the statement. But South Africa openly maintains a military attaché's office in Malawi.

### Western Military Support

The support for South Africa's military plans and activities has come from Western Powers including, in particular, France and Britain.

In the matter of supply of arms to the murderous racists, France has beha-

ved like a country of people accustomed to kill with blissful callousness, people for whom the life of a Black man is something that is "neither here nor there". In view of France's long history of non-racism, the zeal and zest with which she arms self-confessed killers and racists is difficult to explain. But what is even more surprising is the speechless silence of those African States which have had the longest and closest association with France. Their silence is puzzling and mysterious. President Kaunda led an OAU delegation to ask the French Government not to supply weapons to the racist murderers. But the French people, including the French workers, seem determined to arm Vorster and Smith to the teeth. What could France's interest be other than "to hamper the freedom and independence of Africa and to compromise the liberation of the colonies on the African continent", as President Sekou Toure has said of the recent aggression against Guinea? Or, in the words of Major-General Yakubu Gowon, to help colonizing adventurers to organise attacks similar to that against Guinea against other independent African countries, "with a view to recolonizing Africa"? This, it seems, is what lies behind France's arrogant sale of arms to South Africa and Britain's decision to resume the sale of arms. The British Government, which created and maintains the racist regimes in southern Africa, has had a great deal to say about its obligations to supply arms to South Africa under the Simonstown Agreements. It stresses the defence of sea routes against a supposed Soviet Naval threat. But Mr. Heath's numerous statements on this issue are significant for what they carefully omit to mention. The African people's opposition to the sale of arms or to further strengthening of the South African regime even by half a frigate is in regard to southern Africa and, consequently, the whole continent.

### Simonstown Agreements

The Simonstown Agreements do not relate to sea routes only. They are, first and foremost, agreements about southern Africa itself. An *aide-memoire* sent by the South African Government

to the British Government, dated May 20, 1970, states as follows:

For their part, the South African Government have consistently viewed the exchange of letters of 30 June 1955, in the context of the fundamental important policy statement agreed on between the two governments in the first paragraph of the Memorandum of Understanding contained in the first of the letters. It is there agreed that southern Africa and the sea routes round southern Africa must be secured against aggression from without. The fourth paragraph of the Understanding provides that in order to implement this policy the lines of communication and logistic support in and around southern Africa must be adequately and securely defended.

As to whether the letters dated June 30, 1955, and referred to by the South African Government, are correct, we have it on the authority of the Law Officers of the Crown for England and Wales that "these (Simonstown) Agreements are contained in exchanges of letters dated 30 June, 1955". The Simonstown Agreements are, therefore, not only about sea routes; they are also about the "security" of "southern Africa"; they are about "adequate and securely defended" "communication and logistic support in and around southern Africa"; they are also about sea routes, not one sea route, around a number of countries which constitute southern Africa.

The Simonstown Agreements commit Britain to defend southern Africa jointly with South Africa against what the two parties may consider to be "aggression from without". J. B. Vorster regards the armed struggle in Zimbabwe, and Mozambique as "aggression from without". Britain's stubborn decision to supply arms to South Africa may well turn out to be the tip of a vast iceberg of joint activities relating to southern Africa.

How else are we to explain the extraordinary timing of this decision, taken in the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination when the race issue is mounting in Britain, when apartheid has been legalised in Rhodesia, and when apartheid in South Africa has reached new heights? How are we to explain the fact that Mr. Heath decides to go ahead with the supply of arms at the risk of destroying the Commonwealth

and ruining Britain's relations with Africa? What colossal plan is the delivery of seven helicopters a part of? Whatever it is, the British Government, faced with a choice between the requirements of a fascist white regime and the will of hundreds of millions of people in Africa, in Britain and all over the world, has elected to stand in firm solidarity with the racists. As to Britain's future role in the unfolding revolution in southern Africa, the writing is on the wall for all Africa to see.

But we must place it on record that the defence of southern Africa, and of the sea routes around it, is not the business of white minority settler regimes. It is the business of the Black people of Africa.

The Simonstown Agreements are about the independent and sovereign people of Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland. If these agreements are valid, they are dangerous. What is more, they offer some explanation for Britain's resolute refusal to use force against rebel Smith. It is to hide their true content that the British Government has sought to present the Simonstown Agreements, concluded nearly sixteen years ago, as an answer to a Soviet Naval threat, thus, falling in line with South Africa's oft-repeated defence of apartheid as being a Bastion of Western defence against communism.

### DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL OFFENSIVE

The former NATO Deputy Chief of Staff, and current Director of the French Institute of Strategic Studies, General Beaufre, sees the problem of setting up a "vast bloc in southern Africa" assured "not only of prosperity, but also stability", as being "above all, to achieve the psychological conditions of friendly cohabitation... of different races" Beaufre goes on to say:

"A South African policy which does not disarm (the opposition to apartheid from the Third World) . . . by some well conceived reforms and by a big information effort, risks allowing a hostile atmosphere to build up and to harden".

South Africa had, of course, already understood the meaning of the French General's words very clearly while proceeding from the position that, as

South African Cabinet Minister Uys said, "the stronger we are, the less they can touch us . . ." The South African racists also knew that strength alone is not sufficient to ensure friendly cohabitation and that there must also be a big information effort and the preparation of the psychological conditions which will remove the opposition from the Third World. Hence it is that South Africa launched a big diplomatic and political offensive, directed primarily at Africa. She says to Africa: "We want to have good relations; we want to pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence; we want fruitful co-operation with you on the basis of non-interference in the internal affairs of one another's country."

Last year, South Africa offered to conclude a non-aggression treaty with any country in Africa that so wished. In return South Africa offers to assist "in the development and prosperity of Africa", as Vorster put it. Vorster went on: "Providence has been very good to us in Africa and we want to return to Africa something of this . . . This is the spirit that inspires us - and that is the spirit that will conquer Africa". That indeed was the spirit that conquered Malawi. Not content with these overtures, South Africa put out the idea of a dialogue. This idea was carried by the South African Foundation to Paris, and thence to Africa. I have only a brief statement to make on the question of a dialogue, and I make it in the knowledge that I express the unanimous views of 18 million oppressed Blacks in South Africa. The position is that we don't want a dialogue at this stage and we will not need one in the foreseeable future. We very much appreciate our brothers proposing a dialogue as a useful tactic. But now that they know the mind of the oppressed on this question, we are confident that they will drop the idea. I hope that this brief statement closes the issue of dialogue and that there will be no further reference to it hereafter.

South Africa's determination to win Africa for herself does not, of course, stop at the methods I have described. She is not loathe to interfere in various countries, using psychological warfare, terror and subversion. She does not hesitate to help send that most brutal product of decadent Western society, mercenaries, to any country

which seems to offer her a chance of installing a government of hirelings and collaborators. Her intelligence service is world-wide and a growing network is spreading over the African continent. Radio South Africa and other agencies simultaneously conduct a powerful propaganda campaign aimed at denigrating the OAU, belittling the achievements of the peoples of Africa, to encourage the formation of unpatriotic groups and then to incite these groups into action.

She tries to terrorize and demoralise the Governments and peoples of Africa, to cow them into submission and compel their acceptance of economic, political and other arrangements which, in their essence, would be what President Sekou Toure has described as those "between the horse and its rider".

## ALLIES OF APARTHEID

The struggle for Black majority rule in southern Africa is a struggle not only in the interests of the freedom, independence and progress of all the African peoples, but is also one waged in opposition to a powerful combination of allies – the allies of Portugal, Rhodesia and racist South Africa. In their continental strategy these allies realise that South Africa is both their strength and their weakness, both their most powerful single striking force and their most important single vulnerable link. This, therefore, results in countries such as the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and others having African policies aimed simultaneously at strengthening Africa's enemy, apartheid South Africa, and striving to blunt and deflect Africa's offensive against the enemy in her midst. This is a policy which necessarily means that Africa's own interests take a secondary position in the diplomatic and political calculations of the West.

Only a few days ago, Sir Seretse Khama, the President of Botswana, stated:

"Questions of aid and investment are important ... But the guts of the relationship between Africa and America is race, and hence southern Africa."

Africa cannot afford to entertain illusions on this score. Already the West's approach to Africa is organised

around the central issue of the defence of the white-dominated South, its most important economic and military base on the African continent. Africa, for her part, cannot afford to deal with the question of southern Africa as if it were the last, and an incidental, point in the complex of her relations with the rest of the world. It seems clear to us that not until South Africa is free, not until this Western base for the recolonization and domination of Africa is rooted out, will Africa's own unique and pressing problems of progress and consolidation of independence come into their arena.

Africa cannot simultaneously be really healthy and strong and continue to harbour in her body politic the cancerous growth that is **Apartheid** South Africa and her allies in the white-dominated South. **Apartheid** is to Africa not a moral question, but a question of survival.

## SUPPORT THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

What, then, is to be done?

If the South African Racist regime appears to have embarked on an offensive against independent Africa, its operations against the liberation movement in South Africa are intensive, and the persecution and torture of activists is ceaseless. And yet it is in South Africa that the struggle against the regime must be fought and won. The dominant role must of necessity be played by the Black masses; and they are responding to their responsibilities.

The activities of the relatively few of them who are outside South Africa must be geared to the active support of the internal struggle which, while it has not changed in content, has now clearly assumed the form of a struggle by the Black people against their white oppressors and exploiters for the seizure of power and the repossession of their land. With the conquest of political power by the oppressed Blacks in South Africa, racism will have been dealt a deadly blow. But victory against a well-prepared, well-equipped, well-organised and determined enemy demands more than courage and a willingness to sacrifice – none of which are lacking, as history shows. It also requires that support for the liberation

movement in South Africa should receive a degree of priority that the ANC lost on the day the OAU was formed – a paradoxical reality.

The international Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should certainly be the occasion for remedying a situation in which material support has progressively diminished as the demand for it has increased. Today this demand stands higher than at any previous time and support stands at its lowest. We shall conquer still, but it will be "that much harder", and will take us "that much longer", to fulfil our tactical and strategic objectives. Our problems in this regard are bound to have an adverse effect on the pace of progress of the struggle in the rest of southern Africa.

## African States React

With regard to the rest of Africa, it would seem that the best form of defence against racist South Africa's onslaught is to go on the offensive on a wide range of counteractions. In particular, countries committed to the defeat of white minority regimes should establish embassies in the independent African States bordering on their territories and give full diplomatic, economic and material assistance to these States which will be the first victims of **apartheid** violence when the tide of revolution hits the shores of racism. In this connection it seems inevitable that Africa should begin now to build her military power as an essential part of her development programmes. The idea of an African High Command may be difficult to attain. But a beginning must be made and is being made. In the meantime, Africa's youth in each country should be prepared for service in the national armed forces of each State, which must be built to maximum strength.

Finally, **apartheid** is a threat to Africa's survival because inter alia, it feeds on and is sustained by the nature of South Africa's relations with powerful Western countries. Africa should redefine her relations with these and other countries on the basis of their stand and their policies on issues central to the cause and destiny of Africa. Racism ranks high in the list of such issues.

# ZIONISM, SOUTH AFRICA AND APARTHEID

## The Paradoxical Triangle

by Prof. Richard Stevens

**This analysis of the complex relationships between Israel and South Africa is an abridged version of a lecture given in Beirut on February 10 1971. Professor Stevens is Chairman of the Political Science Department of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, and author of American Zionism and U. S. Foreign Policy 1942-1947.**

**A fuller treatment of this topic appears in a pamphlet entitled Zionism, South Africa, and Apartheid: The Paradoxical Triangle.**

**(Beirut: Palestine Research Centre 1969, P. O. Box 7073, Beirut, Lebanon)**

conferred all power upon the white minority was undoubtedly rooted in the same creed which later governed his approach to an analogous situation in Palestine. Speaking of South Africa he had argued: If the races of Europe have really conquered by centuries of difficulty and travail great rights and privileges for themselves, they have given some of those rights and some of those privileges to men quite incapable by themselves of fighting for them at all. That is the plain historic truth of the situation which it is perfect folly for us to attempt to forget; it is this very fact of the inequality of the races which makes for the difficulty.

