South Africa: Apartheid Capitalism

Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education
Editorial

Social Inequality: spatial form

Human spatial form reflects social and political processes. Nowhere in the world is this more obvious than in South Africa, where state ideology and policy are a major influence on human geographical patterns.

A crucial factor in geographical analysis is now the study of power and its exercise locally, nationally, and at a global scale. At all scales, power relationships and the means by which they are maintained are so clearly defined in South Africa — and in its connections with the global capitalist economy — that the country provides an ideal case study through which students of all ages can grasp some of the most fundamental and important concepts in human geography.

A contribution to understanding

Many geography syllabuses currently use claim that the subject makes an important contribution to the understanding of contemporary economic, social and political issues.

South Africa has great prominence in T.V. and other news coverage; its policies and personalities are frequently the focus of controversy in Britain. Few students in 1984 can have been unaware of the Zola Budd saga at the time of the Olympic Games; many will have watched new reports of the Pik Botha visit and opposition to it, and others will have been aware of the South African Embassy picket campaign.

In 1985 the South African miners’ strike, student resistance in Soweto, and the visit to South Africa of Senator Edward Kennedy have been given great media coverage. But media attention to South Africa is not a new phenomenon. The country has had a high profile for many years. In view of this, and the claim made in syllabus statements, it is surprising that geography courses in schools and colleges rarely focus on South Africa. There is a dearth of information about the country in Geography textbooks at all levels, and what little there is may be supplied by the South African Embassy — as Beverley Naidoo’s textbook analysis illustrates (see p. )

This state of affairs is unlikely to be allowed to continue in view of recent developments in education.

Power: Class and spatial form

Individual, state, and economic power are exercised interdependently and often by force in maintaining South Africa’s status quo. This is true of other countries but less overtly so. There is no other country in the world where legalised racism forms the basis of economic exploitation; however, apartheid can be regarded as a variant of the social class system which exists in all capitalist and state capitalist countries. The difference is that in South Africa, skin colour is used as the criterion for allocating people to their predetermined positions in the social/economic/power hierarchy. In other countries — Britain, Australia and the USA, for example — it is largely class itself which determines the social/economic/power positions of individuals.

Although racism operates within the class system, skin colour is less formally a criterion for allocation of individuals to the most exploited sections of the labour force.

Once the social classes have been created, regardless of whether skin colour is a formal criterion of allocation, they are maintained through ideological conditioning and the differential distribution of resources. It is this phenomenon which finds expression in spatial form in all capitalist and state capitalist countries.
Recent developments in Education

Racism is a growing threat to social stability in Britain as the 'riots' of 1981 indicate. An increasing number of Education Authorities are following the lead of Berkshire and theYLEA in adopting anti-racist policies - as an increasing number of Local Authorities are following the lead of the Greater London Council and Liverpool in doing likewise.

The need for anti-racist education is of central concern amongst progressive educators in all subjects. The Geographical Association has been quick to take up the issue of racism as raised by the Association for Curriculum Development in Geography and is soon to publish its own anti-racist policy statement. It is a matter of time before professional associations in other disciplines will do the same. The way that history teaching mediates racist and imperialist ideology has been clearly exposed by prominent histories (Williams, James, Davidson) and is soon to be the subject of an in-service teacher education manual published by the ILEA Centre for Anti-Racist Education. Similar publications are in preparation for the science, art, maths and home economics curricula.

National 16+ syllabus revision coincides with increasing demands that education should meet society's needs for the future. There is widespread recognition of the responsibility which education bears in creating a future for humankind and an increasingly conscious attempt to define the objectives of education in terms of that future. The elimination of poverty and the promotion of social justice, for example, are widely accepted as valid long-term objectives of human social development, and are therefore valid long-term aims of education.

This issue of the journal has been prepared with these considerations in mind and represents an attempt to meet the resource needs of school geography departments in a time of rapid curriculum change, when mainstream publishers are lagging behind major developments in education.

South Africa on the Agenda: Aims of the Issue

This issue of Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education puts South Africa on the agenda for schools and colleges. It provides articles and teaching materials which aim:

- to demonstrate the influence of power and ideology on spatial patterns.
  - The Geography of Apartheid
  - The Nature of Apartheid
  - Migrant workers and the South African Pass Laws

- to show how apartheid capitalism operates as part of the global capitalist economy:
  - South Africa and the Global Capitalist Economy
  - The miners' dispute in South Africa

- to aid understanding of structural violence through looking at the effects of apartheid capitalism on individuals and groups.
  - The Nature of Apartheid
  - Young and black in South Africa/Namibia
  - The miners' dispute in South Africa
  - Migrant workers and the South African Pass Laws

- to show the importance of organised oppositional struggle:
  - Young and black in South Africa/Namibia
  - The miners' dispute in South Africa
  - Why I won't play in South Africa

- to analyse the process of migration in its political and economic context:
  - Migrant workers and the South African Pass Laws
  - Turkey: West Germany's Bantustan?

- to explore the inter-relationships between racism, the class structure and the economic system
  - The Nature of Apartheid
  - Turkey: West Germany's Bantustan?

CAUTION

The concept of race has no scientific validity. It was conceived in order to facilitate racism. The language used in racist societies is racist itself. We must bear this in mind when reading or teaching about the current state of affairs and see the language as part of a conditioning process which helps to distort reality and blinker perceptions. On this issue readers are referred to:

Peter Fryer - The History of Black People in Britain. Pluto Press 1984
Chapter on 'Pseudo Scientific racism'

Richard Lewenstein - Are the Races Different? Science for the People, March/April 1982

The Struggle:

This issue of the journal has not examined the full range of approaches to change in South Africa. Resistance movements vary in their ideology and aims. Readers are referred to 'The Struggle for South Africa: A reference guide to movements, organisations and institutions' - Davies, Doane, Spinney, Bloomsbury Vol. 1 & 2. Zed Press 1984, ISBN 086232.225.1 and 086232.257X

Namibia has been covered in very little detail. Readers are referred to 'Namibia, the Last Colony' - R. Green, M. Klijnen, and K. Klijnen (eds). ISBN 085289.7.358 Longman 1981.

- to explore the political underpinnings of 'natural disasters and potential environmental destruction in South Africa:
  - Nuclear South Africa
  - Natural Disasters in Southern Africa

- to review ideological conditioning which attempts to legitimise inequality:
  - Books that Censor reality
  - Teaching under Apartheid

- to examine South Africa as an imperialist power:
  - Young and black in Namibia
  - Namibia

A publication of this length can be no more than an introduction to some of the main areas of debate and analysis for geography. However, it illustrates quite clearly that South Africa is an area of study in which sound geographical education and anti-racist education can be combined in a way which helps illuminate economic and political issues at local, national and global scales.
The Geography of Apartheid: 
the relationship between space and ideology in South Africa

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Political factors are a major influence on human spatial patterns all over the world, but nowhere is this more obvious than in South Africa. If it is accepted that the study and explanation of spatial patterns is a central theme of geography, it is clear that a state which has, through legislation, institutionalized controls over where people can live, work, receive an education and exercise their political "rights" must be of special interest to geographers. In South Africa, deliberate manipulation of the physical location of population groups and certain economic activities is an active element of apartheid.

Co-existence of “First World” and “Third World”

In many ways the characteristics of “Third World” countries are very different to those of “First World” countries. An obvious example is that income levels per head in the “Third World” tend to be much lower than those in the “Third World”, and thus the incidence of poverty and hardship is often widespread. Other common examples are that, in comparison to the “First World”, “Third World” countries usually have high birth rates, high death rates (particularly in terms of infant mortality) and that the provision of health and education facilities is inadequate. In addition to this the way in which economic space is organized differs. Frequently the majority of the population is engaged in agriculture, although high rates of rural-urban migration and consequently high urban growth rates are common. By comparison most people in the “First World” are urban dwellers and the proportion in agricultural employment is low. South Africa however is impossible to categorize in terms of these broad generalizations, because it exhibits characteristics of both the “First” and the “Third World”. This paper aims to examine the co-existence of such dissimilar characteristics within South Africa, and the spatial patterns they exhibit. It is argued that these patterns are not only the result of South Africa’s apartheid policies, but also that the manipulation of spatial relations is an active element of achieving their aims.

The South African state has institutionalized controls over where, for example, people can live, work, receive an education and exercise their political “rights”. Deliberate restructuring of the physical location of population groups and certain economic activities is a key feature of the implementation of apartheid policies. In order to examine the significance of the creation and restructuring of spatial relations in South Africa, it is necessary to discuss briefly what are seen to be the aims of apartheid.

The links between apartheid policies and the needs of capitalist development have been established by a wealth of analyses (see for example Legassick, 1974; Legassick and Wolpe, 1976; Wolpe, 1972; Magubane, 1979; Selwyn, 1980). Whilst the objectives of, and problems facing the state are dynamic, broadly speaking the ideology of the South African state, which is controlled by the white minority, demands white political dominance and capitalist economic development. This paper is based on the assumption that apartheid is the major policy expression of the state’s ideology, and that it has been designed to facilitate the political and economic objectives of that ideology.
Spatial Patterns in South Africa

Over the past twenty years geographers have made a number of attempts to analyse spatial patterns in South Africa. It has been demonstrated that South Africa exhibits a dynamic core-periphery structure which has developed to the stage of an industrial stage economy (after Friedmann, linked to Rostow's concept of the stage of 'the drive to maturity' (Fair, 1985; Browett, 1976; Browett and Fair, 1974). The nature of the urban hierarchy has also been examined (Davies, 1967; Davies and Cook, 1968). Although such work has illuminated certain aspects of the South African space economy, the choice of approach tends to neglect or distract from one of the key empirical features: the spatial separation of the "racial" groups constituting the South African population. This leads to sudden dislocation in spatial patterns which such analyses cannot account for, because they tend to assume that the forces involved in spatial economic development and urbanization are the same throughout the country. For example, bantustan urbanization is virtually ignored in the studies of the urban hierarchy because the scale and function of towns in these areas was so different from those in the rest of South Africa. Also a general core periphery model does not adequately describe or explain why the social and economic differences between national areas (such as the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging triangle) and a peripheral white rural area, is less than for instance those between the OvaOva Bantustan and adjacent white farmland.

