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apartheid



A badly injured seven-year-old native child lies on a road in Johannesburg after having been hit by a lorry. Beside him squats his father. For 45 minutes the boy lay huddled in the sun before he was taken to hospital in a press photographer's car. Ambulance services in the South African city are run on a "whites only" basis.

WHAT IS APARTHEID?

- Apartheid is the Afrikaans word for "separateness".
- It is the child of Afrikanerdom — derived from the thoughts and opinions of 17th Century Dutch colonists and their descendants.
- They see themselves as a "chosen people" surrounded by "a mass of heath savages, inferior in the sight of God" and "ordained to a lower station in life".
- As originally outlined, it aims at the elimination of racial conflict through the concept of separate racial development.
- Theoretically there is to be no discrimination between races which are confined each to their own separate areas, the black known as Bantustans.

APARTHEID IN PRACTICE

Contrary to idealistic intentions, European leadership of African development has become European domination. In short, the ideal has been sacrificed for a "dominate or be dominated" mentality.

Today, rigid territorial segregation is impossible, due to the sudden growth in the African urban population and because the African is essential for steady economic development and progress.

The Government has retained non-European labour in industry and agriculture, and thus does not practise its avowed policies.

The racial policy pursued by the Nationalist Government has increased the almost complete hold of Europeans over law and order.

At the time of its introduction, it is improbable that the government seriously imagined that Apartheid could be created in the Union. Today in its true perspective, it must be seen only as a public justification for oppressive action, and a private soothing of conscience.

The Afrikaner Nationalists, bent as they are on retaining racial superiority, have become persuaded that racial incompatibility is an indisputable fact. They are backed in this contention by the extremist Dutch Reformed Church and their historical legacy of racial prejudice.

Legislation designed to eradicate non-European opposition has also impinged upon European freedoms.

The areas assigned to Europeans contain all the industrial centres, the mineral wealth of South Africa, all the towns with road and rail links to cities and ports, and all of the best arable land. Non-European areas have been left under-developed.

It is therefore impossible to alienate the black work force from areas declared "white". This has forced the black labourer into a pool of cheap labour.

The Bantustans are merely a tool for the Nationalist Government to direct Bantu affairs.

Unless the native authorities conform to the wishes of the Nationalist Government, their powers are nil.

Bantu education is designed to eliminate the class of educated Africans who formed the core of African opposition to the Government.

South Africa has now become a police state.

THE LAWS OF REPRESSION

The South African Nationalist Government has put its apartheid policy into force by the rapid changing of a democracy into a police state. This totalitarian rule has been achieved by the systematic and progressive denial of human rights and freedoms by means of a series of Parliamentary acts which enforce:

- Total residential segregation of the races. Racial areas are set out, and it then becomes illegal for persons of one group to live or trade in an area reserved for another. Churches, schools, mosques, restaurants, shops, cinemas, sportsgrounds—all are barred to those of another race. (Group Areas Act.)
- Restrictions or prohibition of social contacts between Whites and Africans, together with prohibition of joint worship. (Native Laws Amendment Act.)
- Classification and registration according to race and colour, to enable the various apartheid measures to be administered. This classification and other information is carried in the infamous Pass Books or Cards of Identity which all Africans over sixteen must carry. (Population Registration Act.)
- Barring of all mixed marriages. Many homes and families have been broken up due to the subsequent classification of one partner as coloured. (Mixed Marriages Act.)
- The different education of the Africans, which is both vastly inferior to that of the Whites and also specifically designed to indoctrinate the Africans with their subservient role in the Master-Servant relationship, linked with a back-to-tribalism attitude. Although few Africans get beyond primary education, their racial inferiority is taught up to the University level. (Bantu Education Act and Extension of University Education Act.)
- Control over travel by Africans, and the power to uproot any Africans and send them, individually or in tribes, whenever and wherever the Government sees fit. This has the effect of creating a vast pool of cheap African labour to be directed and used at will. (Pass Laws and Native Labour Acts.)
- The allocation of specific jobs to separate racial groups. This effectively limits Africans almost entirely to unskilled and labouring work, and even prevents any competition between unskilled Whites and Blacks. (Industrial Conciliation Act.)
- The restriction of non-whites (80% of the population) to ownership of 13% of the land. Actually the amount of private ownership is even less as much of the native land is tribally owned. Also the areas set aside for possible native ownership are usually the worst, most arid, infertile and entirely lacking in any mineral resources. (Native Lands Acts.)
- Powers of censorship, banishment, and imprisonment without trial for up to 12 days.
- Prohibition under heavy penalty of any strike action by Africans. African Trades Unions are not recognised by the Government. (Native Labour Act.)