### Smuts - Weizmann Friendship

It was from the very early date of his Zionist involvement that General Smuts, a South African beholden to the same "liberal" tradition that produced Balfour, became a close and lifelong friend of Chaim Weizmann. Throughout Smut's political career, from the time he became Prime Minister of South Africa until his defeat at the polls in May 1948, Zionism received his full support. This support was based not only on his high regard for political Zionism, but also had to do with his belief in the necessity of British control of Palestine as a gateway to Africa. Control of this gateway, argued Smuts, could best be left in Zionist hands. In this support for Zionism he was encouraged by the backing he received from the liberal South African Jewish community.

Like other Jewish communities which had left Czarist Russia after the pogroms of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, South African Jews were especially attracted to the promise of a Jewish state. By 1948 it could be demonstrated that fully 99 per cent of all South African Jews were Zionist affiliated. (See Sarah G. Milin, *The People of South Africa* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1945), p 236) The South African Zionist Foundation had been founded as early as 1895, and even before 1948 Zionists formed the majority of the South African Board of Deputies and occupied all the leading posts in the Jewish communities. In short Zionism was without question the primary group concern of South African Jewry.

By 1944 British opposition to extreme Zionist demands in Palestine had aroused the contempt of a considerable number of Jewish factions in South Africa and the community, traditionally allied with British liberal institutions and identified with the political party associated with Anglo interests, began to turn towards the Nationalist Party, the Afrikaaner party which advocated total segregation. As Britain found it necessary to act against Zionist terrorist groups in Palestine, the alienation of the South Af-

The link between Israel and the Union of South Africa exists not only in the realm of analogy where one might point to South Africa's pass laws, restrictive labor laws, collective punishment, and Bantustans and to their equivalents or parallels in Israel today; the link also stems from the inextricable connection of what has happened in Palestine and what has happened in South Africa with the basic power thrust of the Western world. Of all the decisions made in the West which have affected the destinies of the Afro-Asian - the so-called non-Western - peoples of the Third World, none have more clearly revealed the essence of Western ethno-centrism nor demonstrated more conclusively the capacity of the West to cloak its power thrust with international law and morality than two fateful decisions reached in London in 1909 and 1917: the South African Act of Union and the Balfour Declaration. These

two documents, formulated without regard to the rights and aspirations of the peoples affected were rationalized in terms of the highest moral principles and the responsibilities of Western civilization.

Thus, in the name of British liberalism, the indigenous peoples of Palestine and South Africa not only lost their homes, their land, their most basic rights, but also found themselves stripped of their identity, subject to the dictates of those capable of wielding massive power, taxed and administered so as to ensure the survival of the colonizers.

We are aware that it was the Balfour Declaration which in Western eyes endowed the Jewish colonization of Palestine with legitimacy. We are not so aware, however, that Balfour's basic philosophy had been revealed in debates held in 1909 on the proposed Union of South Africa. Balfour's defense of the proposed union which

rican Jewish establishment from the Anglo basis of the liberal tradition, was all but complete.

## Jewish – Nationalist Collaboration

On the eve of the Nationalist Party victory in the elections of 1948, the Jewish community in South Africa was cohesive; it was also powerful. Despite their original poverty, South African Jewish immigrants to South Africa – quickly discovered that the racial inequalities of the country permitted rapid upward mobility. The working class element soon became a small minority and according to many observers, the South African Jewish community had by the end of the war become the wealthiest Jewish community in the world on a per capita basis. And under the observed rules of South African ethnic arithmetic the size of the Jewish community was no detriment to its exercise of considerable influence.

When the Nationalist Party won the 1948 election, many people predicted an anti-Semitic pogrom. There were allegations that the Nationalist Party was anti-semitic and indeed these allegations were quite true. It was after all as recently as 1930 that one of the Afrikaaner leaders, Dr. Daniel F. Malan, had introduced his immigration quota bill designed to prevent Jews from entering South Africa. Membership in the Nationalist Party was barred to Jews. Dr. Hendrik F. Verwoerd who became Minister of the Interior was very much in the Nazi tradition. Both he and Dr. Vorster, the present Prime Minister, had received their degrees in Nazi Germany, so it was expected that a Nationalist victory would mean anti-Jewish sentiment. But such was not the case.

Prior to the election one found unmistakable condemnation of Apartheid in Jewish journals. This condemnation was in terms of Jewish ethics and morality. But within two months of the Nationalists coming to power – in the same month that the British gave up the mandate in Palestine – a very interesting thing occurred: after a conference between the Prime Minister Dr. Malan and Jewish community leaders, the South African Board of Deputies and the Zionist Foundation dramatically altered their attitudes on the race question. It was not just a case of the Nationalist government perceiving the necessity for white solidarity to maintain minority rule; it was also a case of the concern of the Jewish community for expression of its cultural identity in support of Zionism, support for the state of Israel. **At the same time, the Nationalists, who lived by a mythology about the whites of South Africa, particularly the Afrikaners, being God's chosen people, saw the Jews in regard to Palestine as they were themselves in regard to Africa.** The Nationalist Party changed its attitude towards the Jewish community; and it was then declared officially by the Rabbis and by the Board of Deputies that Apartheid was a political, not a moral issue and consequently not a topic upon which institutional Jewry should comment.

Because Prime Minister Smuts, still in power when the State of Israel was promulgated, had felt that because of his close friendship with Weizmann, he should not precipitately grant more than de facto recognition, the Nationalist were able to assert that they were stronger champions of Zionism. On coming to power they immediately extended de jure recognition and the new South African leader, **Dr. Malan became the first Commonwealth Prime**

**Minister to make an official visit to Israel.** Six weeks after taking office, Malan declared that both he and his government stood for a policy of non-discrimination within the white population and looked forward to the day when there would no longer be any talk of the so-called Jewish question in South Africa. Malan exceeded the position of most other countries favourable to Israel: besides making his official visit to Israel, he permitted Jewish reserve officers to serve in Israel and **despite the serious financial problems South Africa then faced, his government allowed the export of needed commodities and currency to the Jewish state.** Until 1961 the South African Jewish community sent more money per capita to Israel than any in the world. The Nationalist proceeded to incorporate Jews into the party and the President of the South African Zionist Federation, Mr. Simon Kuper was appointed to the judiciary of the Transvaal. **Upon the election of Dr. Verwoerd as Prime Minister in 1958, a deputation from the Jewish Board of Deputies extended formal congratulations and his government's appointment of Dr. Percy Yutar, later prosecutor in the trial of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and his associates, (several of whom were Jewish)\*, as Deputy Attorney General of the Transvaal put to rest any lingering doubts as to the possibility of Jews' attaining high government posts.**

Dr. Verwoerd's policies permitted South African Zionists to continue sending some 700 thousand dollars a year to Israel, and in 1959, a visiting Israeli parliamentarian expressed the Israeli government's gratitude to the South African government for the part it had played in helping Israel "attain its present status".

The cordiality of relations between the Nationalist regime and the Jewish community of course raised the question of Jewish complicity in Apartheid because by 1949–50 every Christian community in South Africa – except the Dutch Reform Church, almost a branch of the government, every Hindu and Muslim association in South Africa had condemned Apartheid. Two Rabbis are on record as having spoken out against the silence of institutional Jewry and both found it necessary to leave South Africa. Speaking to the Fighting International Conference of the World Union Of Progressive Judaism in London in July 1953, Rabbi, M. C. Weiler candidly explained:

**"The Jews as a community in South Africa had decided to take no stand on the native question because they were involved with the problem of assisting Jewry in other lands. South African Jewry was doing more to help Israel than any other group. The community could not ask for the government's permission to export funds and**

Vorster



Meir





goods and at the same time object to the government."

Even the Sharpeville massacre of March 1960 brought no comment from the institutional Jewry of South Africa — neither from the press nor from any organisation nor from any synagogue.

A few months after Sharpeville Mr. Charles Hopenstein, a member of the Board of Deputies for 30 years, affirmed in London: "A majority of us are supporting the Union government's policy in connection with Apartheid".

## Israel Woos Third World

From 1948 until mid-1961, relations between South Africa and Israel were warm. But when by 1961 a plan that Israel had hoped would bear fruit — namely a formal alliance with the United States — had failed to materialize, Israel embarked upon a policy designed to gain support in the Third World. This policy was heralded during the July 1961 visit to Israel of the President of Upper Volta: for the first time since the creation of the state, the Israeli government issued a statement describing Apartheid as "disadvantageous to the interests of the non-white majority of the land". In October 1961 Israel voted in the United Nations Political Committee to censure a speech by the South African delegate, Foreign Minister Eric Louw. And finally in November Israel supported a General Assembly resolution deprecating South Africa's policy of Apartheid as reprehensible and repugnant to the dignity and rights of the people and individuals.

The response of the South African government and the Afrikaans press to Israel's about-face was predictably bitter. The foremost government newspaper Die Transvaaler asked what the government of Israel would think, if uninvited, South Africa were to concern itself with the Arab refugees who for 13 years had "lived on Israel's borders in the most wretched conditions because they are not allowed to return to their original homes". "And is there any real difference between the way that the people of Israel are trying to maintain themselves amid non-Jewish peoples and the way the Afrikaaner is trying to remain what he is? The people of Israel base themselves upon the Old Testament to explain why they do not wish to mix with other people. The Afrikaaner does this too."

Mr. Louw accused Israel of "hostility and ingratitude in view of the fact that the South African government and individual members of the cabinet have in the past gone out of their way to foster good relations with Israel". Dr. Verwoerd observed that the Jews "took Israel from the Arabs after the Arabs had lived there for a thousand years. In that I agree with them. Israel like South Africa, is an Apartheid state." And, in a private letter leaked



Smuts



Weizmann

to an English-language paper The Sunday Express, Dr. Verwoerd said that Israel's actions were a tragedy for the Jews in South Africa. He did note though that the pro South African reaction of the Jewish press had somewhat relieved the situation. He went on to say:

"People are beginning to ask why, if Israel and its Rabbis feel impelled to attack the policy of separate development here, the policy of separate development in Israel is not wrong in their eyes as well ... It may not be said that they wish to differentiate in separate states because of religious and not racial differences because if differentiation is wrong on one score, it is also wrong on the other ... we believed in the separate state of Israel, but now begin to wonder whether that support should be withdrawn if, according to their own convictions, the idea of separate development is fundamentally wrong ..."

As a result of Israel's actions, the government rescinded the special concessions which had made it possible for South African currency to flow unregulated to Israel. South African Jews were also horrified by Israel's actions and discomforted by the Prime Minister's remarks. The Zionist Record, the official organ of the South African Zionist Federation, voiced regret that Israel's delegation had seen fit to vote with the 67 rather than abstain with the Western group. The South African Jewish Board of Deputies passed a resolution stating that "Israel should have joined with the other Western nations in abstaining from voting against South Africa." But the matter was brought to a close when the Board of Deputies expressed its satisfaction with Dr. Verwoerd's explanation of his criticism of Israel that it had nothing to do with his govern-

ment's attitude towards its Jewish citizens. When Dr. Verwoerd was assassinated in September 1966, the South African Jewish Times, the most influential Jewish paper, noted: "It was one of the marks of his statesmanship that he curbed past currents which sometimes washed against any form of discrimination against Jews and appealed for the complete eradication of anti-Semitism from South African life."