Thus the existence and location of the bantustans create major anomalies in South African spatial patterns. The issue of "racial" segregation is a useful starting point from which to examine social, economic and political patterns. The patterns in the bantustans differ markedly from those in 'white' South Africa, and segregation within 'white' South Africa has also created specific types of spatial organization, particularly in cities.

"The structures of South Africa sustain a situation in which it is whites (though not all whites) who are the accumulators of capital, the wealthy, and the powerful, while the majority of blacks (though not all blacks) are the unemployed, the ultra-exploited, the poor and the powerless."

Legassie, 1974, p 32,33

Bantustans versus 'white' economic space

The containment of so many Black South Africans as possible within bantustans (see Map 1) determines the patterns exhibited by a whole variety of social, economic and political variables. State ideology and its associated policies are clearly a major influence on geographical patterns.

The fragmentation of the bantustans, the diversity of their resource base and the lack of official data make it difficult to compare them. However at a general level there are characteristics common to all or most of these areas. They have high birth rates, high infant mortality rates, and high morbidity rates. Life levels per head tend to be low; the majority of the population are occupied in agriculture, often mainly or partly for subsistence; the level of industrialization is low; and there is inadequate infrastructure for either urban or rural-based development. The ratio of people to social services such as hospital beds, doctors, nurses, teachers, primary and secondary schools etc. is very high. These are all characteristics which have already been stated to be prevalent in the "Third World" — and in some areas of the bantustans the levels of some indices are comparable to those found in the least developed countries of the world.

Some of these factors are illustrated in Table 1. These figures can be used as a guide only as continued removals, natural population growth and adjustment of bantustan areas will affect them.

The difference between per capita national income and GDP illustrates an important feature of the bantustans' economies: the dependence upon migrant and commuter incomes earned outside the bantustans. The per capita GDP figures alone are low enough to classify the bantustans as some of the poorest areas of the world and clearly indicate the poverty faced by those with no or limited access to external income. Where this is combined with landlessness and unemployment (as in the closer settlements) the situation becomes desperate. For instance an entire family in Sata have been recorded as existing on a pension of R60 (€28) a quarter, which was delayed for 18 months after their arrival (Green and Hirsch, 1983, p59).

Income levels vary amongst the different bantustans and also amongst those in individual bantustans. Several studies have indicated that the majority of families live below the poverty datum line (see FAO, 1982, p33). One such estimate for the Transkei in 1975 was that 85% of households had incomes below the PDL.

Despite the lack of official data on African mortality rates there are many empirical sources based largely on the observations of private hospitals, which indicate the impact of the general level of poverty (see Rogers, 1961, p46). Reported infant mortality rates of over 200 per 1000 live births are not uncommon, often directly or indirectly caused by malnutrition. Diseases such as pellagira, rickets, kwashioror and marasmus are often present (FAO, op cit, p69; Reid, 1981, Table 6.11) whilst tuberculosis has been estimated to affect 10-20% of the bantustans population (Anderson, 1979, cited in FAO, op cit).

The average levels of income, and general social indices for the rest of South Africa (ie. "white economic space") are much higher than those for the bantustans. Such average figures are largely meaningless given the differences existing between the standard of living for the whites and those for so-called "Coloureds", Asians and Africans. However the standard of living of South African whites is clearly comparable to that enjoyed in the "First World" (see Table 3).

There are also many differences between general economic patterns found in the bantustans and those characteristic of the rest of South Africa. The latter displays high levels of urbanization and a modern transport and communications infrastructure. The manufacturing sector is an important component of overall production and employment; energy consumption levels are high, and the agricultural sector is highly productive and fully monetized. These are just some factors which are characteristic of the "First World" economies and clearly different from the characteristics of the bantustans.

This brief description of differences between the bantustans and the rest of South Africa shows that there are basic spatial dichotomies in national space. However at an analytical level there can be no suggestion that South Africa has a dual economy: on the contrary these patterns are the result of economic and political processes operating throughout the country as a whole. The ideology of apartheid and the policies implemented under it are reflections of these processes.
### Table 1: Socio-economic indices for the Bantustans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bantustan</th>
<th>Area (ha) 1977 ('000s)</th>
<th>de facto African popn. 1980 ('000s)</th>
<th>Popn. density /km² 1980*</th>
<th>Staple food prodn. as % reqts. 1970</th>
<th>Popn. per doctor 1975</th>
<th>% total output from:</th>
<th>National income/ GDP/hd (R) 1975</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>subsistence activities</td>
<td>manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bophutatswana</td>
<td>3820</td>
<td>1286</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>46.0%</td>
<td>38,443</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciskei</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>83.6</td>
<td>13.56%</td>
<td>29,088</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>20.83%</td>
<td>18,284</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KaNgwane</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>44.18%</td>
<td>6,200</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaNdebele</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>250*</td>
<td>333.0*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>3139</td>
<td>3179</td>
<td>101.2</td>
<td>13.86%</td>
<td>85,938</td>
<td>35.1%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebowa</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td>1658</td>
<td>75.4</td>
<td>26.63%</td>
<td>20,079</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QwaQwa</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>17.42%</td>
<td>6,175</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>4277</td>
<td>2622</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>21,366</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>24,045</td>
<td>42.8%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Based on 1977 areas.  
b 1981 estimate (KwaNdebele not designated until mid 1970s)  
c Low % for subsistence activities due to relatively high output of mining sector in Bophutatswana & Lebowa, although 48% + 67% local workforce respectively employed in agriculture 1970 (Nattrass, 1981, p199)  

### Bantustans as Labour reserves

The 1913 Native Land Act and the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act essentially demarcated the areas in South Africa which make up the bantustans today. Such territorial segregation created the framework for the control of African labour in and out of ‘white economic space’, which has facilitated the development of the capitalist economy. Although the African agriculture sector had once been competitive, by 1913 its underdevelopment was well established (see Bundy, 1982). By imposing severe restrictions on land available for farming, the 1913 Act ensured that the native reserves became ‘labour reserves’ (Magubane, 1975; Legassick and Wolpe, op cit). The inability of these areas to support the needs of their populations meant that a supply of migrant labour was assured; whilst simultaneously the reserves provided a base for the migrants’ families, as they were not allowed to accompany them. This meant that the migrant’s wages could be reduced to the level necessary to maintain only one individual during the period of employment thus allowing higher profit levels. The reserves had to bear the cost of the reproduction of labour, as well as the maintenance of migrant workers when not employed.

The advantages of such a system to the white economy are clear. However the introduction and strict implementation of the panoply of influx controls and pass laws which enabled the re-fineament of the system was only gradual, allowing the continued permanent settlement of many Africans in white economic space. Many of the policies introduced since 1948 have served to restrict this process, and Table 2 illustrates how a growing proportion of the total African population is restricted to the homelands. Over half were resident there in 1960, compared to under two-fifths in 1960. Between 1970 and 1980 the bantustan population increased by 59% compared to a 13% increase in the African population in “white” urban areas. This reflects natural increase and the relocation of three million people to the homelands between 1960 and 1980.

Prevailing levels of technology and investment meant that the 1913 reserves were unable to support the resident population then. The 1930-32 Native Economic Commission reported appalling overcrowding, as did the 1954 Tomlinson Commission, after the addition of some of the 1936 quota land. Indeed the reserves were not originally designed or intended to be national territorial bases for the whole African population, as discussed above. This concept was only introduced in the apartheid era (post 1948). Since then African political rights have been confined to these specific areas. In line with ideological objectives this has excluded Africans (to the satisfaction of the white state) from political claims in ‘white space’.

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**All Bantu persons in the white area, whether they were born there or not, remain members of their respective nations. In other words, the fact that they work here does not make them members of the white nation — they remain Zulu, Tswana, Venda and so on. The basis on which the Bantu is present in the white area is to sell their labour here and for nothing else... (The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, in August 1976).**

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**What hurts is being driven like an animal out of your own home town. I was born in Johannesburg and proud of it. Now they tell me I'm a citizen of an up-country state called Qwa-Qwa — I've never ever seen the bloody place. (A taxi driver speaking to a reporter from the Sovietan newspaper in February 1981).**
Low Tax Base

Given the lack of investment in the bantustans over the decades to provide sufficient alternatives to agricultural employment, and the massive population increases it is inevitable that they remain desperately poor and dependent and display "Third World" characteristics. The tax base of local governments is too low for self-generated internal development, and most government revenues come from money voted by the white Parliament. As population densities increase the agricultural sector can only further deteriorate (see Table 1). Average densities are only an indication as, for example, densities of over 3000/km² of arable land have been estimated for parts of KwaZulu (Rogers, 1980, p.48). The degree of absenteeism, particularly of young able-bodied men, which is both cause and effect of agricultural underdevelopment, is increasing in the Transkei the numbers of male migrant labourers increased by 50% from 1975-77, and the agricultural male labour force dropped from 30% to 20% of economically active men.

Bantustan Urbanization

The characterization of the bantustans as "Third World" however is a matter of descriptive convenience, as their plight is the result of a unique set of historical circumstances. Their imbalanced sex ratios and very high dependency rates are clearly not "Third World" characteristics as a whole, but are caused by the migrant labour system. Contemporary problems such as rapid urbanization and population growth are partly rooted in the removals policies, Bantustan urbanization was extremely low in the 1960s at 1.2%, but had increased to 17.1% by 1980, the rate of increase being an extraordinary 32% per year from 1960 to 1970. Smit and Booyzen, 1977). A whole variety of factors have influenced this, including the border industries policy. This has attempted to decentralize concentrations of black employment away from major metropolitan areas in "white economic space" by encouraging industrialization in areas bordering or near the bantustans (i.e. Rosslyn, Newcastle, Rustenburg, Potgietersrust, Hammarsdale). This allows employees to reside within the bantustans (see Rogers, 1982). One result of this has been the massive increase in commuters from 230,500 in 1970 to 719,500 in 1979 (Smit, Olvier, and Booyzen, 1982 p103). Another is a spatial pattern of urbanization often characterized by large peripheral towns. The designation of internal bantustan growth points such as Babiselogy, Isihehe, Umbatsi or Butterworth, has had much less impact, although it has also contributed to urbanization. The processes involved in creating both the spatial patterns and rate of urbanization are also often not characteristic of the "Third World". For instance the border towns inside the bantustans (i.e. Mdantsane, Seshgo, Umlazi, KwaMashu) are located according to external employment opportunities and function almost entirely as dormitory towns with massive leakage of consumption expenditure to adjacent white areas.