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THIS IS APARTHEID





Police baton charge African women—they later opened fire with sten guns and rifles.

FACTS AND FIGURES

	Europeans	Black & Coloured.
Population	20%	80%
Share of National Income	75%	25%
Land Allocation	87%	13%
Average Annual Income	£1,000	£190 (£50 in some reserves)
Parliamentary Representatives	160	Nil
Receiving Education	100%	30%
Educational Expense per head of population	£13/9/5	17/10 (African)

Africans and coloured races constitute:

- 16% of skilled labour (mainly Coloured)
- 67% of semi-skilled labour.
- 99% of unskilled labour (mainly African)

14% of Africans are unemployed.

In the year ending 30th June, 1963, 129 people were hanged. Of this 129, 107 were Africans, 20 "non-whites" and 2 "whites".

The infant mortality rate for non-whites, that is the percentage of African children dying before the age of five, is 57% (white 5%). An average of more than one out of every two African children will die of sickness, malnutrition, and hardships, brought about by the extreme poverty and squalor in which they live.

SLUMS AND SQUALOR

While the overall standard of living has risen, that of the African is slowly declining. In the last 15 years, African earnings rose by 11% whereas those of the whites rose by 35%. This means that the average African today receives £17/5/- more a year

than he did in 1946, while a white man receives £257 more.

In Johannesburg, a city with one of the highest standards of living in Africa, where the minimum required just to sustain a family



"Sophiatown"—the old native quarter of flourishing Johannesburg.

POLITICS IN SPORT

Simultaneously with the arrival of the South African team in Australia, newspapers are publishing reports of the new treason trials, sabotage laws and rigged Ban Ustan elections. Reports are also filtering into the newspapers of student demonstrations throughout Australia, in fact wherever the Springboks are playing. One of the most common criticisms levelled at these orderly but direct confrontations is that the students are "bringing politics into sport", in fact "making cricket a political football".

STUDENTS AND CRICKETERS

The organisers of these demonstrations, however, have continually reiterated the policy of the National Union of Australian University Students, the co-ordinating body of all the Australian

Student Representative Councils, which states that it condemns Apartheid but that it bears no hostility or grudge whatsoever towards the cricketers as individuals. This in itself, however, could not justify these demonstrations, no matter how despicable one might think the South African Government. The only way such action can be justified is if the team itself represents these policies ("team" as a representative of a country and its politics, not "team" as a group of individuals). Whether the cricketers do or do not support Apartheid is of no concern to us—we are anxious that sport remain as it has been from the earliest Olympic Games until the present—a meeting ground for people of all colours, ideologies and race—where the spirit of brotherhood and friendly competition is stronger than all prejudices.

SPORTSMANSHIP

Australians are famous for their fair-mindedness and sportsmanship, we believe that a man ought to be judged by his ability and performance: all other things are irrelevant. However, at the moment South Africa is in danger of being expelled from the Olympic Games due to her discrimination in the field of sport on the basis of skin colour—a direct contravention of The Olympic Charter which states that "No discrimination is allowed against any country, or person on grounds of race, religion or political affiliation". Africa has already come into conflict with other sporting bodies, most recently, Soccer.

SEGREGATION

Apartheid extends the practice of racial discrimination into every sphere of life in South Africa. Every human activity must be racially segregated. Sporting bodies which do not discriminate are subject to constant harassment and coercion, they are refused grounds on which to play, their members are refused passports to travel overseas, and their leaders are banned and persecuted. The policy of keeping "coloured" people separate from "Europeans" is constantly being intensified. Recently in Cape Province public servants were warned that they would be dismissed if they as much as shook hands with an African.

The results of imposing Apartheid on South African sport have been numerous. Countries sending teams to South Africa have been forced to leave their racially-unacceptable players at

of five was estimated at £23 per month in 1959, the average family income is still less than £17 per month. This difference must somehow be made up by borrowing on next month's salary, illicit liquor brewing, prostitution and crime.