In a Capetown memorial service Chief Rabbi Professor Abrahams called Dr. Verwoerd "a man of sincerity and of deep integrity", and stated that "moral conscience underlay his policies; he was the first man to give Apartheid a moral ground". The Senior Rabbi of the Progressive Jewish Congregation, Rabbi Arthur Super, eulogized Dr. Verwoerd as ... "one of the greatest, if not the greatest prime minister South Africa has ever produced", and went on to say:

"Here was a man, who, like Moses of old, had led his people through the promised land after 60 years of wandering. He had the courage and the strength to establish the Republic of South Africa and so dissolve in one act the old heritage of hatred, communal jealousies, blurred loyalties, old grudges and past grievances which were preventing South Africa from becoming one nation."

Whatever apprehension Dr. Verwoerd's remarks had occasioned in the Jewish community in South Africa, there was no rupture in friendly relations with the government. Either through fear of revival of anti-Semitism, belief in the South African system, or determination to carry on unimpeded with assistance to Israel, the Board of Deputies and Zionist organisations worked to deflect criticism of South Africa's racial policies by Jewish bodies abroad. The Board of De-

puties resolved that "the Jewish community in South Africa should take steps to explain this government's position to Jews overseas . . ."

Even before Israel's anti-South African stance in 1961, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies had counselled Jewish organisations in other countries to refrain from commenting on South Africa's racial situation. All Jewish non-governmental organisations having consultative status with the United Nations – including the World Adudat, the World Union for Progressive Judaism, the World Jewish Congress, the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organisations (comprising the British and the South African Jewish Boards of Deputies and the B'nai Borith) and the Consultative Council of Jewish Organisations (the American Jewish Committee, the Alliance of France and the Anglo-Jewish Association) – henceforth declined to discuss the Apartheid question at the United Nations.

This sort of non-involvement has been the main concern of Mr. Fritz Flesch of Detroit, a Jewish victim of Nazism who was at Dachau in 1938–39. He has made it his business to cover more than a decade of Jewish activity in South Africa. When he asked the World Jewish Congress about the abstention of world Jewry on Apartheid question, Rabbi Maurice Perlzweig told him:

"The Jewish non-governmental organisations have refrained from commenting on South African problems because they do not desire to worsen the already difficult situation in which the Jewish community finds itself. And they know that this restraint, whatever the arguments against it may be, is regarded as important by that community . . ."

"Moreover the World Jewish Congress is precluded by its Constitution from undertaking any activity in relation to any country which has a Jewish community that can speak for itself, unless that community either requests or permits it . . ."

"I take the liberty of suggesting to you that you might more usefully turn your abundant energies to the problems of racialism at home in the knowledge that any improvement in this area will be an effective contribution to the fight elsewhere."

Rabbi Perlzweig's concern was hardly justified in the light of testimony by the spokesmen of the Jewish community of South Africa. As M. Aaron Mendelow, an executive member of the Board of Deputies stated, "South African Jews have, for better or for worse, cast in their lot with other South Africans and we are proud of the fact that we have always acted as an integral part of the South African community". That the World Jewish Congress should resist any attack on the position of the Jewish community of South Africa is readily understandable, however, in the light of an earlier

statement by Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chairman of the Western Hemisphere Executive of the Congress. After visiting South Africa in late 1959, he reported that the Jewish community there was "the most Jewish – spirited community outside Israel . . . and deserves its reputation . . . as measured by the criteria of Synagogue affiliation, Jewish education and Zionist devotion, including not only their response to fund-raising appeals for Israel but immigration pioneering and investments in Israel". Dr. Goldstein's remarks were reported in all the official publications of the South African Information Office.

## Relations Improve

Whatever official resentment which might have remained in South Africa as a result of Israel's stance at the UN was mitigated by the June War of 1967. Even before, however, despite Israel's great concern for cultivating diplomatic and commercial relations with Black Africa, Israeli-South African economic relations were improving. Between '61 and '67, Israel's exports to South Africa increased by \$ 1,4 million to \$4 million while imports in '67 reached \$3,3 million. Although the Israeli trade represented only a fraction of South Africa's total, by 1961 South Africa had become Israel's chief trading partner in Africa. As a result of the '67 war there was an outpouring of pro-Israeli sentiment in the South African press. Dr. Vorster's government permitted not only that South Africans go to Israel to work in civilian and para-military capacities but also that Zionist groups send more than \$42 million to Israel in the six months following the war. Shortly afterwards Israel's new Trade Commissioner in South Africa announced the expansion of existing programs and the South African Foundation, the country's most sophisticated propaganda institution, undertook to subsidize the founding of an Israeli-South African Committee which was to bring influential Israeli editors, and eventually military officers, to South Africa. Only recently South Africa has benefited from the expertise of Israeli counter-insurgency experts.

An influential Israeli daily recommended closer political and economic ties between the two countries, and Israeli strengthening of its developmental programmes in precisely those African countries most subject to South Africa's influence, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Malawi, did not go unnoticed in South Africa.

This then is where we are today in Israeli-South African relations. South Africa has its reasons for ignoring certain Israeli policies; Israel has its reasons for cultivating South African friendship in practical if unspectacular ways. The ties between the two nations are deep and complex.

## EDITOR'S NOTE:

In the discussion which followed the lecture, Prof. Stevens emphasized that a great number of those South African whites active in the struggle against Apartheid are in fact individuals of Jewish background.

It must also be noted that this analysis was made before Israel made its meagre contribution of £1000 to the OAU early this year.

The South African government, The Zionist Federation of South Africa, the S.A. Jewish Board of Deputies, and the Afrikaans and English speaking press unanimously condemned the Israeli government for having made this contribution. Israeli government spokesmen denied that the gift was aid to guerillas and compared it with the supply of Cactus missiles to the Lebanon by the S.A. government.

For once we agree with Prime Minister Vorster, who condemning the donation said, "I do not believe that Israel through this, can or will buy any advantage for itself". (Eastern Province Herald 4/6/71).

This is exactly what Israel is attempting to do! buy the support of Africa for its Imperialist objectives on the Continent.

This view was confirmed by Mr. I.D. Umma, Israel's Consul General in South Africa, who said in an interview with Radio South Africa, that the contribution should be seen in the context of Israel's efforts to maintain her political credit in Africa, "a political credit which is vital to our national interest".

In a joint statement the South African Jewish Board of Deputies and the South African Zionist Federation declared: "The South African Jewish community has great difficulty in accepting the report that a contribution albeit of a contemptuous amount, has been made by the Government of Israel to the OAU for purposes of furthering the so-called freedom movements".

Within three weeks of this onslaught on the Israeli government, Israel withdrew its miserable contribution to the OAU. Reporting this decision, "Die Burger" (25. 6. 71), the pro-Government South African weekly stated that officials in Jerusalem said that Israel had decided not to deliver the gift to the OAU, because no reply was received to its offer and no reply was now expected.

"If one thing was to be learnt from the unfortunate episode, it was that the two countries ought to become more aware of each others' problems in detail.

"Israel and South Africa find themselves not only in very similar positions, but also need each other. From the South African viewpoint, Israel guarded the northern gate to Africa, and from the Israeli angle, South Africa guarded the southern gate.

# CASTLES IN THE AIR

## THE TRAGEDY OF RESIDENTIAL APARTHEID

**An Examination of Group Areas and its effects  
on the Black Peoples of South Africa  
by Barry Higgs**

The Group Areas laws were enacted by the South African regime in an attempt to add geographic apartheid between races to the other measures of that ilk. The African population had already largely been dispossessed of their land, partly as a result of the discovery of minerals and the consequent need for cheap labour which was made forcibly available following the drastic effects of the Land Acts.

The landless African masses found themselves confined to remote and rugged reserves, not large or fertile enough to support the population. Those able to work had therefore to sell their labour in the industrial centres, leaving their homes for months or years at a time and earning a mere pittance in this vulnerable and exploitable situation. The white cities waxed rich while all about them there grew up huge African townships, localized pools of cheap and voteless labour.

Although the developing industrial situation in South Africa pointed towards labour integration as advantageous to the economic environment, the regime remained firmly anchored to the ideology of white supremacy. The rightwing white support of the Nationalist Party would not stand for any integration, since they occupied a privileged position which they feared might disappear without the strongarm support of a reactionary government. At the same time, the regime and its planners were aware of other pressures. World attention was swinging more and more towards South Africa and the plight of the voteless victims of a defeated ideology. The industrial economy was rapidly evolving, bringing with it an ever-increasing de-

mand for labour, skilled and semi-skilled.

The planners of apartheid attempted to kill several birds with one millstone. They instituted the concept of 'Bantustans', declaring certain limited geographic areas to be the 'homelands' of various defined 'tribal' groups of Africans. Outside these areas, Africans were to be merely temporary sojourners. Africans unable to work were forcibly and relentlessly pushed out into these areas. White industrialists were encouraged to set up factories on the borders of the 'homeland' (with notable lack of response, incidentally). In the Transeki, one of the 'Bantustans', a showpiece puppet regime of black collaborators was set up, and given severely restricted administrative powers.

The Whites remained entrenched in their laagers, fed and clothed by the vast labour force on their doorstep. Where skilled labour was short, it was sought abroad, in the countries of Europe.

But even this was not enough. Other population groups aroused the concern of the whites. There were the Indian population, some of whom had managed to establish themselves in trade and commerce. There was the Coloured community (people of mixed race) many of whom had been in the position historically to establish themselves in skilled trades, thus 'presenting a cause of perturbation to the privileged rightwing white workers.

Since there were no areas one could create as 'homelands' for people already partly integrated in the commercial and industrial fabric, what was to be done?

The laager mentality provided the solution. The concept of Group Areas evolved. To the 'Bantustans' were added the idea of specific geographic areas to be occupied separately by Indians and Coloureds. These would be townships bordering on the white cities. The townships already occupied by African workers did not fall into this definition, since the homes of the Africans were officially only to be within the Bantustans. But at least the three major 'non-white' groups could be kept at arm's length, and a further advantage, as the regime saw it, was that these groups would also be divided one from the other, thus hampering the possibility of a united front against the white regime.

### CREATION OF RACE GROUPS

Perhaps the most significant feature of the Group Areas Act was its creation of six 'groups', namely white, 'Native' (now termed 'Bantu' and further sub-divided,) Coloured, Indian Malay and Chinese.

Having defined the groups, it was now possible to shift the members of the groups about, to meet the requirements of Group Areas. Thus, the forcible movement of one group into an area would generally also involve the forcible movement of another group out of that area. For example, Newclare was declared an area for Coloured occupation in August 1958. By the end of 1959 most Africans formerly living in Newclare had been 'moved' to Meadowlands or Diepkloof. This involved razing of homes, disputes and arrests, and all the other concomitants, kin to those categorized in the following pages.

## UPROOTING COMMUNITIES

Government statistics show that to the end of 1969, among the White, Indian and Coloured communities only (less than a third of the total population), about 107 000 families had been disqualified to remain in their homes, i. e. forced to move. (Sources of figures are given later herein.)

Without the white group, the figures represent about 106 000 families forced to move, out of a population sector of around 2½ million persons.

More than a million people had actually been obliged to uproot themselves by the end of 1968 (see Johannesburg 'Sunday Times' of 14. 12. 69). In 1968 the 'Rand Daily Mail' reported that only 7½ % of all Indian and Coloureds in the Transvaal province had not been affected by the Group Areas Act. The uprooting has been carried out systematically and with mindless unconcern for the human pawns involved. In 1968 the Most Rev. Robert Selby-Taylor, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, protested against the "callous indifference" to human interests shown by the Simonstown group areas proclamation, for example. Innumerable examples of this callous indifference can be cited. Let us take three:

**STUTTERHEIM.** The South African press reported in 1967 that the whole of the town of Stutterheim had been declared 'white. 6000 Africans would be 're-settled' in an area outside the town. And, as no Coloured area had been designated, it was not known what would happen to the 300 Coloured inhabitants of the town . . .