Resettlement Camps

Mention must also be made of the distinctive and crucial phenomenon of closer settlements, or resettlement camps (i.e. Sadd, Limehill, Onverwacht). These areas, estimated to hold up to one-third of the bantustan's population in 1982 (IDAf, 1982) are designated for the settlement of some of those affected by removals, and have been growing at phenomenal rates. Conditions within them almost defy description (but see Desmond, 1971; Green and Hirsch, op cit. Rogerson and Leitso, 1981). Their location is somewhat haphazard as they are entirely artificial creations upon which are unclassifiable as truly rural or urban, since the population has access to neither sufficient land, nor any alternative form of employment. Their inhabitants must rely on migrants' remittances, pensions or charity, and they clearly represent a unique characteristic of the Bantustans.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td>1960</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;White Space&quot;</td>
<td>60%</td>
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<tr>
<td>of which:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) metropolitan areas</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) other urban</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii) rural</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bantustans</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: based upon data in Simkins, 1981

Transport Patterns

Another important departure from general "Third World" characteristics relate to the role of transport. In the Third World road and railway patterns often reflect the need to export primary products and are a focus for urban development. Also capital cities in Third World countries - particularly those which were once colonies of Europe - frequently dominate the urban system and are often ports. These factors are largely irrelevant in the context of the bantustans. They are mainly landlocked, major transport routes usually bypass them, internal transport has not been developed for the export of primary products because they are located where there are few natural resources, therefore this is not important to their economies; and capital cities are recent and artificial creations.
Unequal distribution of Resources

Although the above is by no means an exhaustive analysis, it does indicate the difficulties of simple categorisation of areas in space within the cities in terms of "First World" and "Third World". However, resources in the South African city are very unequally distributed in favour of the whites and to the disadvantage of other groups. Clearly this results in both absolute and relative material deprivation for many Black, Asian and "Coloured" people, as well as political and social disadvantage. The data in Table 3 is a useful surrogate for socio-economic conditions for urbanised Asians and "Coloureds" as these groups are highly urbanized. Many studies have produced similar empirical evidence. For example around one-fifth of under two-year-olds in a random sample in Soweto in 1975 showed evidence of malnutrition in the terms of their weight to age ratio, whilst older children were even more seriously affected. Nine per cent of under ones in a sample of African children in Durban displayed similar characteristics (Reid, 1961, Table 6.11). Cobbett estimates that perhaps as many as half of the households in Chatsworth (an Indian township in Durban) have incomes too low to buy sufficient food and other essentials (Cobbett, 1982, p191). In Cape Town about a quarter of the Coloured population are living in squatter settlements (Western, 1982, p279).

Manipulation of Spatial Relations

The disadvantaged position of these groups has been caused by the mass of barriers and restrictions imposed on their access to economic and political power, in line with the aims of the South African state. Since the imposition of the Group Areas Act the pattern of differences between the white population and other groups has become much more clearly defined. A certain amount of 'natural' segregation of "racial" groups occurred before, due to economic, social and historical forces (Western, op cit). Segregation of Black people was also largely catered for under previous legislation. However the Group Areas Act imposed a new frame-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>African Population (000s)</th>
<th>Race Group Population (000s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>20,863</td>
<td>2,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% total population 1980</td>
<td>72.5%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% national income 1977</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average monthly wages (1981) in:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manufacturing</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mining</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infant deaths/1000 live births 1980</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB cases/100,000 (1979)</td>
<td>779.9</td>
<td>185.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher:pupil ratio (1962)</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure/school pupil 1980/81 (R)</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population services ratio Jo'burg (1976)</td>
<td>1.8661</td>
<td>1.3681</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Various

"Modifying the racial division of labour in a way which allows more blacks to be drawn in to such [mental and supervisory] places has, become... a major imperative in the struggle to maintain and restore profitability"

Davies, 1979, p 189

"[apartheid]...can best be understood as the mechanism specific to South Africa...of maintaining a high rate of capitalist exploitation through a system which guarantees a cheap and controlled labour force"

Wolpe, 1972, p 433

"Third World" and "First World" in the cities

The segregation of the "races" in the cities of 'white South Africa' has also produced distinctive dislocations in the spatial patterns of many variables. Any map illustrating patterns of, for example, income level per household; per capita provision of doctors, hospital beds of education facilities; car ownership; the incidence of malnutrition or infant mortality rates; and basic housing standards (in terms of space and facilities available per head) would tend to show sharp differences between white residential areas, "Coloured" and Asian areas, and Black townships. The first would emulate the levels of the "First World"; the last would be more similar to the profile of some "Third World" cities, whilst the middle category would occupy an intermediate position.

The situation in these cities however is far too complex to allow a simple division into First and Third World. There are too many different groups existing under different conditions according to their legal and "racial" status. These include the white population; the "Coloured" and Asian population whose freedom of residential location and economic and social status has been severely undermined since the Group Areas Act of 1950; permanent urban Africans with Section 10 rights; contract African labourers; and "illegal" Africans. In terms of people's access to material and social basic needs there is variation both within and between these groups (except the whites), according not only to income but also to their access to different types of housing. Those allocated family housing in the racially and ethnically segregated townships may have certain material and social needs met, although overcrowding is widespread and the level of facilities varies between townships. Physical conditions in single-sex hostels or compounds are also very variable, but social deprivation is very high. There are also hundreds of thousands of Africans, "coloureds" and Asians living in squatter settlements around the cities, demonstrating the failure of the white state to expand housing stocks for these groups sufficiently, as well as deliberate restrictions on Black housing in 'white space'. For Black people, such settlements provide space for those infringing the pass laws, and also for those who have chosen to opt out of the formal housing sector in order to live with their families 'illegally' (see Maasdorp, 1982; Silk, 1981; NUSAS, 1978). Other problems occur in terms of economic characteristics and roles. Many of the "Coloured", Asian and African economically active are fully proletarianized, yet there is a substantial and growing informal sector (Beavan and Rogerson, 1982; Dewar and Watton, 1981; Maasdorp, 1982; Rogerson and Beavn, 1980). The economy's growing need for a skilled and stable labour force has led to a floating of the job colour bar. This is allowing greater access to higher income jobs for some "Coloureds" and Asians, and may also improve the opportunities for a small proportion of Africans (Davies, 1979).
work upon the South African city. Apart from totally segregated residential areas, the use of buffer zones (such as railway lines, or industrial areas) between group areas and the creation of spatially separate and radically distinctive CBDs are significant departures from the general pattern of Western capitalist cities. According to Davies:

"the structuring of the Apartheid City has achieved near absolute segregation and the core-periphery relationships between population groups has been intensified." (Davies, 1982, p.71)

Thus the operation of apartheid ideology in the cities has deliberately manipulated spatial relationships to achieve its aims. Furthermore, the dominance-dependency relationship characteristic of First World-Third World interaction is paralleled by the relationship between the white areas of the city and the Black, Asian and "Coloured" areas.

Conclusion

In South Africa the segregation of "racial" groups in macro-space (the "bantustans" versus the rest of South Africa) and micro-space (in the cities) provides a framework for the analysis of other spatial patterns. These patterns not only mirror the operation of apartheid ideology but also serve to reinforce and maintain the economic, political and social systems of the system. In the context of the impact of the Group Areas Act in Cape Town, Western has shown how human social relations can be space contingent because not effective domination was achieved by the deliberate reformulation of race/space patterns. (Western, op. cit.) This is also true of South Africa as a whole, where the allocation of certain groups to restricted areas perpetuates their economic and social and political "place" in the context of the aims of apartheid.

Footnotes

1. A number of factors are involved in determining this level; there is the obvious issue of the level of demand for Black labour within white economic space which will vary according to the pace and structure of economic growth. Other factors include the use of foreign migrant labour; the application of job restrictions by "race"; the number of people with Section 10 rights (and whether eligible contract workers will be granted these rights [see Focus, 1983 p8]); the degree of internal and external opposition to further removals; housing and transport policies adopted; the nature and implementation of influx controls; and, arguably, political constraints on further relocation (e.g. in OvaOva).

2. This decentralization is also legislated for by measures such as strict ratios on black employment on the Rand, and the designation of areas west of the Eeemle Line (see map 1) as a coloured labour preference area where the use of African labour is restricted.

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South Africa and the global capitalist economy

Carol Brickley

In order to understand why the apartheid system continues in South Africa and, despite appearances, is becoming more and more entrenched, we have to look at its relation to the international capitalist system. This article examines the role which foreign investment has traditionally played in sustaining apartheid and it explores the links between transnational companies and Western governments in the maintenance of institutionalised racism in South Africa.

In September 1975, the South African Embassy placed an advert in The Banker spelling out the advantages of investment in apartheid:

"In 1974 the average American company enjoyed a return of 19.4% on its investment in South Africa. The leading US Business Environment Risk Index rated South Africa among the top ten investment markets in the world. Whilst in a recent survey amongst a thousand top British industrialists South Africa was voted the best investment country in the world. Why not investigate South Africa for yourself?"

Despite the verbal recognition by most governments and states in the western industrialised countries that the apartheid system is barbaric and inhuman, foreign investment continues to grow. Britain's total investment in South Africa is estimated at £11 billion, rising by £300 million per year. Total United States investment is £10 billion and probably rising even faster. There is probably no pension fund, unit trust, building society or insurance company in Britain which does not invest in South Africa. And the reason why is simply a matter of profit: in 1980 the return on direct British investment was 18% average compared with 10% elsewhere in the world. In 1983 the figures were 21% and 9% respectively. The United States reaps even more superprofits: in 1979 their returns were 26% from South Africa and 18.4% elsewhere.