The low level of African earnings means that the incidence of malnutrition diseases in parts of South Africa is the highest recorded in the world. In eight main urban areas alone—there are no statistics for the rural areas—10,000 babies die every year from the deficiency disease of "kwashiorkor"—50 die every month in one hospital in Port Elizabeth alone. An average of forty children are taken each day to one children's hospital in Capetown, in the last stages of gastro-enteritis. At the same hospital, 54% of those admitted show signs of severe malnutrition, rickets, tuberculosis, or serious lack of weight. Over half of Capetown's coloured children are underweight as a result of malnutrition. 160 cases of tuberculosis are reported every day. A University of Natal survey showed that every one of 240 African workers visited showed signs of malnutrition.

The "Rand Daily Mail" survey made in areas of several reserves hit by drought showed a ten-fold increase in the incidence of pella and 15,000 workers on the verge of starvation. These reports were greeted by the White Minister of Bantu Administration as being "unfavourable and distorted". He added that such malnutrition as existed was due to "wrong eating habits".

AWKWARD QUESTIONS

The following report is printed from the leading Johannesburg newspaper, THE STAR, of August 31:

Trevor Goddard, South Africa's cricket captain has consulted Dr. Verwoerd, the prime minister, on political questions that might be put to him when he takes his South African side to Australia. Goddard was given a 45-minute secret briefing by Dr. Verwoerd during the premier's visit to Durban.

Today Goddard refused to say what was discussed—"in case it gets into the Aussie papers and we find ourselves talking a lot of politics during the tour".

The briefing was arranged by the Nationalist Party at Goddard's own request. Goddard said: "When we go on tour it is with one object in mind and that is to play cricket.

"But the numbers of people who are interested in what is going on in South Africa ask us all sorts of questions.

"It was for this reason that I approached the local Nationalist Party Secretary Mr. Con Botha for an interview with the P.M. to get my information straight from the horse's mouth, as it were.

"I had a very pleasant meeting with Dr. Verwoerd and put a number of questions to him on things which I personally wanted to know, and also to get some answers to questions which are always being asked.

"I must say that I found him and his wife a really charming couple, and some of his answers to the political aspects of this country most enlightening."

home. The Kiwi rugby team which toured S.A. last year was forced to exclude a Maori player who had gained selection: the decision of the New Zealand Rugby League to concede to this condition was widely condemned in New Zealand. The British cricket team which toured S.A. could not consider opener Subba Row for selection because the South Africans pointed out that he has part-Indian parentage. The Rev. David Sheppard, a former captain, refused to tour with the M.C.C. Cricket teams from India, Pakistan and the West Indies, of course, cannot play against South African teams.