**GEORGEDALE.** The 'Rand Daily Mail' reported on 20. 4. 70: - "The order was simple: Get out of your house, we are going to break it down. So the people of Georgedale carried their furniture into the veld and Government bulldozers flattened their mud houses. Some were lucky and had had six days' notice. Others were called out of their dwellings and told there and then . . . Others had no warning at all. They came home to piles of rubble . . ."

**NATAL.** The Johannesburg 'Sunday Times' of 14. 12. 69: - "Half of the entire Indian population of South Africa, have been forced to leave their homes and businesses as a result of Group Areas decisions made by Government officials who showed "a callous disregard for the fundamental principle of human justice", Mr. Eric Winchester, the United Party MP for Port Natal, told me this week . . . Mr. Winchester made the shock disclosure that a White man . . . who earned about £45

a month, and who had not passed Standard 8, had been given the job (by the Department of Community Development) of "compiling socio-economic reports" on communities affected by the rulings of the Group Areas Board." The man and his position had come to light in a Durban court case in which the man was charged and convicted of corruption involving acceptance of money from displaced people who wished to be allocated certain houses.

## DISCRIMINATION

In operation, the Group Areas Act has been effectively utilized to discriminate against non-Whites. The facts therefore dispel any notion that the law would require equivalent sacrifices from the white sector.

The Council meeting of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) in January 1959, considering group areas, expressed its dismay at "the terms of recent group areas proclamation for towns such as Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town, Ermelo, White River, Klerksdorp and Alexandria. These, like earlier proclamations for other towns, impose a grossly disproportionate burden of sacrifice on the Non-White communities".

The same Council, discussing enforced removal of traders to areas remote from customers without any compensation for loss of goodwill, noted: "This glaring departure from a basic principle . . . is all the more serious in view of the recent admission by the Chairman of the Group Areas Board that the board considers that one of its duties . . . is to seek to curtail the number of Indian traders on the grounds that Indians have at present "too large a share of trade".

How disproportionate is the 'burden of sacrifice' on the various communities? An answer was given by the Minister of Community Development, who stated in the South African Assembly on 7 February 1969 that, as a result of the proclamation of group areas up to 30 September 1968, the following families became disqualified to remain in their homes: -

656 White families  
784 Chinese families  
35,172 Indian families  
58,999 Coloured families.

Compared against population statistics, this gives the following table: -

NUMBER OF FAMILIES FORCED TO MOVE BY GROUP AREAS, PER 10,000 OF POPULATION IN THE GIVEN RACE GROUP:	
Whites	2 families
Coloureds	309 families
Indians	613 families.



The misery of poverty and racialism is reflected

From the report of the Secretary for Community Development, which gave figures for families 're-settled' in 1969, figures as in the last table can be calculated for 1969, per 100,000 of population:

Whites 1¼ families  
Indians 400 families  
Coloureds 425 families.

(These figures presumably do not include 'non-families', nor do they reflect the effects on the 14,000,000 African population).

## LOSS OF LAND, ASSETS, MARKETS

One of the effects of the group areas legislation which showed up the motivations behind this sort of law, was the whittling away of rights to land hitherto held by Africans and others. The Coun-



cil Meeting of the SAIRR of January 1959 condemned "the loss of limited freehold rights previously enjoyed by Africans" as a result of group areas powers.

The question of basic value was also tampered with. In calculating the 'basic value' of land etc that was to be bought or expropriated from one race group to sell to another, the Group Areas Board, to 1959, had included values for buildings on the land. Then the Minister of the Interior stated in the Assembly in 1959 (see Hansard) that it could happen that a building was valueless to the Development Board and would have to be demolished. In such a case, the 'basic value' fixed for the property would in future be the market value of the land only — the value of the building would not be included . . .

Besides losing their buildings, shops and assets, Indian traders were faced with the predicament of losing their markets. Thus in Sophiatown alone, 200 Indian traders were forced to move. It was estimated by the Transvaal Indian Congress in a pamphlet (1963) that (a) fixed properties worth £625,000 had to be sold for less than half value, (b) £1,150,000 was lost on stock, (c) £630,000 was lost on book debts and loss of goodwill. At the same time their markets, and their livelihood, were removed at a stroke.

The uprooting of traders has had, and continues to have, a catastrophic effect on the Indian community large sectors of which are dependent on the merchant class. The census figures for 1952 showed, for example, that the working Indian population of the Transvaal province consisted of:

317 professional and self-employed  
3,204 traders  
4,492 employees in hotels, trade, industry etc.

Since a high proportion of the third category worked for the Indian traders, and as trading licences fell away under the Group Areas Act and other related laws, the capacity of the merchant class to support a substantial portion of the community diminished, and continues now to diminish.

## PROFITEERING

The discriminatory intricacies of the Act and its amendments has opened the door to exploitation of the situation by the moneyed whites. It was noted, for example, that the market value of properties rose in areas zoned for Indians (because of the high demand created in these limited areas), and fell in previously non-white areas allocated to whites. In other words, the wealthy whites bought cheap and sold dear, while the poorer Indians were forced to sell cheap and buy dear.

Profiteering by those 'in the saddle', the whites, continues unabated. The Johannesburg 'Sunday Times' of 22 December 1968 and of 12 January 1969, reported that white property speculators were making fortunes at the expense of non-whites forced to sell by Group Areas. The newspaper quoted the example of two properties in Rustenburg, both held to be Indian-owned (despite white nominee directors). These were sold to a white company for £35,000, of which the Board retained £8,000. Less than two years later the white owners re-sold for £226,500.

The forces working to favour white exploitation of the situation, could also be depended upon to protect whites where the situation threw up avenues

of possible exploitation by non-whites, even though this be for the general benefit of the non-white community. The 'Rand Daily Mail' reported in 1968 that Mr Graham Eden MP called on the Government to force the white Town Council of George to allow Coloured shopkeepers and businessmen to trade in their own areas. The Council had rejected an application by the Coloured Development Corporation to establish a shopping complex in a Coloured township under the Council's jurisdiction. Those that voted against the Coloured shopping complex argued that they feared white-owned businesses would suffer if Coloureds were allowed to have their own businesses in their area. The Town Council of George is Government appointed.

## FINANCIAL STRAITS

The net effect of expropriation, profiteering, loss of assets and livelihood, has been to further impoverish the unrepresented majority. Thus in Johannesburg alone, the Coloured community were £10,500 in arrear with rent by mid-1963, being unable to afford the rents charged in the new 'housing schemes' to which they were now confined. ('Rand Daily Mail', 1. 7. 63.)

In Lenasia, only group area for the Indians of Johannesburg, and about 20 miles from the city, the Department of Community Development has been erecting "economic", "subeconomic" and "row" houses. Many wage-earners at Lenasia are waiters etc, working in the city and earning about £21 a month. A man earning £21 would be paying £13½ a month in rent, light, water and transport, leaving little for food and clothing for a family. Any illness or terms of unemployment would destroy even his meagre capacity to remain in a "sub-economic" unit and condemn him and his family to life in the barracks-like "row" houses, which are without facilities.

## NO FACILITIES

The effect of moving communities from areas where, however poor they were, they had nevertheless managed to 'settle in', to areas devoid of any facilities, has been to undermine the 'standing' of the communities and leave them more at the mercy of powers designed to use the people as moveable units of labour power. In many cases, the effect of "slum clearance" under group areas removals has been merely to transplant communities to other areas which due to their total lack of development have

rapidly assumed the slum characteristics of their forerunners.

A prime example is Lenasia. In 1958-59, "slow progress" was being made by the Government in this created township for Indians, according to the SAIRR. In 1963, four years later, there were still no street lights, only two tarred roads, no water-borne sewerage, no hospitals or clinics, no mail delivery, and inadequate police protection. ('Rand Daily Mail', 15 August 1963.)

Has the position improved by 1970, twelve years after "slow progress" was being made in Lenasia? "Conditions in Lenasia" reported the 'Mail' in August 1970, came in for sharp criticism yesterday from the Progressive Party MP, Mrs. Helen Suzman, who said that certain parts of the township were becoming 'slum areas' . . . "I want to ask the Hon Minister when he last visited this area, whether he takes the trouble to talk to the people who live there, and what personal responsibility he assumes for the lives of these people". That the regime is concerned merely with the crude implementation of its policy, without regard to the subsequent difficulties of the communities affected, is evident from many reports. The effect of this crude implementation is to leave the people homeless or without facilities of one sort or another. Only when whites are affected will the regime make allowances in its programme. Here are some examples each illustrating one or more of these points: -

**FONTAINEBLEAU.** African families sat shivering with their belongings in the open veld near Fontainebleau, Randburg, watching bulldozers raze their homes. The first they knew about their homes being demolished was when the bulldozers arrived. The area was being cleared for a township development by Corlett Drive Estates.

A White family also living in the area, were given till the end of the year to leave their one-bedroomed house. (See 'Rand Daily Mail', August 1970).

**STIRTONVILLE.** The 14 000 residents of Stirtonville, the Coloured township near Boksburg, were served by three doctors, one Indian and two white. The Indian doctor, Essop Ebrahim, was ordered in terms of the Group Areas Act to vacate his consulting rooms in Stirtonville by 8 July 1970. On the other hand, the two white doctors were allowed to retain their consulting rooms in Stirtonville. Dr Ebrahim attended many of his poorer patients free. (See Johannesburg 'Sunday Times' 21. 6. 70)

**LADYSMITH.** The official announcement on the location of the new tra-

ding sites for the 56 evicted Indian businessmen of Ladysmith was received with shock and dismay. A large section of this newly allocated trading space is on the bank of the Klip River, which is claimed to be a flood area . . .

(See Durban 'Sunday Tribune', 14. 6. 69)

**ZULULAND.** "Between 7000 and 8000 Indians and Coloureds will be officially banned from Zululand from 1 January next year. They will over a period probably be forced to move into the Natal north-coast areas of Verulam and Tongaat. "Nobody really knows. Least of all the Government. It doesn't know where the displaced families will go to earn a living. It has no blueprint for the country's Indian and Coloured people. What's more, it doesn't care. Senior Government officials said this week that there was "no urgency" to find alternative homes for Zululand's banned thousands."

(See 'Sunday Tribune', 30. 11. 69)

**EPPING GARDEN VILLAGE.** In 1963, Epping Garden Village was declared a white group area. It was already occupied exclusively by whites, but, in terms of the overall apparent plan, it should logically have been allocated to Coloureds.

(See, SAIRR Handbook of 1963.)

## OVERCROWDING

Because the areas declared for non-white occupation are too small to accommodate the eventual or present population groups, and because these areas, being defined, cannot expand, the result is overcrowding.

The overcrowding reflects in the numbers using the train services into the industrial areas. A survey by the Railways Administration in 1964 showed that an average 156 000 Africans made daily use of the service between Soweto and Johannesburg. Additional coaches and trains were continually being put into operation, it was claimed, but there was still serious overcrowding.