Companies which invest in and trade with South Africa often justify their continuing and growing investment on the grounds that this involvement is a force for change. This argument was reflected in the political sphere early in 1984 when Mrs Thatcher justified Prime Minister (now President) PW Botha's visit to Britain on the grounds that Britain would only be able to exert influence for the reform of the apartheid system if this dialogue took place. In fact the talks were intended to rehabilitate Botha (and, thereby, apartheid) in the eyes of the world. The European talks were also the prelude to one of the most bloody periods of state repression in South Africa's history. The arguments used to justify investment, dialogue or indeed any relations with the apartheid regime, in fact stand reality on its head. British and other foreign investment in South Africa, and the political dealings which flow from them, have never challenged apartheid to the slightest degree. In fact they sustain the apartheid system and are at the very root of its existence.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF APARTHEID

British investments in South Africa have been a major source of prosperity in Britain for over 100 years. Britain was first attracted to South Africa by its vast mineral wealth, particularly in gold and diamonds. At a time when Britain's monopoly of the world market was being challenged by the growth of industry in West Germany and the United States in particular, capturing new lands and markets was of prime importance. Such imperialist expansion served a major political function. The economic crisis in Britain would erupt in social and political unrest which had to be staved off. Cecil Rhodes, facing the certainty of unrest in Britain in the 1890s, expressed the solution to the challenge to Britain's monopoly of the world market very precisely.

"My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, ie in order to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen, must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced by them in the factories and the mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists."

It was with such precise ideas, that British imperialists justified the plunder of the world and the enslavement of millions of black people. The racist South African state was nurtured into existence by Britain and the British were instrumental in drawing up the racist laws to be used against the black people of South Africa. And it was the drive for profits which motivated the introduction of a whole apparatus of repressive laws against black people and the denial of any democratic rights whatsoever.

South Africa's vast and diverse mineral wealth is the foundation stone of the apartheid economy and diamonds and particularly gold were the minerals which attracted foreign investment to South Africa in the late nineteenth century. In the years 1870-1910 British investments in South Africa grew from £16 million to £350 million. Gold is still by far South Africa's most important mineral - in 1983 it accounted for 63% of the country's total mineral production and it provided 45% of export earnings.
Foreign investment in the gold mines came chiefly through the London stock exchange and the money markets of London, New York and Europe. The development of the gold mining industry in the late 19th century led to rapid industrialisation in the region and a massive inflow of foreign capital. It was the mineworkers' and white settlers' demands for cheap labour in the mines and on the farms to raise the Afrikaner farmers above the level of subsistence, which established the system of migrant labour, led to the system of taxes which deprived African people of their land, and denied them any democratic rights whatsoever. In the mines, profits could only be made if there was adequate supply of cheap labour.

The growth of manufacturing industry

If mining was the foundation of the first phase of industrialisation in South Africa at the turn of the century, it is undoubtedly the case that manufacturing industry has been the key to economic growth in the post World War II period. Once again foreign investment has played a major part and the growth of the manufacturing sector has been fuelled by the immense wealth of the mining conglomerates, themselves backed by foreign capital and finance. Manufacturing has become the single most important sector in the economy, contributing 23% of gross domestic product in 1983 compared with just over 16% in 1960. The volume of manufacturing production grew at an average rate of 8.5% a year in the 1960s and around 3% annually from 1970-1990.

### Principal UK exports to South Africa 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1983/82 £m</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>1982 £m</th>
<th>% share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Road vehicles</td>
<td>139.2</td>
<td>-9.9</td>
<td>154.5</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialised machinery</td>
<td>91.8</td>
<td>-20.5</td>
<td>114.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalised industrial machinery</td>
<td>83.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office and data processing equip.</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical machinery</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power generating machinery</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>-27.5</td>
<td>83.1</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous manufactured articles</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artificial reas and plastics</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organic chemical</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beverages</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total including others</strong></td>
<td><strong>1109.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>-7.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>1180.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>85.6</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Principal UK imports from South Africa 1983

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1983/82 £m</th>
<th>% change</th>
<th>1982 £m</th>
<th>% share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metal ores and metal scrap</td>
<td>255.0</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>198.1</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable and fruit</td>
<td>112.4</td>
<td>-6.1</td>
<td>120.2</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-ferrous metals</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>-53.1</td>
<td>94.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon-metallic mineral manufactures</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulp and waste paper</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>-10.1</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile Fibres</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron and steel</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>-11.9</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road vehicles</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>68.3</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile yarn, fibre and articles</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing and accessories</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total, including others</strong></td>
<td><strong>764.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>742.2</strong></td>
<td><strong>11.3</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### British shackles find their victims

The British government has failed to give an outright assurance that British-made leg irons and shackles will not be exported to the South African regime, despite the fact that the human rights abuses are well known. The Department of Trade and Industry Secretary, Norman Tebbit, said this in response to the question of whether the government would take steps to prevent British companies from exporting iron and shackles to repressive foreign regimes. There was no outright ban, however. Instead, leg iron, shackles and hand cuffs and gang chains would not be exported unless they were requested by the South African regime.

The Birmingham-based company, which manufactures leg irons and shackles for export, Hirst & Co., was featured in a BBC TV programme at the beginning of February. Hirst has been "informed" on several occasions in the past and queries have been asked in Parliament, but the firm appears to have continued.

Leg irons were used by Ian Smith's illegal forces in Rhodesia. A pair of them, clearly marked "Hirst", was presented to an international commission of inquiry in 1976 by members of the Zimbabwe liberation movement.

Leg irons are regularly used today by South Africa on some ANC activists. In a recent raid the ANC activists on the United Democratic Front, were equipped with leg irons. Former ANC leader, Jerry Nokwele, was attached to the leg irons and was repeatedly checked.

In the BBC film, South Africans trade unionser Simon Putman, now living in exile in Britain, explained how he was shackled during the detention and torture at the hands of the police. Shackles were attached to the leg irons and he was repeatedly checked.

According to the Daily Telegraph, the DSI has "so far been unable to establish that any British firm is actually engaged in the torture equipment business.

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**Anti-Apartheid News March 1984**
THE ROLE OF TRANSNATIONAL COMPANIES

More than 2,000 foreign companies operate in South Africa and some 65 of these are identifiable transnational companies. The majority of companies of origin are the USA (22), Britain (19) and West Germany (11). These companies play a dominant role in key sectors of the economy – heavy engineering and capital goods, mining, motor vehicles, agro-business and transport, and in the electronics, computer and communications sectors. Most significantly they are also heavily involved in the energy industry – oil from coal (South Africa has no natural oil supply of its own) petro-chemicals and nuclear energy.

The attraction of South Africa for foreign companies remains the same – high profits. It is estimated that about a quarter of the economically active population of South Africa are dependent for their work on foreign companies, and the vast majority of these workers are black. There are four main factors which ensure that South Africa remains a prime area for the extraction of super profits:

1. The availability of raw materials. For instance South African steel is amongst the cheapest in the world because of the proximity and availability of raw materials produced by cheap labour.

2. Cheap labour. Labour costs have always been kept at an absolute minimum. In 1972 it was estimated that 79% of black workers lived below the poverty datum line. Inflation has worsened the position of most workers since then, despite wage rises fought for through industrial strikes.

3. The control of labour. The South African state controls, through a system of laws and rules, all aspects of the supply of labour. These laws, directed at the black workers, ensure that the supply of cheap labour, with few trade union rights and no political rights, and surplus appendages – like children, the old and the sick, are transported to the Bantustans and deprived of citizenship. Unemployment, now over 3 million, is hidden by depriving black workers of their citizenship. Further, the state makes sure, through its police force and army that any unrest, industrial or social, is swiftly repressed. All this reduces the system of exploitation to its most barbaric form and this guarantees the maximum profits.

Despite developments in this field, South Africa has remained reliant on foreign intervention for the supply of capital goods. In 1975 50% of machinery needed in the domestic sales sector was imported. Similarly the transfer of technology from western industrialised countries has been decisive. This has been particularly the case in both the computer, arms and nuclear fields. In this respect the United Nations arms embargo has had little effect in crucial areas. Whilst it is 'illegal' to export arms to South Africa, nothing stops the British government from allowing GEC Marconi, for instance, to supply advanced communications and radar systems which can be used for military purposes to wage war on Angola and other Frontline states.

PROFITS FOR THE BANKS

Foreign banking activities are as decisive in the maintenance of apartheid as direct investment. Again Britain and the USA have total dominance in this field.

Barclays and Standard banks control two thirds of all banking deposits in Southern Africa – they are the two largest banks in South Africa and Namibia. In April 1984, Barclays announced an increase of its pre-tax profits of 12.5% to £657 million. This was after it had increased its bad debt provision to £475 million. Barclays increased its profits in South Africa alone by 51% – £40 million. Barclays total assets in South Africa by the end of 1983 were over £3.3 billion. Profits have doubled in the last four years. It is worth remembering that Barclays does nothing to produce these profits – no goods are produced, it is a purely parasitic process which depends on the labour of black people.

The banks have also played a decisive role in shoring up the South African economy in times of crisis. After periods of crisis, like Sharpeville and Soweto, when direct investment has begun to pull out in fear of social unrest, British and US banks have collaborated to offer loans to the South African regime. These loans have become increasingly important in the 1980s. In 1983 and the first part of 1984 35 loans were made to South Africa totalling almost £1.5 billion. British-based banks were closely involved in originating 12 of these loans amounting to 50% of the total involved. The main banks arranging these loans were Barclays, Hill Samuel and Standard. South Africa's foreign debt now stands at £14 billion with enormous loans made available by the International Monetary Fund. South Africa's borrowing facility has increased from R900 million in 1981 to R3,000 million in 1984.