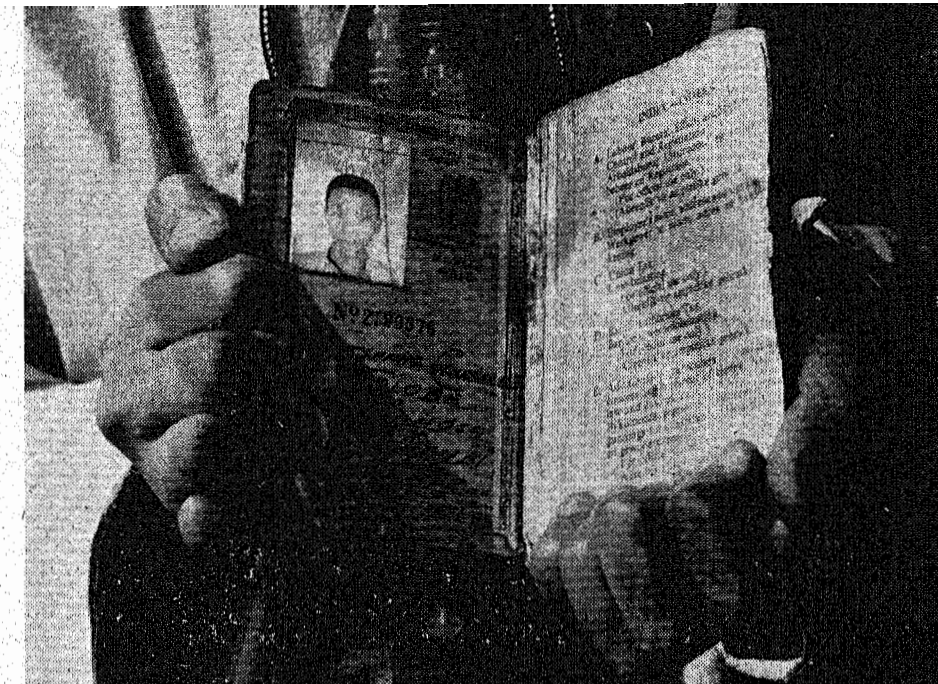
MINISTER ANNOYED

Interior Minister De Clerk gets very annoyed when occasionally South Africans are able to break Apartheid regulations. He has spoken passionately against what he regards as the "nasty trick" whereby sportsmen slip out of South Africa to neighbouring territories "in order to dodge segregation in sport". He was referring to boxing contests in Maseru in Basutoland in which both Africans and European South Africans competed. The tour of Benaud's "Commonwealth Cavaliers" cricket team was interesting in this regard too. Basil D'Olivera, a South African of Indian descent was one of the stars of the team: he scored a century in each innings in a match against the West Indies played in Kenya. D'Olivera, who has played for Lancashire in English County Cricket, is one of the South Africans who might very well be representing S.A. here in Australia if it were not for the imposition of Apartheid on cricket.

BENAUD

As an aside it is worth recalling the fact that Benaud, Australia's captain, complied with the Apartheid regulations when his Commonwealth Cavaliers came to South Africa. Not only was D'Olivera removed from the team but also West Indians Wes Hall and Rohan Khanhai. Unfortunately Benaud would appear to have condoned Apartheid by deferring to South African racist demands.

The South African Sporting Association—a non-segregated organisation which has been victimised by the Government—which attempts, despite Government interference, to co-ordinate the remaining non-racial sporting organizations, has asked for a boycott unless overseas tours are conducted on strictly non-racial lines. At the moment overseas teams going to South Africa have to exclude any player who has a dark skin, thereby applying Apartheid



standards in selecting their own teams; they play against segregated teams; they play before segregated audiences; they are therefore accepting racialism in sport and supporting a system which prevents 80% of South Africa's population from representing their country because of their skin colour. Moreover, they will be acting against the wishes of those who want sport to be non-racial and making the task of fighting racism in sport more difficult.

There can be little doubt that South African racials are encouraged by foreign acceptance of sporting exchanges under Apartheid conditions and would be hurt by boycotts. The Johannesburg Star, in an editorial only a few months back said: "For sport, much more than trade, is today the effective means of applying an international boycott to South Africa, and it is a means that is capable of hurting."

DISCRIMINATION

South Africans, like Australians, are great sports-lovers, and international action against their racially-exclusive sporting teams would have a dramatic internal impact. The famous South African writer, Nadine Gordimer, has suggested this. In an interview quoted in Bernard Sachs' "The Road From Sharpeville" she spoke of methods of combating Apartheid: "I am in favour of moral pressure of all kinds. There are thousands of white South Africans, for example, to whom it might never have occurred that Apartheid might be considered a disgrace if their favourite sporting team had not been boycotted in some international contest" (p. 176).

EXCLUSION

True sportsmen and sports-lovers will not tolerate racial discrimination in any form. True sport transgresses barriers of religion, race and politics; and sport is perverted if these factors are allowed to enter into sport. Organizations which accept South African conditions for sport in effect condone South African policies and help support Apartheid.

Thus the remark that demonstration against the cricketers is bringing politics into sport does not really apply when we investigate the circumstances of the team selection. That coloureds, such as Basil D'Olivera, are automatically excluded from the team, contravenes the essentials of sportsmanship. The N.U.A.U.S. has declared its opposition to the cricket tour on the grounds that the team is not truly representative of South Africa since only one racial grouping was eligible for selection. N.U.A.U.S. has objected to the application of Apartheid regulations as being contrary to the ethics of sport; to accept a racially exclusive team as representative is to condone Apartheid.

These campaigns are therefore aimed to draw attention to the unrepresentative nature of the team and the part Apartheid—a political means of white domination—plays in its selection.

But no matter how fervently we attack Apartheid and its manifestations in sport we wish it to be clear that we bear no malice towards the cricketers themselves—only the Government and the policies they represent.

Pass Law

By law the African is required to carry a registration certificate — his "situpa".