Over the next six years, train services have not improved. Several disastrous train accidents in which numerous people were killed, can be blamed on the overcrowding and the limited service. The angry reactions of commuting workers in such incidents (where police have been brought out with machineguns) indicate that the conditions of overcrowding are wellnigh intolerable for human beings. The Durban City Council's Committee for Bantu Housing reported in 1964 that when existing building schemes in African townships had been completed,

there would be a shortfall of between 7500 and 12 700 houses and of hostel accommodation for about 26 000 men. Large new illegal shack settlements were springing up round the city. ('Natal Mercury' 19. 2. 64)

More than five years later, the 'Natal Mercury' estimated that there were as many as half-a-million squatters in Natal province alone, living in shacks on town outskirts. There they were charged exorbitant rents by private land-owners. Many were evicted from time to time but they had no choice but to move on somewhere else and set up in the same fashion again. This process could be repeated again and again.

(('Natal Mercury', 3. 4. 69)

The 'Rand Daily Mail' of 29 August 1969 estimated that there were 11 000 Coloureds and 112 000 Indians on the house waiting list in Durban city. Many others had probably not entered their names. In addition, the 'Mail' stated that the Durban Coloured group area was "too small".

## CREATION OF LABOUR POOLS

The most 'useful' effect of group areas, from the regime's point of view, has been the creation of labour pools of non-white workers in conveniently controllable areas linked by railheads to the industrial cities.

From reports printed here and elsewhere, it is clear that, by uprooting communities, limiting their trading capabilities, and their opportunities to purchase land, the government is attempting to channel the majority of non-white peoples into a permanent, isolated source of cheap labour unable to improve its position by any other means than keeping alive on minimal wages.

Statements made by Members of Parliament from time to time have helped reveal the basic attitude in this respect. For example, the Minister of Planning said on 19 November 1969 that the Government was to concentrate as many as possible of the Coloureds in the Orange Free State in a group area at Bloemfontein, which is one of the 'growth points' to be developed for industry using Coloured labour.

Replying to statements in the Assembly in 1969 that housing loans for Africans were no longer available in 'Coloured labour preference areas', the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said housing loans could still be granted, but for hostel accommodation only (i. e. for working men termed 'single' only) The regime always appears keen to build hostels for 'single' men and this

is in line with its policy of keeping young working 'units' in controllable areas close at hand while pushing 'non-working' (women, children, the old and infirm) out into the remote Bantustans (in the case of Africans). In the Assembly in February 1969, for example, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that in the three townships "serving" greater Cape Town, there were 37,665 men (71%) and 15,121 women over the age of 16. Of the men, 25,258 (47% of the total men and women) were accommodated in bachelor quarters.

## PEGGING OF DEVELOPMENT

A further disturbing effect of the establishment of group areas is that this then 'pegs' future development of the community concerned. The growing population will be confined to an inadequate territory they do not own, and which they cannot leave.

Thus the Secretary for Community Development, Mr. J. N. Niemand, admitted to parliamentarians in 1969 that the possibility existed that new non-white areas would in time become surrounded by extensions to the white areas. ('Rand Daily Mail', 27. 8. 69.) It is therefore not surprising that non-whites in South Africa are officially encouraged to practise birth-control while whites are exhorted to do the reverse.

Even some government supporters have shown concern regarding the pegging of development of non-whites. Prof. P. A. Pistorious, professor of Greek at the University of Pretoria and an Afrikaans-speaking white South African, while not objecting to residential segregation of the Indian community, protested against the removal of shops and businesses from the trading areas. He defended the Indian community against charges that it concentrated on trading, pointing out that by law Indians could not farm in the Transvaal or become apprentices to any occupation. "We are in fact," he said, "condemning a whole community to ruin and starvation".

The callous and unwanted application of Group Areas has led, naturally enough, to widespread resistance at various levels. Apart from individual resistance, whole communities have opposed enforcement of proclamations, and the organized political movements (most of which are now banned) have demonstrated at national level.

A localized community, when forced to move, might react by consciously ignoring the order. The regime would retaliate by punishing selected leaders. Thus in the area of Carolina de-

clared for Indians (and called Carolina), the Town Council built four small houses and some of the Indians were then ordered to go there. In October 1963, five men were charged in court with failure to do so. Mr. M. I. Dadabhay, aged 85, was sentenced to £30 or 60 days in jail. Sentences of varying severity were passed, too, on the Muslim priest, the primary school principal, a trader, and a sickly man aged 75 years.

All the Indian shops of Carolina were closed for a day in sympathy. (See 'A Guide to Race Relations in South Africa', SAIRR, 1964.)

Defiers of removal orders might serve jail sentences again and again rather than submit to the Act. The classic example is that of Mr. Nana Sita, a former president of the South African Indian Congress. A brief description of his struggle against group areas will stand here as representative of the innumerable acts of defiance undertaken by sections of the Indian community.

Nana Sita, follower of the Gandhian philosophy of Satyagraha (passive resistance), was sentenced in 1962, at the age of 64, to a fine of £50 or three months in jail, for failing to comply with an order to vacate his shop and home in Hercules, Pretoria, which had been proclaimed a white area. He refused to pay the fine and elected to go to jail. After release, he and his wife again occupied their home, where they had lived for 40 years. Again he was brought to court, sentenced, and elected to serve, this time, six months' imprisonment. In 1967, now 69 years old, the Indian leader again appeared in court and was sentenced. He told the magistrate: "I will willingly suffer whatsoever sentence you may deem to pass on me."

In the 1962 trial, after exposing the Group Areas Act, Nana Sita went on to address the court: -

"It is very significant that I appear before you on this, the tenth day of December, to be condemned and sentenced for my stand on conscience. Today is Human Rights Day - the day on which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was accepted by the world at the United Nations. It is a day on which the people of the world re-dedicate themselves to the principles of truth, justice and humanity. If my suffering in the cause of these noble principles could arouse the conscience of white South Africa, then I shall not have strived in vain ... Sir, my age is 64. I am suffering with chronic ailments of gout and arthritis but I do not plead in mitigation. On the contrary I plead for a severe or the

highest penalty that you are allowed under the Act to impose on me." (Fact on Nana Sita compiled from S. A. Press and court records) One productive effect of the Group Areas Act and its application has been to further unite various groups in their opposition to the regime. The 'Southern Africa Features Service', a London-based group, commented in 1965, at the end of a pamphlet titled 'Resistance to South Africa's Ghetto Act': -

"In short, the Group Areas Act, which the Government passed to preserve the social and economic domination of the Whites, is proving a goad to drive Asian and Coloured South Africans into further resistance, and so into closer alliance with the African liberation movement. Already a number of Indians have moved from passive to more active measures ..."

The widespread organised resistance has come from the now banned African National Congress and its allies the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. This resistance may be summed up by the following extract from an article which appeared in Sechaba (May 1967) concerning the observance of May Day: -

"Almost without a break, until it became legally impossible to continue, the non-racial section of the trade union movement ... inspired mass observance of this workers' day (May Day) ..."

"Thus it is no accident that in 1950 the Transvaal African National Congress jointly with organisations chose May 1st as the day on which to call a general strike on the Witwatersrand in protest against the Nationalist government's attacks on freedom of speech and the peoples' organisations ... In Sophiatown (the African area which, under army and police supervision, was later bulldozed into the ground to make way for white occupiers), the people were mowed down by police bullets. 18 Africans were killed.

"It was as a protest against this massacre, as well as against the proposed Group Areas and the Suppression of so-called Communist legislation, that the African National Congress initiated a national campaign which culminated in a nationwide stoppage of work on 26 June 1950.

"Thus there is a bond, forged in struggle, between the workers' solidarity day (1st May) and our Freedom Day, 26 June".

(This report is, in part, a condensation of the recent U. N. pamphlet titled "The Group Areas Act", by Barry Higgs).

# THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND



# AND APARTHEID

The following is a memorandum submitted to the Church and National Committee on November 22, 1970 by the Edinburgh's Students Christian Movement

The Church of Scotland has £14 million of investable funds under the Church of Scotland Trust. This is invested in company stock and unit trusts. Profits from these investments are being channelled into many worthy causes. However, the good from this can be lost if the profits are unjustly won. Investments in a joint stock company makes one a member of that company; it's policy may be determined by a few individuals because of the support, acquiescence, or the ignorance of the others, but all are equally responsible for the result. If the companies in which we are members destroy the structure and fabric of the lives of black Africans, is our profit justified or are we doing more harm than good?

Sir Frank Seeborn, the chairman of Barclays D. C. O. refusing to discuss their involvement in the Caborra Bassa Dam Project (Mozambique) at their A. G. M. commented "It is time people realised that the trade of this world is so entwined that if you were to cut yourself off on matters of principle, there would be no world trade". As Christians we have been given the principle of love to follow. This principle still remains clear even when we become members of companies by investment. We may choose the path of expediency, since we cannot see the plight of our fellow men because of an intermediary, but being unaware of the prostitution of our principles for a few % more does not justify their abandonment.

We do not think that current arguments to support continued ties with South Africa are valid; a brief summary of some of South Africa's laws must dispel any idea of human rights being returned to Africans in the present situation.

The Church of Scotland does not have a big stake in South Africa. However, by it's continued association it adds an aura of respectability to many activities completely at odds with the teachings of our faith. These links should be broken, and Christians in Scotland told why.

## HOW OUR MONEY IS INVESTED

Capital is a scarce resource. The owner of capital can ask for a return on his investment or loan of capital; he can also impose conditions on how that capital is used. For example, he can demand that he be the sole agent for the sale of a crop, or that the labour used be paid a fair wage. With investment on a larger scale and in more risky enterprises, men can come together in companies (this is the situation when you invest in joint stock) sharing risks, profits and responsibility for the groups action. In practice, companies eventually become too big for this and the day to day running is entrusted to managers and directors - even policy decisions are usually left to them - the opportunity for the members to speak comes only at the A.G.M. and in many companies this is almost a formality. The system becomes more complicated when companies buy shares in each other, form subsidiary companies, and associations with other companies to share resources and technical know how. Unit trusts can be formed buying shares in a whole range of companies; the element of risk is reduced and the investor has



a good guarantee of high steady profit. Thus, another barrier is raised between the investor and his investment.

But appeals about the complexity of the market, or blindness to its effects does not improve the lot of those suffering from a bad investment nor does it change the morality of making profit out of a fellow mans sufferings. Where we have a legal responsibility, e. g. as members of a company surely it is right to press for a policy of investment which respects human life – up to a certain point we must express our opinion, if this fails we must go out. In Unit Trust the responsibility for investment does not lie with the unit holder yet he still has the right to express his opinion on the nature of its portfolio. The Church of Scotland has this right – is it using it?

Ones mind is drawn back to the excuses the traders in the temple must have tried to give . . .

**BUT . . . BUT . . . BUT.**

There are two principal arguments that are usually advanced by those who advocate continued trade with and investment in South Africa:

The first is economic, that we cannot afford to stop doing business with the wealthiest and most industrialised nation on the African continent; the second is quasi-moral and suggests that the running down of economic links with South Africa would hurt most those it is aimed to assist, namely the African, Coloured and Indian communities of that country. In our opinion neither of these stands close examination. In simple economic terms South Africa is rapidly ceasing to be the important trading partner it once was. In 1967 it was our second largest export market; by 1969 it had slipped to ninth place and there is every indication that the 4% of our total exports it took in 1969 will be reduced this year and next. (Sunday Times Business Review, September 1970). While this has been happening our exports to black Africa have been growing, particularly to the East African bloc who are most concerned about resumption of arms sales to South Africa. If a choice has to be made between trade with South Africa, in economic terms alone the latter deserves preference.