Such vast loan facilities represent the stake which western governments have in the continued existence of apartheid. With international banking now in a period of crisis with many countries, in particular in Central and South America, unable to pay the interest on their loans, the IMF (controlled by the leading western countries) and the banks are certain to prop up the apartheid system which guarantees such large profits. They also have no hesitation in continuing to pour money into the system.
Despite repeated resolutions of the General Assembly [United Nations], adopted by overwhelming majorities, banks and financial institutions in the Western countries – particularly the United Kingdom, Switzerland, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States of America – have provided no less than 2,756 million dollars in loans to the apartheid regime of South Africa, the parasitical corporations of the regime, and South African companies, since the beginning on 1973.10

BOYCOTT APARTHEID

The leading investors in apartheid, both banks and companies justify their continued stake in apartheid as ‘constructive engagement’ – that their continued presence ensures a better deal for black workers than they would otherwise have, and leaves the door open for pressure on the regime to abandon its racist policies. Barclays, for instance, has produced briefing packs assuring its customers and shareholders that it is a progressive force in South Africa, and that it has a non-racial policy in employment. Yet there is not the slightest degree of evidence that any of these banks or companies has made one jot of difference to the apartheid system. On the contrary, apartheid is now far more deeply entrenched than ever before. Despite various codes of conduct adopted by bodies such as the EEC, the plight of black workers in South Africa remains the same, indeed it has worsened. Over the last 20 years, while these companies and banks have reaped their profits from black people, more than 3 million people have been transported to Bantustans. Thousands of people demonstrating for the most basic human and democratic rights have been shot down in the streets by the South African police, trade unionists and anti-apartheid activists have been tortured and detained without trial. Any observer would be forced to conclude that ‘codes of conduct’ and protestations of ‘reforming influence’ exist only to clean up the public image of those who invest in South Africa, and cover up their main reason for involvement – easy profits.

It is the profit motive also which guides the policies of Western governments. Knowing that so much of their own economic stability is bound up with the future of apartheid (just as it was in the days of Cecil Rhodes), the British and US governments in particular continually veto or abstain on motions in the United Nations which condemn apartheid. The British government also turns a blind eye to arms smuggling, sanctions busting, and the activities of the South African embassy in Britain which is regularly involved in spying, smuggling and dirty propaganda.10

This is also the reason behind the attempts in 1984 to rehabilitate the apartheid regime and welcome it back into the fold of imperialist nations. Both Reagan and Thatcher have been fully behind PW Botha's war against the Frontline States and the new phoney constitution which was supposed to reform apartheid, but which, in reality, reaffirmed the oppression of black people. Even when the black population of South Africa was out on the streets expressing its total rejection of the constitutional elections in August 1984, Britain was justifying its pernicious role at the United Nations on the grounds that 'it was too early to judge' the effect of the constitutional proposals.

CONCLUSION

This brief review of foreign investment in South Africa shows that the governments of Western nations, the banks and transnational companies are totally implicated in the continued existence of apartheid. Both the British state and British companies were instrumental in the introduction of the paraphernalia of apartheid in the first part of this century, and they, along with the banks, have continued to sustain the regime through all its crises. They all engage in hypocritical propaganda to hide their real reasons for refusing either to withdraw their investments or support the boycott of South African goods – the thirst for profits.

It is therefore no mystery why progressive forces and the liberation movements in Southern Africa have consistently called for the total isolation of the apartheid regime. The reality for black people in South Africa, and indeed the whole region, is that they have to destroy not only the most viciously repressive racist regime in the world, but also its alliance with Western imperialist states. After more than a hundred years of struggle against colonialism and imperialism, the black people of South Africa have every right to expect that progressive forces in the Western nations should now campaign for that complete boycott.

Footnotes

1 Lloyds Bank Economic Report 1984, The Republic of South Africa. Readers should note that all published figures on trade with South Africa are usually underestimated.
6 African Communist No99 fourth quarter 1984, Article by T. Singh updating a paper presented by the African National Congress to a congress of third world economists in Havana, 1981.
7 'End Loans to South Africa', article by David Haslam in Anti-Apartheid News November 1984. The Rev David Haslam is secretary of ELTSA which can be contacted c/o 467a Caledonian Road, London N7.
9 Currently eight leading members of the United Democratic Front and the Transvaal Indian Congress face trial for treason because of their involvement in the boycott of the constitutional elections in August 1984. It is estimated that more than a thousand people died during the unrest in the townships around Johannesburg following the elections and more than 3,000 people are being held in detention without trial. Further a number of trade unionists are charged with economic subversion which carries a 25 year sentence, for organising a successful 2-day stay-away strike in November 1984.
10 The most recent and notorious case illustrates this point, Four South Africans charged with arms smuggling were granted bail by a British High Court and were allowed to return to South Africa in the spring of 1984. Bail was provided by the South African Embassy in London. In October 1984 the South African government announced that they would not be returning to Britain for trial because of Britain's role in the Durban consulate occupation.
The Nature of Apartheid

We are grateful to the World Health Organisation for permission to present this paper, which was a report to the 1981 International Conference on Apartheid and Health, held at Brazzaville, People’s Republic of the Congo.

This paper explains how institutionalised racism operates to maintain inequalities in wealth, health and welfare in South Africa. It examines the way that language is used to obscure understanding of the apartheid system. It is by this means that the South African Authorities attempt to present the country’s economy in a favourable light to the rest of the world. Through an examination of the impoverishment of the Bantu peoples, the notion of independence is exposed as a myth designed to distort an understanding of the way that the country’s economy works. The population of the Bantu peoples forms an industrial reserve army which sustains the South African capitalist economy. Service contracts, the pass laws and the ideological state apparatus are used to maintain structural inequalities in the country. It must be remembered, however, that the South African economy is an integral part of the global capitalist economy.

South Africa is a racially stratified society, marked by extreme inequalities of power and wealth. Underlying the institutions of apartheid is the exclusion of blacks from any share in political power or economic control in the interest of the white minority. A complex network of laws sustains a hierarchical structure of discrimination, exploitation and deprivation, in which coloureds and Indians form oppressed minorities in relation to whites, but have considerable privileges in relation to Africans. Central to the functioning of apartheid is a migrant labour system based on the division of South Africa into two sectors: a so-called “common” or “white” area, and Bantustans, comprising 19% of the land. These forms impoverished labour reserves for the white economy. Despite frequent statements that apartheid is dying, the central institutions of exploitation remain intact.

Apartheid

To the casual outsider, South Africa is, in the words of the journalist Alan Drury, “a very strange society” (I), a society dominated by a Gobineau-like racial fantasy given practical effect. In the words of sociologists and economists, it is a racially stratified society, marked by inequalities of power and wealth more extreme than in almost any other country. In South Africa, some 70% of the population (African) receive about 20% of the total income, and 17% of the population (white) receives nearly 70% of the income. The division coincides directly with the racial classification of the population, and has remained remarkably constant both over the years and as between different estimators using slightly different procedures (2) (see Table 1).

The simple but unalterable fact of colour dominates every facet of life. Each individual in the Republic of South Africa must carry an identity card on which he or she is classified as “European” (i.e., Caucasian), “Bantu” (i.e., negroid, Bantu-speaking African), “Coloured” (i.e. of mixed descent), or “Asian” (usually Indian). And how people are classified determines where they live; what education they receive and what work they are able to do; how much money they earn; whether they may marry, where their dependents live; whether they have any political rights and where they may exercise them; the colour of a person’s skin and “racial classification” may even determine which ambulance picks them up when they are ill, to which hospital they will be taken, and where they will be buried when they die. This is the outward face of apartheid, a term which can be defined as the laws and customs which maintain a system of extreme socio-economic and political exploitation in the interests of a minority of just over 4 million whites over about 22 million blacks. Inequality of this magnitude is only made possible through the operation of a highly authoritarian state which exercises massive control over the lives of the majority of its inhabitants.

For strangers to South Africa it is the symbolic notion, “Slegs virBlankes” (“For Whites Only”) a manifestation of the overtly racist laws—which first catches the eye. Yet the critical constituents of apartheid lie elsewhere. Indeed, under foreign pressure and in the face of the rising tide of black militancy, together with the changing demands of the economy, there are numerous indications that the Government is prepared to jettison many of the features of what has been called “petty apartheid”—segregation in sport and public places—and perhaps even the Immorality Act, which makes sexual relations between people of different race illegal, may be abandoned. There is no suggestion, however, that the central institutions of the apartheid state should be dismantled.

Institutionalised Racism

Underlying these institutions is the exclusion of blacks from any share in political power or economic control. While the dominant white group, drawn over the past three centuries from every part of Europe, is defined as the South African “nation” and enjoys all the benefits of political and economic privilege, all blacks are automatically deprived of South African citizenship. Regardless of where they were born, live or work, indigenous Africans whose ancestors have inhabited South Africa for nearly two millennia, are willfully given “citizenship” in tribally defined territories (3). Africans have had no say in the establishment of these areas, which are called “homelands” or “independent African states” in government parlance and which are referred to as “Bantu states” in this report. For the coloured and Asian population (4) the situation is little better. Although they are permitted to remain in segregated quarters in the so-called white or common areas, they do so virtually without political rights. Recent constitutional changes that would attempt to incorporate Asians and coloureds have been rejected by these communities.

A complex network of laws sustains a hierarchical structure of discrimination, exploitation and deprivation, in which coloureds and Asians form oppressed minorities in relation to whites. They have, however, considerable privileges in comparison to Africans. Crucially, they are not subject to the contract labour system with all that it means in terms of family destruction, police surveillance and constant harassment. The racial hierarchy is apparent on almost every social index: wages, education and disease patterns, with whites on top and Africans consistently at the bottom (see Tables 3 and 4). These gradations are generally explained as a result of culture and genetic differences. They are, however, largely a matter of legislative design which enables the Government to isolate and fragment the dominated groups. More recently the Government’s strategy has been directed at further dividing the black population internally not only into “ethnic” groups, but also between town and countryside, skilled and unskilled, through a further manipulation of law and privilege in an attempt to create a collaborative middle class and labour aristocracy.

12
Table 1. Distribution of population, land and disposable income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>African, coloured and Asian</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This includes 13% of land taken up by Bantustans.

Table 2. South Africa’s population, 1980*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>African, coloured and Asian</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>15 870 019</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>794 639</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
<td>2 554 039</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>4 453 273</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Excluding the Transkei, Venda, and Bophuthatswana, for which figures for mid-1980 were not available. In 1979 their combined population was 3 397 000.