- No African can live in an urban area without a pass, work in another area without a pass, visit another area without a pass, or be out at night after a stipulated hour without a pass.
- Any African found without his pass is liable to prosecution—a fine or imprisonment.
- No white man has to carry a pass.
- They were an effort to reinforce geographical and social segregation.
- Africans have two names for the passes: the Badge of Slavery, and the Dompas—the verdompe, or accursed pass.

BOYCOTT?

Observers of South African affairs agree that if the Government continues with its present racial policy, violence is inevitable. There is no longer any hope of avoiding it: indeed it has already started. Africans are likely to resort increasingly to violent methods of revolt, and the Afrikaner rulers will attempt to crush any challenge to their supremacy with more hangings, shootings and imprisonments. The mounting fierce antagonism between the races will lead to widespread strife and bloodshed. At present neither side can eventually win without external support.

An international trade boycott of items essential to the economy would have the effect of creating turmoil and breakdown of the whole industrial economy. For example, it has been suggested that a co-ordinated boycott of all oil and petroleum imports would stop the economic system in a few weeks, without causing any further hardship for the natives. In fact, all anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa, openly and from under cover, are calling for such a boycott. South Africa's own oil resources are almost negligible, and the breakdown would be so rapid that industry would stop before increased poverty could spread to the dominated African workers. This could give the necessary traumatic shock to the present totalitarian White rulers, or lead to its overthrow and replacement by a more democratic, multi-racial Government.

THIS IS APARTHEID



The forecourt of the Sharpeville Police Station strewn with bodies after police had opened fire without orders on a peaceful crowd of unarmed natives demonstrating against pass laws. After about 72 were killed and hundreds wounded police used armoured cars to disperse the crowd.

THE TWO SOUTH AFRICAS

The original idea of apartheid envisaged:

1. THE DIVISION OF THE ENTIRE COUNTRY INTO RACIALLY DISTINCT REGIONS, but the areas allocated to the Africans (80% of the entire population) were only 13% of the total land area, and had no industries, no mineral resources, no commercial centres, no ports, and contained much of the worst farming land.

2. THE SEGREGATION OF ALL BLACKS AND WHITES INTO THESE AREAS, but at present 30% of the African population lives within the reserves but only 3% of the adult males work there as peasant farmers. The rest are mainly too old, too young, or too feeble for work, or are the families of men working outside the areas. "White South Africa cannot function without its labour force, so 70% of the Blacks are treated as "temporary sojourners", allocated to work in 'White' areas."

3. THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE AND COMPLETE SELF-GOVERNMENT TO THE TWO NATIONS, WHITE SOUTH AFRICA AND BLACK SOUTH AFRICA, but each Bantustan is governed internally by a Legislative Assembly consisting of some members elected by the natives but a large majority of members appointed by the Government. All decisions and policies of the Assembly must be approved by the White S.A. Government, which also retains control of each Bantustan's defence, external affairs, currency, public loans, banking, immigration, their constitution, and the police force charged with the maintenance of internal security. In effect therefore, the "self government" is just a myth, as is shown by the recent rejection of one Leader of the Assembly, a chief elected by the people, and the installation of another, the choice of the government.

4. ECONOMIC AID FOR INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, but it was estimated that over £10 million a year would be necessary to improve the Bantustans, spent mainly on agricultural development and the establishment of industries. In fact under £4 million was spent annually, this going mainly towards the provision of housing for the surplus Africans sent to the Reserves, while in the future only 1% of the budget is to be set aside for improvement. The use of any private White capital for development inside the Bantustans is prohibited by the Government. However, the government is offering tempting economic advantages and concessions to White Industrialists in a scheme to encourage them to establish plants just outside the borders of the Reserves, and so be able to use the local labour. So in effect, the Bantustans are simply becoming reservoirs of cheap African labour which has no alternative employment open to it.

5. THE DEVELOPING OF THE AREAS COMPLETELY INDEPENDENTLY, but the "white areas"—87% of the country—cannot preserve their present productiveness when deprived of 80% of their labour force, while the "black areas" cannot support three quarters of the country's population when deprived of the mineral, industrial and capital resources of the rest of the country.

6. THAT THIS WOULD BE THE BEST SOLUTION FOR BOTH, but in actual fact the average income per head in the "Black areas" is only £50 compared with £1,000 in the "white".