The breaking of economic links with South Africa would undoubtedly cause suffering among the black population. Britain takes 32% of South Africa's exports, most of these products mined or harvested with black labour. However, two points should be kept in mind. First, that although the incomes of black people in South Africa are probably higher than these in any other country in Africa, at present, it is the enormous gap between the incomes of the white and black groups which is so demoralising particularly as the cost of living is forced up by the wealthier group. Economic sanctions would hit all groups in the country but might possibly cause rethinking among those whose birth and colour has accustomed them to a luxurious standard of living without ever having to examine its basis. Secondly, although sanctions would cause privation among Africans and Coloureds, black leaders themselves have consistently called for such action. We must admire their courage and respect their judgement. They have lived with apartheid, they know it's ugly faces and they have judged what it will cost to overthrow it. We in Britain must avoid that paternalism which claims to be able to act in the best interest of the African in South Africa. They are there; we must allow them to guide us.

## IMAGINE FOR A MOMENT YOU ARE AN AFRICAN

### **Apartheid in Appearance**

The white group includes "any person who in appearance obviously is or who is generally accepted as white person, other than a person who, although in appearance a white person, is generally accepted as a Coloured person".

The African group includes "any person who is in fact or generally accepted as a member of an oboriginal race or tribe of Africa". (Group Areas Act, No. 36 of 1966 sec. 12)

### **Apartheid at Home**

An African who has lived and worked continuously for fifty years in the town in which he was born may be removed from that town, if, in the opinion of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the number of Africans in the town is "in excess of the labour requirements" of the area. The official term for such persons is "redundant Bantu". An African boy, aged sixteen, who has left school and lives at home with his parents (who maintains him) but does not work may, at any time, be arrested without warrant by a policeman who "has reason to believe that he is an idle person". – Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, No. 25 of 1945 – sec. 25.

### **Apartheid at Work**

A labour Officer may at any time, cancel the employment of an African who works in town, no matter how long he has been employed, even though his employer opposes the cancellation. An African whose employment has been cancelled, may be removed from the town where he worked and prohibited from returning to that town for such a period as the Labour Officer specifies. (Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act – No. 25 of 1945, as amended.)

It is unlawful for an African worker to take part in a strike for any reason whatsoever. If he does, he is guilty of a criminal offence punishable by a fine not exceeding \$1400, or imprisonment for no longer than three years, or both such fine and imprisonment. (Bantu Labour (Settlement of disputes) Act No. 48 of 1953, as amended, Sec 48) A white person who pays his domestic servant for repairing a damaged roof in his home commits a criminal offence. (Bantu Building Workers Act No. 27 of 1951, sec. 15)

### **Apartheid at Tea**

It is unlawful for a white person and a non-white person to drink a cup of tea together in a cafe anywhere in South Africa, unless they have obtained a special permit to do so. (Promclamation No. 333 of 1st November, 1957).

If you escape these laws, you can be imprisoned for 180 days without trial or charged and re-arrested immediately on release.

These are but a few of the laws which are in force in South Africa, and are rapidly becoming common in Rhodesia. Are we willing to give this system moral respectability by investing our money?

### **Two Case Studies**

Britain is not only South Africa's main trading partner, but also the world's biggest investor in apartheid. The total book value of British investments in South Africa come to £1,300 million in 1966, and is considerably more now. Of the largest companies in Britain, 77 have significant interests in South Africa, British investment is important to the Vorster regime, both as a source of capital and as a source of strategic manufactured products and as such,

it is the economic backbone of one of the world's most savagely repressive regimes.

The Church of Scotland has investments in a large number of companies which invest or have subsidiaries in South Africa. Of these, two are particularly deeply involved in maintaining white supremacy in South Africa.

### 1) Imperial Chemical Industries

I.C.I. is the largest British investor in apartheid. It has a large number of subsidiaries and associates in South Africa.

The most important of these is African Explosives and Chemical Industries Ltd. (A.E. & C.I.), in which I.C.I. has 43% holdings. A.E. & C.I. operates two ... munitions, small arms and military explosives factories at Modderfontein and Sasdburg and it is thanks to I.C.I. that South Africa is very self sufficient in the small arms that are so vital to the day to day maintenance of the South African way of life.

These armament industries were set up despite U.N. arms embargo. I.C.I. was able to side step the embargo by setting up a South African subsidiary to do the work, and by failing to specify, in annual reports what was it that these factories produced.

I.C.I. also owns a huge synthetic textiles plant at Sasdburg and a fertilizer plant at Modderfontein. A few of its other associates are: -

(1) Cafe Explosives Limited (2) Rand Carbide Limited (3) I.C.I. (S.A.) Pharmaceuticals Limited (4) S. African Titan Products Limited (5) A.E. & C.I. Housing and Estates Limited.

It employs 18,544 people, most of them subject to the intolerable conditions that apartheid forces on black people. Its profits, from which its shareholders are paid, are roughly £21,8 million p. a.

### 2) The Hawker-Siddeley Group Limited

This company is responsible not only for investment in South Africa, but also for supplying military aircraft to the Vorster regime. Among its South African associates are: -

(1) Crompton Parkinson (S.A.) Limited (2) Hawker-Siddeley Brush Limited (3) Associated British Trading Corp'n (S.A.) Ltd. (4) Switchgear and Engineering Corp'n of S.A. Ltd. (5) Ardosc Chemicals Limited (6) Hawker-Siddeley International Ltd.

South African subsidiaries build light aircraft and make spare parts, but Hawker-Siddeley have supplied military aircraft in the past. During the arms embargo they sold civilian aircraft which were converted into military personnel carriers, and in anticipation of a lift in arms sales bans by the Conservative Government, they have been quick to negotiate new sales.

The aircrafts to be sold are Buccaneer fighters equipped with air to-ground missiles, Nimrod anti-submarine aircraft, Andaver personnel carriers and spare parts.

Buccaneers have been described by the South African airforce as ideal for anti-guerilla operations - to which South Africa is already committed in Rhodesia, S.W. Africa, Mozambique and along the Zambian border. If the U.N. decide to terminate S.A.'s illegal government of S.W. Africa, Nimrods could well be used against a U.N. force.

Investments in I.C.I., Hawker-Siddeley and any other companies with interests in S.A. are direct contributions to the support of Apartheid - an alliance with brutal white minority regimes against the people of South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa, and their resistance movements.

It is of the utmost importance that individual members of the Church of Scotland, and the Church of Scotland as a whole, should withdraw their investments in Apartheid.

# JAPAN'S ECONOMIC EXPLOSION AND ITS EFFECTS ON SOUTH AFRICA

After World War II US imperialism invested phenomenal amounts of finance-capital into post-war Japan to counteract Red China's power in the East; today, Japan has emerged as a the major world-power with a potential to challenge the United States itself. This is the price US imperialism has to pay as a consequence of having sorely underestimated the sheer determination, energy and competence of a people who's economy was shattered by the US nuclear attack of 1945.

During the "Congress on the Dialectics of Liberation" held in London in 1967, Professor Jules Henry of the University of St. Louis said - "Nowadays, Japanese capital competes with American almost everywhere in the world, Japan is almost as deeply involved as the US in Canada, and Japan has heavy investments in Alaska. Indeed, Japan's economic fate is so closely linked to that of the United States that on 9 February 1967, when rumours of peace in Vietnam broke out, prices for 225 selected stocks on the Tokyo market dropped an average of 42.12 points, the worst setback since 19 July 1963. Business and technological know-how combined with low wages have given Japan such economic power that US involvement in S.E. Asia is aimed as much at monopolising that market against Japanese penetration as against Chinese. The Vietnam war is indirectly a war against Japan, whom, at the same time, the US is using in order to further her ends in Asia - the US uses Japan, particularly Okinawa, as a staging area and source of supply for the war in Vietnam."

### A Super Power

The South African Financial Mail recently published a 160-page Special Survey entitled "Japan: Emerging Superpower" which states - "Its a staggering fact that, if present trends continue (and there seems no good reason why they shouldn't) Japan will overtake West Germany, the

United States and Britain to become South Africa's biggest trading partner before the end of the Seventies". The Financial Mail goes on to say . . . "Within ten years Japan looks like becoming the most powerful single voice in international monetary and trade negotiations", "Japan overtook West Germany in 1968 to become the world's third greatest economic power after the US and Russia. This year its Gross National Product will be two-thirds bigger than Britain's, and it will almost certainly overtake Britain to become the world's biggest exporter after the US and West Germany."

## Japan's Involvement in South Africa

The Financial Mail's Special Survey brings to light some important facts:

(a) The South African Government has decided to proceed with the Saldanha Project which is the most important single national development project ever contemplated in South Africa (second only to the Orange River project in its expected cost). This will commit South Africa to a significant degree of economic dependence on Japan through the export of large quantities of coking coal to Japanese steel mills. Deliveries from South Africa under the coking coal contract signed last year will start boosting export earnings from 1972 and will reach the planned annual level of 3 million tons by 1976 (bringing in about 20 million Rands a year).

(b) Although Japan prohibits permanent investment in South Africa by Japanese firms (though investment is not defined) there are distinct signs that the prohibition is being relaxed. Big Japanese companies are being allowed to invest in expansion of their sales offices in Johannesburg, and several have upgraded these offices from "liaison" to "branch" status. At least one major company in South Africa thought to be German-controlled is, in fact, Japanese-controlled through a European holding company. A top Tokyo businessman in close touch with the South African Government has indicated that further relaxation

could be expected soon to the point where the ban would disappear altogether.

(c) South Africa's exports to Japan have been growing at an average rate of 26 per cent a year. The Republic's exports to the whole world have only been growing at an average rate of slightly under 10 per cent a year. As recently as the mid-Sixties Japan was taking just over 7 per cent of the Republic's exports (the US taking about 10 per cent). By the late Sixties, Japan's share had been boosted to an average of almost 12 per cent (while the US's had fallen to 7 per cent). South Africa is Japan's biggest foreign supplier of ferroalloys and pig iron, second biggest of maize (after the US) AND THIRD BIGGEST OF WOOL AND SUGAR.

(d) As a supplier of South Africa, Japan has been pushing up its sales at an average rate of 17 per cent a year over the past four years. In the mid-Sixties, Japan accounted for 5½ per cent of South Africa's imports. By the late Sixties, this share had moved up to almost 8 per cent and last year to 9 per cent of all imports. South Africa is Japan's biggest foreign market for spun rayon fabrics, fourth biggest for motor vehicles and synthetic fibre fabrics and sixth biggest for chinaware.

(e) Projecting this trend, it seems likely that Japan will overtake Britain to become South Africa's biggest export market taking a quarter of all exports, as well as overtaking Britain and the US to threaten West Germany for the position of NO.1 supplier of South Africa before the end of the Seventies. These statistics show that Japan's aspirations for supremacy not only in the East but globally are assisted by unprincipled deals with apartheid. The evidence shows that when it comes to business the reactionary government of Japan closes its eyes to the colour discrimination of South Africa against the Japanese themselves. What is more, instead of boycotting South Africa to help the liberation of its oppressed people, Japanese businessmen prefer to join in the intensive exploitation of Black labour. The Anti-Apartheid Movement in Japan needs every encouragement to expose their government's collaboration with South Africa's racists.

# JAPAN

## PROTEST MEETING AGAINST APARTHEID



# WHAT ARE WE CELEBRATING?

A leaflet issued inside South Africa on the occasion of the Republic Day celebrations on May 31. The leaflet ends by stating that it was printed by NUSAS (National Union of South African Students -Ed.) Durban Local Committee. This is illegal in South Africa as no address is given and anyone found guilty of printing the leaflet could be sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

We are in the middle of massive celebrations for the 10th anniversary of the Republic. Numerous, mostly Black, groups have not taken part. The celebrations show us the great division in South African society between those who profit from the status quo and those who suffer.

Do you have cause to celebrate? Are you an exploiter? Are you suppressed?

Consider the facts set out below and decide on which side of the great divide you wish to be counted. While some of the facts are definitely not a direct result of the establishment of a Republic, they all lead to the conclusion that South African society has many, many faults. Surely it is far better to right these faults than to celebrate them by spending hundreds of thousands of rand and having nothing, not even a banner to show for it, after the thirty-first of May?