Table 3. Wages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(£ average earnings (land) for the year 1980 (non-agricultural sectors, excluding private services of legal practitioners and earnings in kind)</td>
<td>7 627</td>
<td>2 458</td>
<td>3 280</td>
<td>1 831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(£ monthly Wages (land)</td>
<td>8 80</td>
<td>3 31</td>
<td>3 280</td>
<td>1 831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(£ mining (1979)</td>
<td>2 722</td>
<td>2 262</td>
<td>2 267</td>
<td>2 012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(£ retail and wholesale trade (land) (1980)</td>
<td>3 31</td>
<td>1 58</td>
<td>1 57</td>
<td>1 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(£ manufacturing (July 1980) (land)</td>
<td>9 837</td>
<td>9 37</td>
<td>9 27</td>
<td>8 19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(£ construction (July 1980)</td>
<td>3 77</td>
<td>2 77</td>
<td>2 67</td>
<td>2 01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(£ public authorities: central and provincial (July 1980)</td>
<td>9 84</td>
<td>9 66</td>
<td>9 56</td>
<td>9 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Migrant Labour and the Bantustans:
The myth of independence

Central to the contemporary functioning of apartheid is a migrant labour system based on the division of South Africa into two sectors. These are the so-called white areas, which comprise some 87% of the land and include all the major industrial and mining centres, and the so-called Bantu homelands or Bantustans, formerly known as native reserves, which comprise 13% of the land (see map). At one time the Bantustans had around 23% of the country’s agricultural potential (7). While Asians and coloureds live in the white areas, the African population has been divided into ten distinct “ethnic” groups, each of which has been “granted” its own separate Bantustan, and each of which is at a different stage of constitutional development. The latest government terminology for them all is “independent nations”—an independence which has neither material reality nor international recognition (8).

In exchange for enforced “citizenship” in the Bantustans, Africans forgo any rights in the common areas of South Africa, even if they own property there and work there all their lives. In these common areas, Africans are tolerated only as “units of labour”, ministering to the needs of whites although, with the exception of Pretoria, there is no so-called white area which actually has a majority of white inhabitants (see Table 3). Indeed, quite apart from the numbers of Africans perpetually oscillating between the Bantustans and the common areas, half of the African population lives permanently either on white-owned land or in the urban areas. Most have known no other “homeland”. In term of government philosophy, however, they are now defined as “foreigners” (9).

Notwithstanding the terminology of “separate development”, in the years of Nationalist rule since 1948 the number of Africans migrating to the towns and white-owned farms from the Bantustans has increased enormously. Thus at any one time between 60% and 80% of the economically active adult male population of the Bantustans is away from home (10) (see Table 6). In KwaZulu, for example, recent research shows that the number of migrants away from home on the census day increased most sharply between 1960 and 1970, just as the Bantustan policy was getting under way. By 1970 there were twice as many men aged 15-64 away from home as actually in the Bantustans. In certain regions as many as 8 out of 10 were away. Migrants from KwaZulu have been leaving at an increasingly early age, in larger numbers and for longer periods of time, and recently there has also been a steep rise in the number of women away. Whereas about 60% of the male labour force of KwaZulu is employed in white South Africa, the KwaZulu economy provides employment for about 12%; the rest are unemployable (12). Despite unprecedented economic growth between 1960 and 1970, the per capita income of the Bantustans has declined even when the remittances of absent wage-earners are taken into account. Over the past decade, the situation seems to have deteriorated further (12, 13).

Table 4. Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of GDP allocated to education (1979) (land)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amount (in millions) %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Per capita expenditure 1979-70 (land)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inc. capital expenditure 724.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excl. capital expenditure 840.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher: pupil ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coloured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Language of Apartheid

The system is buttressed by a racist ideology no less pervasive or dehumanizing for being couched today in terms of “pluralism” and separate “nations” and “national security”. Whereas in the past whites justified their privileged position in terms of their allegedly superior racial characteristics, today white racism has adapted to the times and has found euphemisms for its underlying tenets and purposes. The erstwhile Minister of Native Affairs has been transformed successively into the Minister of Bantu Affairs, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the Minister of Partial Affairs, and most recently the Minister of Co-operation and Development. Discrimination is justified by protagonists of apartheid in terms of the “developing” status of the black population (5), while the impoverished lands to which Africans are relegated are comfortingly termed “homelands”. Thus language insidiously shapes political thought and masks from even well-meaning outsiders the extent to which the ideology is still being used to preserve and legitimate white domination and privilege (6). Despite the play on words, the structures of exploitation remain intact.
The Impoverishment of Black Areas

Faced with these facts and figures, government spokesmen and apologists frequently agree that they are deplorable, but argue that they simply reflect the “backward” state of agriculture among Africans. Africans, they assert, should be grateful for the coming of the white man, who has provided employment in the white areas for the rapidly increasing rural black population.3 What this fails to take into account is the intrinsic connection between the development of the white areas and the impoverishment of the black areas. Many of the Bantustan areas which are the most impoverished today were producing agricultural surpluses in the past. From the late 19th century, African peasant production has been steadily undermined through the imposition of taxation to force Africans to work in the common areas and through state intervention in restricting African landholdings and implementing credit, railway and tariff policies which favoured white capitalist agriculture (15). Once the system of migrant labour was institutionalized, it became increasingly difficult to escape its consequences. The absence of males in the Bantustans reduces labour productivity and makes dependence on the earnings of the migrant even more important. A cycle of dependence is thus produced which ensures a cheap labour supply for the white areas (see, for example, reference 16).

While most observers agree that the reserves offer no basis for subsistence and that people are literally starving to death in the Bantustans, some 5 million Africans have been forcibly removed from the “common areas” under a variety of laws which render them rightless foreigners. Reports of vast population removals come from all over the area. About a million people have been removed to eliminate “black spots” (land occupied by Africans in the scheduled white domain) and under plans to consolidate the Bantustans on ethnic lines (17, 18). On top of this, the increased mechanization of farming has led to the accelerated eviction of African labour tenants, who are replaced by contract workers commuting from the overcrowded reserves (18). Until the 1960s about a third of the African population lived on white farms (often the same land their ancestors had occupied from time immemorial). This proportion has now been reduced to less than a fifth (19). Wages may have risen for the skilled and semi-skilled who have been left, but this can be little consolation for the hundreds of thousands who have been shifted to resettlement camps in the Bantustans, which have become a byword for disease, squalor and despair (17, 18).

The extent of the overcrowding can be appreciated through an example from the north-eastern Free State where the little Bantustan of Qwa Qwa has seen a staggering increase in its de facto population from 24 000 in 1970 to over 200 000 in 1980. As the total area of Qwa Qwa is 458 km², this gives a population density of well over 430 per km² (19). Although this is perhaps the most extreme example, there are similar pockets in the other Bantustans, such as Nqutu and Umsinga in KwaZulu and the Wilvereld in Bophuthatswana, where overcrowding has reached a critical level. Yet the removals go on. Although official plans have constantly reiterated the need to provide more industrial development in the Bantustans and on their borders, real development by the Government-sponsored investment corporations has been dramatically below what is required to provide employment for the population (20). Unemployment in the Bantustans was conservatively estimated at about half a million at the end of 1976; yet by 1975 only some 11 000 jobs had been created in the Bantustans outside of the Ciskei and the Transkei (21). Wage levels and work conditions within the Bantustans and in the “border industries” established on their fringes are considerably worse than in the rest of the Republic (22). In particular, restrictions on minimum wage levels and work safety regulations are relaxed.
Table 5. Population, by area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>White (%)</th>
<th>African (%)</th>
<th>Coloured/Indian (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johannesburg</td>
<td>1,432,643</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>1,209,597</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>56 (mainly coloured)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Rand</td>
<td>878,609</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>843,327</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>661,703</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Elizabeth</td>
<td>488,577</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaal Triangle</td>
<td>304,371</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Rand</td>
<td>421,018</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange Free State</td>
<td>304,018</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goldfields</td>
<td>208,891</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloemfontein</td>
<td>180,179</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potchefstroom</td>
<td>118,921</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>123,294</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>103,789</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: The Republic of South Africa: Forced relocations to Bantustans*

* *Note: Relocations in the Pretoria-Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban-Pietermaritzburg industrial areas are not shown.

Town Life

For Africans in towns, life is no more secure. Under section 10 of the Bantu Urban Area Act, only those Africans who had been born in a town, had worked at the same job continuously for 10 years or more, or who had lived in that town for 15 years, had any right to remain there and acquire even minimal land rights to property. Since 1969, Africans seeking employment in a town have often been allowed in on a contract basis, so that since then new migrants have been unable to acquire section 10 status. In 1979 the Wuchhun and Richers Commission suggested that the Government would be reconsidering the position of the "Section 10ers" (the more educated, skilled and semi-skilled workers as well as the teachers, clerks and small businessmen who constitute the urban élite or middle class) in an effort to fend off urban militancy and international criticism (9). This strategy, however, will hardly solve the problem of the majority of South Africa's inhabitants. Not only does it divide the African workforce more rigidly into skilled and unskilled, it also divides the African population into those with the right to live in towns and the dehumanized "foreigners", whose presence there depends on the permission of the authorities and the availability of work and housing. Those considered redundant to the needs of the white economy or, in the words of a minister, the "unproductive people... who because of old age, weak health or other reasons are unable to work", are simply sent back to the Bantustans (24).

The Industrial Reserve Army

The Bantustans are thus "reserves" in a very real sense. They are the site of South Africa's industrial reserve army of the unemployed, the very old and the very young who can be drawn into and thrown out of the economy according to its demands and at little immediate cost to whites (25). The ability to use the Bantustans in this way has become particularly important over the past decade, as farming and industry have become more capital-intensive and a large number of unskilled workers have become "superfluous" to the needs of the economy. The figure for African unemployment in the 1970s was estimated at between 1 and 2 million, between 15% and 30% of the work-force (26). Through the operation of racially structured labour laws, it is the African population which bears almost the total burden of the structural unemployment that these processes entail and the brunt of any recession. The Bantustans provide a way in which this surplus population can be dispersed and controlled. Through a complex system of pass laws, labour bureaux and call-back cards, the State ensures that there is "a delicate balance in the distribution of the African population. Those who are needed stay where they are needed, those who are not stay in the reserves ..." (27).