The majority of residents remain completely dependent on the money sent home by "migrant" workers in the "white areas".

The spirit of revolt is spreading and riots have taken place, each ruthlessly suppressed.

"Our overall fight is against imperialism, colonialism and domination. I want to be properly understood here. Let the world take note that we are not fighting Dr. Verwoerd simply because he is Dr. Verwoerd; we are not fighting Europeans or Indians or Chinese. In short, we are fighting against nobody. Our energies and forces are directed against a set-up, against a conception and a myth—others call it racial superiority, other call it herrenvolkism, others call it leadership with justice, or white supremacy. We are fighting against the Calvinist doctrine that a certain nation was specially chosen by God to lead and protect other nations."

—A spokesman for the Cape Pan-Africanist Congress

"We firmly believe that the freedom of the African people, the elimination of the exploitation of man by man and the restriction of democracy, liberty and harmony in South Africa are such vital and fundamental matters that the Government and the Public must know that we are fully resolved to achieve them in our lifetime. The struggle is not directed against any race or national group but against unjust laws which keep in perpetual subjection and misery vast sections of that population."

—Spokesman of the African National Congress

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- Restriction of any public assembly of more than 10 people.

- The Suppression of Communism Act, which, however, defines Communism in such vague terms and gives such an all-encompassing range of actions which can be called Communist that almost any offence against any law can be dealt with under this Act. For example, the Act forbids any advocating, advising, defending or encouraging any of the objects of Communism, one of which happens to be opposition to racial domination. By using the wide terms of this Act, any offence or opposition to the Government can be branded as Communism and quickly dealt with. Among men thus labelled as Communists are Clergymen, Jews and outspoken anti-Communists.

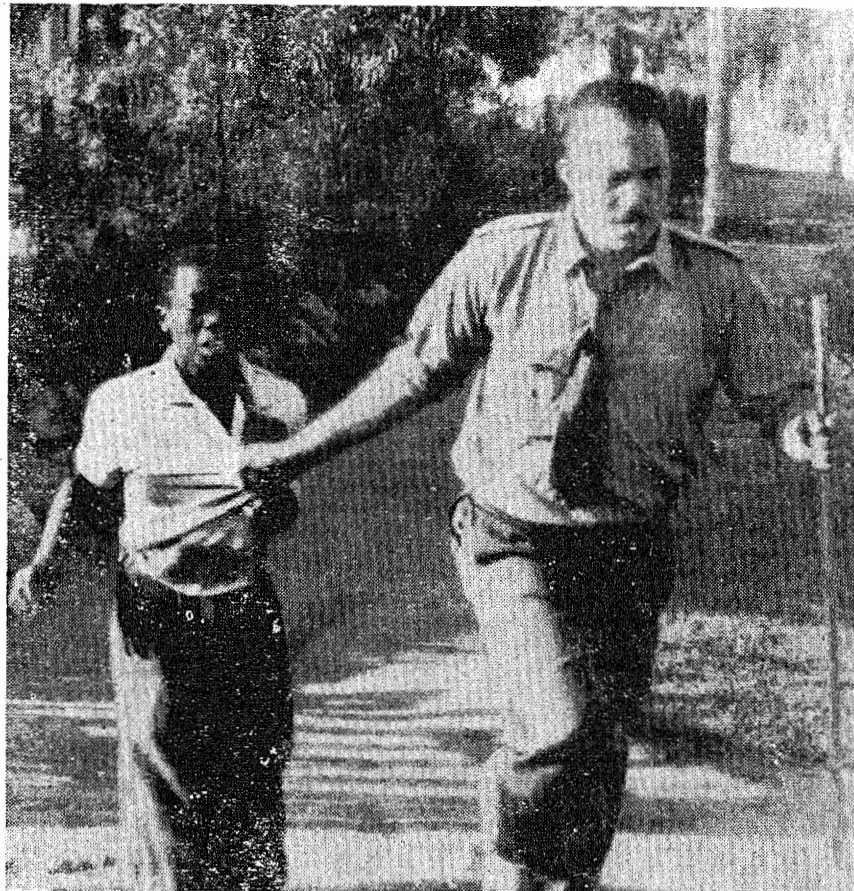
- Various blanket laws such as that which forbids any passive resistance or incitement to defiance of any law, ordinance, by-law or regulation, with heavy penalties for infringement, including imprisonment, flogging, fines or all these together.