South Africa has:-

- The highest per capita prison population in the world
- The highest rate of hangings in the Western world -
- One of the highest rates of violent crime
- One of the highest divorce rates in the world (among Whites); and the only country in the world to legalise the breaking up of marriages by the State (among Blacks)
- One of the highest suicide rates (among Whites) and one of the highest death through malnutrition rate for comparable countries in the world (among Blacks)
- One of the greatest gaps between rich (Whites) and poor (Blacks) in the world.
- One of the greatest gaps between spending for education for Whites

and spending for Blacks.

- One of the highest percentage spending on the military in the world.
- One of the largest police forces per capita, in the world.
- The world record, for quick court cases (20 seconds) in the pass courts and the world record for long detentions before and without trials.
- The best medical and care facilities for whites and almost the worst for Blacks in countries of comparable wealths.
- One of the lowest rates of taxation (for Whites) and one of the lowest rates of income (for Blacks).
- One of the world's quickest growing investments (for White capital) and one of the world's slowest (it goes backwards) rates of increase in pay for Black workers.

We can celebrate the fact that:-

- South Africa is the only country in the world where people die if the

wrong colour ambulance come to fetch them.

- South Africa is the only country in the world where the law prevents members of the same family living together by classifying them differently - even if their parents are the same.
- South Africa is the only country in the world where police can remove anyone at any time and are protected by law from telling anyone about it - even if they detained people forever.
- South Africa is the only country in the world which extends education by throwing people out of Universities.
- South Africa is the only country in the world where dialogue is encouraged by separation.
- South Africa is the only country in the world where two people (of different colours) can break the law by holding hands.
- South Africa is the only country in the world where people (Blacks) need a passport to travel through their own country.

Can we also be proud of the fact that we set aside enough money for celebrations as would provide meals for a million children for 100 days.

Natal alone has spent R100,000 on Republic Day celebrations - surely each and every one of us can think of at least one project on which that money could have been far better spent? There are two sides to the Republic Day coin. And the side on top has much to celebrate. Which side are you on? Why don't we seek to work for something we can really celebrate in South Africa?

The choice is yours - as is the fate you choose.

**PLAN FOR A CHANGED FUTURE!  
WORK FOR THE DIGNITY OF ALL  
SOUTH AFRICANS!**



SA students protest against fascist laws

# SOUTH AFRICAN EXILE LITERATURE

On April 2, 1971, it was announced in Johannesburg that Breyten Breytenbach, the Afrikaans poet now living in Paris, had been awarded the Central News Agency (CNA) literary prize for his book of poetry "Lotus". This was the third time in the last four years that Breytenbach has won the Afrikaans section of the CNA literary awards.

Breytenbach did not go to South Africa to receive the award, worth R1,500 (one rand = £0,85). He is married to a Vietnamese wife, and because Vietnamese are classified Non-White in South Africa, the Vorster Government has refused to give her permission either to visit or settle in South Africa. Indeed, in terms of South African law, the marriage would be void and both parties would be liable to arrest and prosecution under the Immorality Act the moment they set foot on South African soil.

On previous occasions Breytenbach has received the award at a special presentation ceremony in Paris. This year it was accepted on his behalf by his father, as Breytenbach refuses to return to South Africa until his wife is able to accompany him freely and without hindrance of any kind.

"Obviously I cannot return alone", he told a correspondent of the "Rand Daily Mail", "because this would signify my acceptance of laws which are reactionary, inhuman and completely stupid".

Breytenbach expressed his conviction that on racial and other grounds the South African Government was going to legislate itself out of existence.

"It cannot possibly draw the noose any tighter without suffocating", he said. "They are on a wild-goose chase after a racial, moral and religious purity that was never there. The fact that these things must be defined by laws shows this".

While expressing pleasure at the award, Breytenbach added: "I only hope, if it doesn't sound pretentious, that having won this award again isn't an indication of the poverty of Afrikaans literature".

There was some point in his question, as he had written his book of poems "Lotus" under the pen-name Jan Blom. However, it is more just to conclude that even in disguise the excellence of his poetry cannot be hidden. Breytenbach's achievement, and his dilemma, are shared by a large number of South African artists – novelists, playwrights, poets, actors, singers, authors and journalists – now forced to live in exile because of the hated apartheid laws, which stunt their lives

and stifle their talent at home. Many South African writers are in jail because of their opposition to apartheid – like Govan Mbeki, I.O.J. prizewinner for 1970 and author of "South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt", now serving a life sentence for "sabotage" on the notorious Robben Island. Others are living under savage restrictions which cripple their relationships with their fellow-men, outlaw them from society and even make it an offence to write or prepare any material for publication.

Under most banning orders imposed in South Africa today – and there are hundreds and hundreds of them – to have even a page of manuscript or a sheet of paper in a type-writer can constitute a criminal offence, punishable by a minimum of one year and up to ten years' imprisonment – or even the death penalty if the subject can be construed as encouragement to "sabotage" or "terrorism". Little wonder that in these circumstances the creative spirit is often crushed.

The bitter tears of exile have nourished the roots of a sturdy and genuinely South African culture in recent years. In March, 1971, Breytenbach joined with other South Africans in an exhibition organised in Paris by the journal "Presence Africaine" to display some aspects of this culture to the world. The exhibition comprised, amongst other things, a display of photographs of life in South Africa, paintings and books by South African artists in exile, readings of poems and short stories, showings of films about South Africa or made by South Africans, a concert of South African freedom songs and music. About 20 South Africans took part in the exhibition, the fruits of which will eventually be published in French and English.

Many of those who took part have found in exile opportunities to create and communicate with their fellow men which were denied them at home. Some have enlarged on reputations already established.

Lewis Nkosi, for example, was well-known in South Africa as a journalist on the magazines "Drum" and "Post", financed by White capital but directed at the Black market. In London today he is established as a freelance writer and has also made frequent appearances on television. His play "Virgin Malcom Look Not So Pale" was produced under the auspices of the Institute for Contemporary Arts in September 1970, directed by South African actor Lionel Ngakane. The play deals with the predicament of an African who

falls in love with the wife of his master, a district commissioner in a Bantustan – a theme with obvious explosive possibilities.

Another play by Nkosi, "Not Everyone Can Be Martin Luther King", was broadcast over the BBC. Dealing with the racial situation in Britain, it is based on the lines from a Black American "protest" poem:

"Come on Baby Shake That Thing  
We Can't All Be Martin Luther King".

At the moment Nkosi is completing a novel which is due to be published in the near future.

Another whose work was featured at the Paris exhibition is **Blake Modisane**, also formerly of "Drum" magazine and well-known for his autobiographical "Blame me on History". Modisane has spread his talent wide in exile. He has taken part as an actor in the production of Jean Genet's "The Blacks". His own play "The Quarter Million Boys", broadcast over the BBC, was later repeated as one of the outstanding 60-minute plays of the last decade. Set in Johannesburg, the play deals with a group of Africans who, after holding up a bank, visit a shebeen and get involved in an argument with the regulars which reveals that the boundary between crime and political rebellion is often hard to define.

Another participant in the Paris exhibition was **Alex la Guma**, well known author of the novels "Walk in the Night", "And a Threefold Cord" and "The Stone Country", who last year was selected for the first Lotus award of the Afro-Asian Writers' Association, receiving the prize from the hands of Mrs Indira Gandhi at a special ceremony in India. In addition to his novels, la Guma has written a number of short stories and radio plays, has edited a book shortly to appear on the fundamentals of apartheid, and is at the moment occupied on his fourth novel.

The African poet **Mazisi Kunene** was represented by readings from his book of "Zulu poems", an outstanding collection recently published which expresses the fierce surge of national spirit always running through the consciousness of the exiled patriot, the nostalgia, pride and longing for return to the homeland. One of those who took part in the poetry readings at the exhibition was **Dennis Brutus**, best known to some as an international campaigner against apartheid in sport, but also the author of four volumes of poetry "Sirens Knickles Books", "Letters to Martha", "Poems from Algiers" and "Denver Poems".

A number of Brutus' poems are included in the anthology "Seven South African Poets", edited by **Cosmo Pieterse**, another participant in the Paris exhibition. Pieterse, formerly a teacher, now devotes himself largely to the task of collecting and annotating the works of his fellow South African writers and has had a number of essays published in various journals. In addition to Brutus, "Seven South African Poets" features the work of Arthur Nortje, Dollar Brand, Jonty Driver, Timothy Holmes, Ismail Choonara and Keorapetse Kgotsisile, some of whose writings owe their publication to the pioneering efforts of Pieterse. Two volumes of poetry, "For Melba" and "Unchained" also stand to Pieterse's credit.

The Paris exhibition was enlivened by the music of a group led by Chris Macgregor, a White South African who has associated himself with the cause of non-racialism, and including Dudu Pukwana, Mongazi Feza, Harry Miller and singer Martha Mdenge. The Paris exhibition, stimulating

though it was, can be compared to the tip of an iceberg which shows above the water, for the list of South African exiles who have made their mark on the international scene is almost endless. One can mention the name of **Lionel Ngakane**, actor and broadcaster, writer and director of the film on the colour theme "Jemina and Johnny", co-director of the film exposure of apartheid "Witnesses", now busy researching for a film on African National Congress President the late Chief Albert J. Lutuli;

**Feni Dumile**, painter and sculptor with many London and other exhibitions to his credit, collector of artefacts from Africa now housed in the cellars of the British Museum, who was featured in the Scandinavian film "You Hide Me";

**Louis Maurice**, the sculptor, who is planning an exhibition in Paris soon; **Ruth First**, journalist and author of several books, the latest of which, "The Barrel of a Gun", examines the problem of military coups in Africa;

**Hilda Bernstein**, author of the autobiographical "The Land Which was Ours", who recently broke new ground with a London exhibition of her scraped wood etchings;

**Ismail Solker**, abstract painter and sculptor, who has exhibited at the Camden Exhibition of Contemporary African Art.

**Ezekiel Mphahlele**, author of "Down Second Avenue", "The African Image" and other works.

**Ronald Segal**, internationally known author and publicist;

Composer **John Joubert**, whose second symphony, performed at the Royal Festival Hall on March 24, 1971, was dedicated to the victims of Sharpeville with a quotation from Alan Paton's "Cry the Beloved Country" - "When they turn to loving, they will find we are turned to hating".

And so the list could continue, almost interminably. Many of the names which have appeared in this article could be replaced by others equally

## LETTER

## LETTER

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Comrades,

I should be grateful if you allowed me to comment on **Guerilla Warfare**, (South African Studies, No. 1, recently produced by the publicity and Information Bureau of the ANC). Political propaganda for the liberation struggle faces inevitable difficulties. To whom is one to aim one's message?

Though as many new activists and supporters as possible are required, much propaganda is also necessary to maintain the morale and confidence of those who are already committed. This is especially true of a protracted struggle. It is easy to underestimate the insidious effect of much enemy propaganda on all sections of our people. I stress 'all' because unless there is a liberation movement publication on certain questions, the only information at our disposal is that provided by the oppressor. In trying to interpret events from these reports it is easy for us to miscalculate and misunderstand. This, because without a correct understanding of the theoretical and historical background to the development of guerilla struggle, it is difficult to avoid lapsing into despair.