Service Contracts

In the Bantustans, Africans can only find employment by registering at labour bureaux, which allocate labour to different sectors of the economy: agriculture, mining or manufacturing. Once categorized, it is almost impossible for an African to change the sector in which he will work for the rest of his life. Contracts of service have hitherto been no longer than one year's duration, though in the face of the current shortage of semi-skilled and skilled labour, there are signs that they can now be lengthened to three. According to the Bantu Labour Regulations (Bantu Areas) Act, No. 74 of 1968, after the expiry of his contract, the worker has to return to the Bantustans (28). A variety of laws and practices and the inadequate provision of education and training have ensured that the vast majority of Africans have remained at best semi-skilled operatives who can, if necessary, be replaced at the end of their contract. In cases, however, where the employer has invested in the skills of a worker, he can be "recalled" and his contract renewed. Given the poverty and starvation in the Bantustans, and the minimal trade union rights which blacks have in towns, this system gives an enormous amount of power to the employer and ensures the continued cheapness of African labour. For even if he has worked at the same job for several years, the African's powerlessness and rightlessness persist. He remains, in the immobile official parlance, "permanently temporary" or "temporarily permanent".

The Pass Laws

Each year vast numbers seek to escape the starvation of the reserves by entering towns illegally, as is revealed by the numbers arrested annually under the pass laws, which govern African movement, residence and employment in the towns. In 1978 no fewer than 272,000 people were arrested under various influx control laws in the major urban areas (30). The fact that during 1975 only 39% of those prosecuted under the pass laws were actually convicted suggests the even wider purposes of control which these laws serve (31). The extent of this can best be appreciated when one considers that someone is arrested in South Africa every minute of the day and night under the pass laws. In addition, several hundred thousand Africans have fled from the impoverished Bantustans, or from resettlement camps, from areas destined for ethnic "reorganization", to establish huge illegal squatter camps on the edge of the job-giving towns. The people of such squalid camps as Werkgenot, Umbel and Crossroads on the outskirts of Cape Town live under the threat that their homes will be bulldozed and that they will be returned to the Bantustans (32). Nevertheless they fight to keep their families united and to eke out a livelihood in the face of constant harassment by the State.
Table 6. Bantu race populations (African only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1976 (de facto)</th>
<th>1980 (BENGO projections)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>1 154 200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>2 330 800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griqua</td>
<td>474 000</td>
<td>630 353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gazankulu</td>
<td>333 000</td>
<td>476 694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu</td>
<td>2 691 200</td>
<td>3 177 568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>1 364 100</td>
<td>1 655 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu'e Que</td>
<td>90 200</td>
<td>232 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Ndebele</td>
<td></td>
<td>108 477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swazi</td>
<td>208 000</td>
<td>198 882 (now known as Kwaliwana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>338 700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 9 084 800


* Not available.

**NOTE:** The following are the numbers of the de facto population that are either "immigrants" or "commutes" in search of work in the white areas:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bophuthatswana</td>
<td>550 035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>499 012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The remaining Bantu states</td>
<td>2 638 054</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


---

Ideological State Apartheid

Despite the fact that labour allocation and control is central to the contemporary apartheid state, apartheid is a "total" system, which relies also on what can be called ideological state apparatus for its reproduction. Examples of these apparatuses are education, the media, health care—indeed the whole network of institutions which make up civic life. Particularly important is an educational system which is specifically designed to imbue white youths with notions of their effortless superiority and to train blacks "for their station in life." It is buttressed materially by the grossly unequal expenditure on black and white education and by the nature of the syllabus. Thus in 1978-1979 the per capita expenditure on white and black school pupils (in the white areas) was, on average, R640 and R68.15 respectively (34). In 1978 only 0.4% of African schoolchildren were enrolled in the final year of secondary school, compared with about 6% for whites (35).

Apartheid is frequently defended by Afrikaners as necessary to their own survival and identity. It has been attacked by some as no more than the irrational invention of the Afrikaners, which runs counter to the rational demands of the economy. Many outsiders, embarrassed by its racism, which is an affront to the international community, appear to believe that a liberalization of the more overtly racist laws will somehow reform apartheid out of existence. This is not so. All South African whites rely crucially on apartheid for their privilege and status (36). Such inequalities have been called "morally indefensible and politically explosive" (37). They are the result, however, of calculation. Both implicitly and explicitly, the ideology of racism and the deliberate manipulation of ethnicity reproduce a social system which perpetuates the rightlessness, insecurity and powerlessness of blacks in order to protect white power, privilege and prosperity.

---

REFERENCES

No more words now

I get your point precise
lady, gentleman of the world
you say you know
apartheid is a crime against
humanity
and you are part of it

I realise your argument
that it is certainly indefensible
to give approximately 87% of our country
in to about 13% of the population
that originally came from
where
you unfortunately are part of

I read but scorn your logic though
that violence begets violence
when you supply guns and money
to those who had them, have had them and have them,
that two wrongs don’t make a right
when countless times
you veto my freedom
at the United Nations
that diplomacy works wonders
when you falten on the blood of my people
in that part of the
world
you unfortunately are part of

But my point argument and logic come
from piles of dead bodies
and the necks struggling under the yoke
ask them what they think of me
“a nice girl like you” as you put it
when I shoulder with pride
this AK 47
ask what they think of you
and your cocktail party wisdom
“a nice person like you”

No more words now
till our Nuremberg trials
judge the rallies
and weigh Munich

Lerato Kumalo
ANC Women
NATURAL (?) DISASTERS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Phil O'Keefe, Barry Munslow and John Soussan

Poverty is dangerous

Poverty is not simply unpleasant, it is dangerous. Six times more people died from disasters each year in the 1970s than in the 1960s. The number of disasters, however, did not increase significantly on a global scale. The physical triggers of disaster did not alter. Patterns of drought, flood and earthquake have remained relatively constant. There has been no major climatological or geological change that would explain a six-fold increase in disaster. What is happening is that people are becoming more vulnerable to disasters.

Most disasters occur in “developing” countries. Asia experiences some fifteen each year, while Latin America and Africa each have around ten. Europe and Australia rarely have one a year. Loss of life and injury are also higher in each disaster in the Third World. Flood and drought are caused more by environmental and resource mismanagement than by too much or too little water. And even the impact of sudden disasters, such as earthquakes, is magnified by poverty.

In Brazil, the fourth largest producer of grain in the world, there has been a six-year “drought” affecting over 25 million poor farmers in the northeast. And in the Sahel, where everyone agrees that food self-sufficiency is important, little money is devoted to agriculture. The “droughts” are droughts in the distribution system not water.

Floods show a similar situation. In West Bengal, congestion of damaged river channels and embankment on the flood plain have heightened vulnerability. The inadequate capacity of river channels, partly due to siltation caused by deforestation in catchment areas, now produces flooding, including flash flooding, as an annual feature. Again in Bangladesh, 13 million people live less than 3 metres above sea level. Floods, combined with a hurricane, drowned 300,000 in 1970. Marginal people live in marginal places.

Even earthquakes demonstrate that disaster is closely linked to poverty. Some 1,200 people died and 90,000 were made homeless in Guatemala City, during the 1976 earthquake, almost exclusively in the slum areas. Housing for the rich was earthquake proof while the poorer housing, in ravines and gorges susceptible to landslides, was badly constructed. Lima, Santiago, Quito, Caracas and Managua are other Latin American cities where earthquakes, rather than disasters, are likely to occur.

People respond to disaster politically. The Sandinistas, movement moved after the Somoza from Nicaragua earthquake. In Iran, opposition to the Shah rose sharply after the earthquake. The fall of Haile Selassie was hastened by the impact of the Ethiopian drought. South Africa has pressed ahead with its “peace” plans, helped by the impact of drought and flood in Mozambique. Disasters are major political events which can be used progressively or regrettively. Expressions more simply, natural disasters are not natural—poverty causes disaster. And poverty is not natural.

1984 — Disaster in Southern Africa

Mozambique (Figure 1) has suffered a killing drought followed by a cyclone and floods, and these natural disasters were made worse by foreign-backed rebels and a peculiar apathy on the part of the international relief agencies.

Mozambique is not alone in its suffering. The British newspaper, The Economist, predicted that 1984 would be the “dust and begging bowl year” for all the “Frontline States” of southern Africa. Botswana, Angola, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe will need, according to UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) estimates, some 1.7 million tonnes of imported grain this year. But as all cash crops are affected by drought, there is little foreign exchange for imports. Only diamond-rich Botswana will be able to pay for what it needs.

Zambia’s estimated 300,000 tonnes of cereals will cost US $450 million — 75 per cent of its $60 million foreign exchange reserves. Worst hit is Mozambique, which needs to import around 600,000 tonnes of cereals; last year, it could only afford 62,000 tonnes.

The dead were victims of miserly bureaucratic and nervous western aid donors and of South African destabilisation, in what was actually a 'man made' famine.

One U.S. senator visiting Mozambique recently observed that more than 100,000 people have probably died of starvation in the last year. But Joseph Hanlon, a journalist working in the capital Maputo and writing in the journal New Statesman, argues that the dead “were victims of miserly, bureaucratic and nervous Western aid donors, and of South African destabilisation, in what was actually a man-made (sic) famine”. Mozambique gave a six month warning of the disaster, as the drought began as early as 1981.

The two provinces most affected by drought were Gaza and Inhambane, which during 1983 got less than 37 per cent of the average rainfall. Peasants were running out of even roots and berries. This drought, however, was different from many previous ones, in that armed rebels limited the options available to the people.

Since 1981, armed bands of the South African-backed Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) have occupied parts of Gaza and Inhambane, stealing food, destroying grain stores and burning crops in the fields. But the impact of the MNR extends beyond agriculture. The disruption of the rail line and oil pipeline to the landlocked neighbours reduces income from transport. The destruction of the powerlines from the Cahora Bassa dam stops the export of electricity. Mozambique’s problem is not drought, but destabilisation, according to the British relief agency, OXFAM.