It can be seen that there is a total prohibition of any criticism of the Government, which holds absolute power over the lives and livelihoods of the Africans. It denies them any of the basic freedoms, any rights, and even a voice and thus contravenes all articles of the internationally accepted United Nations Charter of Human Rights.

"What makes a man and gives him self-respect is the ability to protect and look after his wife and children. My husband can't do that anymore. If the Government orders me out of Capetown tomorrow, he can do nothing but wave me goodbye. If they order him back to a Reserve he can do nothing to keep the family together unless we all want to starve. So life is not worth living. We are helpless unless we fight back, and may as well lay down our lives in the fight."

—Quote from an African Capetown woman

THIS IS APARTHEID



A South African policeman pulls a crying African youngster from the backyard of his home near Johannesburg during recent pre-dawn arrests. This boy was later released and "given a long walk home to cool down."

THE CHOSEN PEOPLE A HISTORY OF APARTHEID

Any attempt to trace the history of Apartheid must necessarily take into consideration the very important cultural and historical origins of the theory of racial dominance. For these have exerted and continue to exert a considerable influence on the Afrikaan way of thought.

The fundamental principles of racial policy in the Union have been there since its inception in 1910. Even before this time, in fact, since the very first settlement of the Dutch at "the Cape" in the late 17th century, there has been conscious racial discrimination.

The first settlers, simple, uneducated peasants, came from Holland under the Dutch East India Company and gradually developed a simple agricultural economy. They imported slaves, with whom many of them inter-married giving rise to the 1.5m. South Africans whom the Government classifies as "coloured".

As the white population increased, the colony spread further inland. Trekking east they isolated themselves from continued European influence, forming a union with one another, through the bond of religion. They quickly identified themselves with the patriarchs of the Old Testament. From this, too, they developed the idea "that the peoples they met were for ever inferior in the sight of God", their view of Predestination further reinforcing the idea that the inferiority was unchangeable. The Church which evolved is known as the Dutch Reformed, a fundamentalist Calvinist sect. It is their interpretation of the Bible which determines their attitude towards the African: a lamentable blot on an otherwise generous character.

The economy of the Boers, such as it was, was constructed on a base of slave labour. One hundred years after the first settlement of the Cape, there were 11,815 whites and 12,398 slaves living there.

In the 1820's the British re-occupied the Cape bringing new settlers with relatively liberal ideas.

Associated with this re-settlement were missionaries who preached ideas of equality. These new settlers helped initiate the Great Trek whereby the Boers headed north to found new states in order to "escape from British influence and its harmful consequences", and to go somewhere where they could establish their own states

and rule the Africans in their own way. The British in the South poured capital into developing the mines and industries which today make South Africa such a wealthy country.

In the 19th century, South Africa had two "race policies". In the South, where the British ruled, a considerable measure of racial equality was promoted, some literate blacks having the franchise; in the North under the Boers, Africans were slaughtered and subjugated and regarded as inherently and immutably inferior. When South Africa was granted independence in 1912, the differences between northern and southern policies continued until recently when liberal clauses were revoked by unconstitutional acts.

Afrikaner nationalism has grown from the strong bonds of the Boer peoples—the bond of inter-dependence for protection and the bond of religion.

In fact as Sandor (The Coming Struggle for South Africa. Fabian Tract, June, 1963) sums it up: "All these ideas and feelings were incorporated into the Afrikaner Nationalist Party, which is more accurately described as the embodiment of the heritage of the people than as a political party. The Church, the Party and the system of education became inseparable. Each was seen as an essential part in a destiny of struggle. The objective of the Party as the instrument of the Nation was the establishment of the Pure Afrikaner Republic, finally dissociated from the hated British imperialists and undiluted either by what are called "foreign, liberalistic ideologies" or by the "paganism and barbarism of the African".

Some idea of the extremity of views of the Church may be obtained from The Afrikaans Church Journal, Die Kerkblad, of March this year, which published a list of enemies of the Afrikaner nation. The enemies to be fought were: "Communism, Islam, the fraud of Roman Catholicism, the sickly sentimentalism and sensationalism of Methodism, the Liberalism which is a cancerous growth in the Western world, materialism, education without dogma, Modernism."