I am a young white South African supporter of Congress and it is primarily with the needs of people in a similar position, that I evaluate the booklet **Guerilla Warfare**. More than many other publications, I think that it serves a number of purposes useful to

those of us who work within the country, amongst people who are in varying degrees ignorant of the present strategy and tactics of the movement. Again and again the booklet emphasises that the present armed struggle is not a disconnected adventure, but a continuation of the earliest battles against the robbers of the last century. Though this may be a platitude to many seasoned militants, it must be remembered that people like myself have tended to view the Defiance Campaign, Rivonia, Sharpeville etc as isolated events. Because the particular events have not seemed to escalate it has been easy to conclude that the movement has fizzled out together with the particular activity. Equally because revolutionary armed struggle has only been adopted in the last ten years it has been easy to suppose that this reflected a completely new strategy, instead of a development from the earliest modes of opposition, which proved inadequate to the tasks which are now faced.

Underlying the tendency to approach each demonstration and each tactic separately and disconnectedly is a tendency to forget that the African people have never accepted the loss of their land, and that it is not just a sudden whim of 'new leadership' to move for its recovery.

Joe Mathews gives a succinct explanation for the failure of early resi-

stance to white conquest. Organised by independent tribes with relatively primitive weapons, they faced the representatives of a much more advanced and highly organised social order. Today, thanks to years of consolidation, a national movement has been forged. The representatives of the African people confront the forces of apartheid, our men, armed not merely with the ideals of liberation and human dignity, but with weapons and military theory that will translate these beliefs into reality.

One is struck in these articles by the spirit of rigorous self-criticism and the careful reappraisal of tactics pursued in the past. Though we are told that it is impossible to set a date for freedom, we are left with little doubt, that a people's army must eventually succeed against forces that (besides military skill) bear nothing but the promise of continued oppression.

Joe Slovo's article is illuminating in setting our struggle within a comparative international setting. It is instructive in providing a method for determining what are correct and incorrect analogies, permanent and temporary disadvantages. Through the historical examples which he cites we can see what has been done in other parts of the world against other powerful forces. A correct evaluation of the nature of our struggle as well as an appreciation of what has been

deserving, but pressure on space forbids.

It is a list revealing a talent of which any country would be proud. And, truth be told, the people of South Africa are truly proud of them. But the unrepresentative South African Government, which speaks in the name only of the racist minority, is terrified to let their voice be heard. All of those who have been mentioned in this article are against the Government's apartheid policies. In reprisal, most of them have been placed on the Government's banned list, with the result that their works may not be circulated in South Africa, and it is an offence for any journal to publish anything they write or say.

The South African Government is cutting people off from its own culture. This is a most appalling crime against the human spirit, and one for which it will never be forgiven, either by the South Africans themselves or the rest of the world.

## LETTER

encountered and overcome, or why certain factors have caused setbacks, in other struggles, instead of merely dwelling on defeats, should dispel the unjustified tendency to despair.

The two articles of Umkhonto militants are impressive evidence of the determination and continued sacrifice that these patriots are undertaking as their daily lot. The accounts of the first guerilla conflicts are vividly presented. George Shea and Barry Feinberg have written beautiful poems which must rouse the feelings of many readers. (I have seen poems depicting our struggle e. g. in *Sechaba*.) Perhaps it is time that these were gathered together so that this aspect of South African literature could be more widely appreciated, thus ensuring that it will be preserved as part of the new literature that will flourish in revolutionary South Africa, a place where the names of the roll-call (George Shea, 'The Roll-call') will always have an honoured place.

'And if none answers to his name,  
Know that it is for your own good  
And mine that he has fallen;  
Fallen never to rise.'

**AMANDLA NGAWETHU!**  
Matla ke Arona!

G. R. (Cape Town)

# • BOOK REVIEW •

## TOWARDS REVOLUTION

**The Revolution Reader: Writings from contemporary revolutionary leaders throughout the world. Selected, edited and introduced by John Gerassi. (Vol. 1: China, India, Asia, Africa, the Middle East; Vol. II: The Americas 812 pp £5.25 each volume)**

These two volumes include essays, speeches, manifestos of leading revolutionaries from the Third World, in which is included Black America and French Canada. Volume I includes Mao, Giap, Ben Barka, Cabral, Mandela; Volume II includes Guevara, Castro, Eldridge Cleaver, as well as the FLQ and the Tupamaros. On the surface the contents indicates a feast, and indeed the writings themselves are often of much interest. On the other hand, the two books are overwhelmed by Gerassi's Comments and introductions, which are little short of malicious and ignorant.

Gerassi, it appears, regards himself as a 'New Left' Marxist-Leninist, albeit 'improved' by a half on indigested hotch-potch of semi-Maoism, Guevarism, Debrayism, liberally topped-up with an unreasoned belief in the value and virtue of terrorism. The nature of Gerassi's Leninism is soon revealed. The book begins (P5, Vol. I) by asserting that Lenin was "a pragmatist" (I) and then goes on to show how when Lenin rejected terrorism he was really advocating terrorism.

An indication of the nature of Gerassi's 'Marxism' may be judged by his introduction to the section on Venezuela: "Ideologically, Ojeda was no Marxist. He believed in the 1961 Constitution, free elections, free speech and a free economy" (P 518). Does one conclude from this that to Gerassi, Marxism means an opposition to free speech, elections and economic policy? And anyone old fashioned enough to believe that the fight for socialism is led by the working class is in for a surprise: the "Organised, unionised capitalised, skilled-workerised 'traditional' proletariat" is written off by Gerassi. The real, the true 'revolutionaries' he asserts are such groups as the US Weathermen (they apparently operate "as class"!), that tiny gang of drug happy students drawn from the white upper middle class.

Gerassi's main thesis is that because many traditional revolutionaries (the 'old left') have adopted programmes envisaging the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism are at best

out dated reformists; at worst counter-revolutionaries. For example: "In the USA . . . some of the old CP hacks have been used to comfortable homes, cars, travel etc. for almost forty years. Is it feasible that they will drop it all on the drop of a hat when the crucial moment of revolution occurs?" (P 768) The fact that leading US Communists have, for 40 years, suffered continual harassment and assault, frequent imprisonment and occasionally deportation must be known to everyone, even Gerassi. Such sneers coming from a man with the impeccable revolutionary credentials of the former editorships of **TIME** and **NEWSWEEK** really are rich.

Occasionally the 'reformist' theory hits, runs into difficulties - where the 'old left' revolutionaries have successfully achieved power peacefully, as in Chile, or where they have openly adopted programmes of armed struggle. These minor problems are all easily overcome: thus Chile is conveniently not mentioned in the two volumes (nor is Ceylon). Likewise the snag to the theory presented by Colombia - "The only country in Latin America where Communists loyal to Moscow are actually fighting with arms" - is dismissed by Gerassi thus: "Their armed units . . . are not waging revolutionary war-fare, however." (P 609). The fact that in its 1962 Programme, the South African Communist Party adopted a policy of armed struggle is swept aside by Gerassi: "But its reformism remained undaunted" (P 341). He acknowledges that the 'Old Left' ANC in South Africa in 1961 also committed itself to armed revolution. Nonetheless, warns Gerassi "That the foundation of the future society is laid down in the course of the revolution seemed to remain an alien concept to the ANC" (P 343). After a cheap sneer at Bram Fischer who he implies was a courageous, but naive reformist, Gerassi ends his introduction to South Africa by implying a preference (in terms of revolutionary purity) for the PAC which he claims has "seized the vanguard" as a result of the ANC's "reformism", even though the PAC, according to Gerassi, is "racked with informers, agents and militant speech makers" and has "not yet even elaborated a clear ideological position" (P 342).

It would be easy merely to dismiss Gerassi as a middle-headed, white, middle-class fool. Yet that might be too generous an assessment. For if US imperialism and the CIA has 'enemies' like Gerassi, does it need friends?

# LIFE UNDER APARTHEID



Spotlight  
on a Police State

## CALLOUS DISREGARD OF HUMAN LIFE

South Africa has announced administrative changes to the repressive "pass laws". Helen Joseph, recovering from a cancer operation, was released after eight years' house arrest. George Ramafoku, also suffering from cancer, was not so lucky. He had been 'banished' to a primitive prison camp in the Kalahari to die slowly and painfully, without drugs or doctors. Here **Father Cosmas Desmond** describes South Africa's least known and harshest form of confinement without trial. Father Desmond has been deprived of his passport.

The records of the Vryburg General Hospital show that one George Mokate Ramafoku, aged 60 years, was admitted on December 11, 1970, and died of cancer of the stomach. They include no mention of a long life-or-death struggle by the doctors, or of the administration of pain-killing drugs. For Mr. Ramafoku had been left literally to rot to the point of death in an isolated banishment camp at Driefontein.

Driefontein is situated in the Kalahari, about 105 miles northwest of Vryburg. It consists of a dozen or so small round huts within a fenced compound. This, and similar camps in remote parts of the country, were established to accommodate Africans who had been banished from their

homes by virtue of the Native Administration Act of 1927.

An official statement of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, on July 19, 1965, noted that it was not necessary for such people to have committed any offence ("Star" Johannesburg); it was sufficient that "their presence in an area gave rise to dissention and dissatisfaction and was consequently detrimental to good government."

## UNDUE HARDSHIP

The Department of Bantu Administration and Development also stated that banished people receive free medical treatment and were protected from undue hardship. It may be thought that having to live for an indefinite period in a bare round hut in a barren desert hundreds of miles from one's family, having no employment, recreation, or diversion of any kind (two of the three present inhabitants of Driefontein are completely illiterate and so cannot even read to pass the time), and subsisting on a food allowance of R3 a month, is in itself "undue hardship"; especially when it is remembered that these people have not been convicted of any crime.

Mr. Ramafoku was first banished to Driefontein in 1956, together with five others, from Mabieskraal in the Rustenburg district. He was a very well respected man in his area, and he was not convicted of any crime. In 1960 he was allowed to return home. But after a year he was banished again to Driefontein, where he remained until he died ten years later; for a time he was all alone at the camp. His illness started at the beginning of 1970, and became acute towards the middle of the year. He became mentally confused and wandered away from the camp. His companions, fearing for his safety, asked the police to bring him back. They then informed the Bantu Affairs Commissioner that Ramafoku was sick. He said that he would send a doctor, but nothing happened.

After this Ramafoku became too weak to leave the compound. For some time prior to his death he was unable to retain any food or drink. He used to be a very big, heavy man. Eventually his companions asked a white farmer to take him to

a doctor. The doctor saw him and said he would send an ambulance the next day, December 11.

Ramafoku's companions were not informed of his death on December 18, and his poor paltry possessions still lie in a little bundle in a bare rondavel at Driefontein.

George Ramafoku was the victim of cold-blooded callousness. He was left to die in pain. This is an act of violence, an act more blame-worthy than that of a man who in anger or despair takes a gun or a knife and kills someone. I am not defending either form of violence; but we allow people to be banished and to die in such places.

The churches, for example, keep silent about such things, whereas they throw up their hands in horror at the thought of the World Council of Churches giving money to militant anti-racial organisations.

We are all aware of the large-scale institutionalised violence in South African society; 2000 people arrested everyday on pass offences; a prison population of 90 000; detention without trials, bannings, migratory labour etc. Perhaps the largeness of it makes us unable to grasp its significance.

## SHOCKING

Sometimes the malignancy of our society is revealed by small events as by the larger injustices. One such event occurred in a Johannesburg supermarket recently when two white shop assistants, suspecting a pregnant African woman of shoplifting, hoisted her skirts above her thighs and searched her right there and then in full view of other shoppers. It would be difficult to imagine a more gross violation of a person's human dignity. Yet the most shocking thing about the incident, really, is that the two white women concerned apparently didn't realise that they were doing anything wrong. It is not as though this was the action of particularly villainous or otherwise exceptional people. They were just two ordinary, workaday Johannesburg women who no doubt thought they were doing their job conscientiously.

Two typical white South Africans, in fact, with a blank spot in their minds that simply fails to register that black people have human dignity.