Mozambique’s officials have strongly argued that the Reagan administration’s policy of “constructive engagement” with South Africa has provided tacit U.S. approval for South Africa’s efforts to destabilise Mozambique and other ‘Frontline States’. This destabilisation deflects relief efforts. The London newspaper, The Times, reported in October 1983 that over 700,000 people were suffering from famine in Southern Mozambique but only 100,000 were able to gather in the 11...
relief centres. The rest were “near stranded” by rebel activity. There have been constant reports of MNR attacks on relief centres and the more scattered relief camps. The MNR themselves are relatively well off for food. In August 1983, The South Africans made an airdrop to the MNR in southern Mozambique: nine tonnes of arms, ammunition and mines — and tobacco for the MNR chiefs.

The drought and people’s inability to move around have led to the overcultivation of poor land and the grazing of too many cattle on too little land. The ground was stripped bare and what little rainfall there was ran off quickly. There was little recharge of groundwater. On 28 January 1984, Cyclone Demetina hit Southern Mozambique. Most of the damage in Maputo occurred in such densely populated areas as the “canico suburbs” (“canico” = reed), where building materials are flimsy and the population poorest.

Following the cyclone, which produced 40 per cent of the annual rainfall in two days, there were floods along the banks of the Incomati. Limpopo, Maputo and other rivers. Over 200 people were killed; 49,000 people lost their belongings and over 350,000 people saw their crops washed away. The floods were made worse because the South African authorities opened the sluice gates of the Pongola Poot dam. Sulamango, a small town on the Maputo river, was washed away as the waters rose 15 metres (50 feet) in two hours. Drought, political destabilisation, cyclone and flood have all been reinforcing one another.

Easy Pickings

Not everyone loses when disasters strike. As a result of the accumulative disaster in Mozambique, some three quarters of a million people are experiencing famine. Not surprisingly many have crossed the borders into neighbouring countries. Zimbabwe has an estimated 100,000 Mozambican refugees. But the numbers are impossible to assess with any accuracy as the immigrant population soon blends in. The pattern appears to be that groups of refugees are now scattered throughout the villages of the northeast and east of Zimbabwe. Local peasant families are sharing their food and helping those who are still able to recover. When the refugees grow stronger, white farmers in Zimbabwe are employing some of them for as little as a meal a day to collect in the cotton harvest. Famine produces easy pickings for some it seems.

Drought in Zimbabwe — Apartheid Backfires

The south of Zimbabwe as a whole has also experienced serious drought over the past couple of years. Food relief has had to be provided by the government. By a strange irony, it was only South Africa’s successful attempts to sabotage Zimbabwe’s grain sales from its bumper 1981 harvest that left sufficient stocks for the government to get over the subsequent period of drought.

Those stocks have only just run out. But in the summer of 1984, late rains, after the failure of the first planting, mean that many Zimbabwean peasants now have some harvest. It is this that they are sharing with the Mozambicans.

However, the problems are far from being over. Zimbabwe has imported 40,000 tons of cereals from Malawi and the current estimate is that the country will need to import 500,000 tons in total this year. This is likely to cost U.S. $250 million which represents about 25 per cent of export earnings. Its annual consumption is 1,200,000 tons. Additionally, white commercial farmers, in Zimbabwe are changing from maize production (25 per cent reduction in planted area during 1984) to higher value monocrops such as cotton or tobacco. But peasants cannot eat cotton or tobacco.

The only way to feed the South African Region appears to be through South Africa which has the only facilities for bulk grain delivery. This is because South Africa is normally a large grain exporter, although the drought has also affected South African production. The effect of the drought on the population of the Bantustans is not yet recorded. But as one doctor pointed out, the drought is unlikely to make a severe impact on the nutritional status of the population which already suffers so much under apartheid. “What drought?” is the only question she asked.

Conclusion

Apartheid creates two landscapes — one of accumulation and one of poverty. In the landscape of poverty which extends beyond South Africa’s borders because of military and economic destabilisation, poverty produces vulnerability. It is vulnerability that makes disaster, not the physical trigger events.

Further Reading for Teachers and Students

For a general summary of the causes of ‘natural disaster’, see:

(1) L. Timborka Unnatural Disaster, Earthscan, London, 1984
(2) P. Cuny Disaster and Development, OUP, New York, 1983

For more detailed arguments, see:


Secrecy and nuclear power seem to go together, perhaps nowhere more so than in South Africa. The names of two of the country's nuclear facilities, Pelindaba and Valindaba, reflect the government's policy of withholding information on nuclear matters. Roughly translated from the Zulu they mean 'we don't talk about it'.

In mid-March 1983 South Africa's first commercial-sized power reactor, the Koeberg 1 pressurised water reactor near Cape Town, went into operation. On the doorstep of the black suburb of Atlantis, Koeberg made headlines last December when it was damaged by four bombs planted by African National Congress (ANC) guerrillas.

Like their counterparts in Europe and America, South African authorities are determined to reduce their dependence on imported oil. In 1981, South Africa imported and used 17 million tonnes, almost a quarter of the oil used in all of Africa. But South Africa has massive coal reserves, much of which it exports.

Its nuclear programme has never been explicitly civil. In the summer of 1977, US and Soviet spy satellites detected what appeared to be preparations for an underground atomic explosion in the South Africa Kalahari Desert.

The South African government denied that the activity had a nuclear purpose. Black African nations were agitated by the news, and Washington pressured South Africa unsuccessfully to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Two years later, the US State Department announced that a satellite had detected a flash which could have been a nuclear explosion somewhere in a large area bordered by the Indian and Atlantic Oceans and South Africa and Antarctica. Experts said that the only nuclear explosive material available to South Africa then was indigenous uranium enriched at the Valindaba plant. Pretoria denied that a nuclear test had been carried out.

The South African Authorities' disregard for international opinion and the views of its own population suggest a threat to nearby independent African states.

A secret South African Government document of 14 May 1981 said, 'South Africa cannot in the interest of its own security sign the NPT and thus set the minds of its would be attackers at rest'. Namibia, which South Africa controls in violation of both UN and World Court orders, is essential to the South African nuclear programme because it has the world's third largest reserves of uranium, estimated at 212,000 tonnes.

While worrying the rest of Black Africa, South Africa's nuclear programme may be endangering both black and white residents of Cape Town. The Koeberg 1 and 11 reactors, located close to the city, flout government safety guidelines issued through the Prime Minister's Office.

The maximum population within a 20 kilometre (12 mile) radius of the power station is set at 650,000. Yet Atlantis was subsequently built as a 'coloured' residential area next to the reactor site. Its population already exceeds the official safety requirements, and is growing. Warning and evacuating such a settlement would be impossible.

The Cape Town Medical Officer has openly criticised the Electricity Supply Commission's (Escom) emergency procedures for nuclear accidents. He accused Escom of 'absolute naivety', thus fuelling Cape Town fears that Koeberg is too close, both to the city itself and to a major earthquake zone.

Situated between three earthquake faults, the Koeberg reactors are equipped with rubber and steel shock absorbers built into the station foundations. Escom claims that earthquakes under Force 7 on the Richter Scale would do little damage to the plant, but international earthquake experts have questioned the adequacy of these precautions.

Public efforts to seek reassurance about safety at Koeberg 1 and 11 have met with silence from the nuclear authorities. Commenting on the secrecy surrounding the station, the Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg) noted that 'increasingly, Koeberg is cause for fear. This is so because there is simultaneous evidence about its dangers and lack of assurance about its safety'. Escom responded by telling the press that the safety plan was none of the public's concern.

Recent newspaper polls show that concern runs high. Some 70% of people thought that the power station was too close to the city; 55% said that the plant should never have been built.

Cape Town City Council advises the population to stay indoors, close the windows, turn off the fans, cover ventilation openings and, in case of exposure to radioactivity, wash repeatedly in plenty of water. There is no debate about the risk to the black population in overcrowded shanty towns, exposed to the elements, with no doors or windows to shut, no electricity to shut off and scented water in which to wash repeatedly.

The Koeberg reactors are unnecessary to assure South Africa's energy supplies. The fact that they endanger Cape Town may be a small consideration in the regime's overall nuclear strategy. Given the government's predilection for secrecy, it is impossible to separate clearly the construction of electricity-generating nuclear stations from the research, testing and assembly of nuclear weapons.

If South Africa has, despite its denials, exploded a nuclear bomb, it may well be the first time that the world has faced such an event for which the responsibility was neither claimed nor finally determinable. Earthscan.
South Africa gets Nuclear Weapons — Thanks to the West

The information below comes from an article of the same title by Barbara Rogers, published in 'Dirty Work: the C.I.A. in Africa' (Zed Press 1980). Barbara Rogers is a former British Foreign Office Employee.

'South Africa not only has its own nuclear weapons capability but it is also moving towards a position where it can supply fissile materials to other 'near nuclear' countries, thereby, making a nonsense of all attempts to limit nuclear proliferation. It is crucially important that action be taken now to prevent the construction of large facilities.

Other countries are involved in nuclear arms deals with South Africa, to build up its research and development capacity:

Britain: Britain is heavily involved through a massive government contract for uranium from South African-occupied Namibia. British and American scientists worked together to create the uranium mining and processing industry in South Africa, to provide the basis of U.S. nuclear weapons stockpiles after the war. They have also been involved with training in Nuclear research.

France: The French government has played a critical role in providing delivery systems for nuclear weapons. The Mirage fighter bombers designed for France's nuclear programme have been made available to South Africa.

Iran: Under the Shah, Iran was involved in a tripartite deal with France and South Africa. Iran was to supply oil to France and South Africa; South Africa would supply uranium to the other two; France would sell nuclear hardware and technology to the two near-nuclear powers.

Israel: Hundreds of Israelis are working on secret projects in South Africa, some of them scientists with military backgrounds, working on nuclear programmes.

Brazil and West Germany: South Africa uses West Germany's 'jet nozzle' technique of uranium enrichment. New modifications were jointly developed, using the West German research centre at Karlsruhe for theoretical work and Valindaba in South Africa for practical application.

The West Germans are to construct an enrichment plant in Brazil (Namibia and Brazil are part of the same geological formation). Brazilian scientists have held exchange visits with South Africans. Brazil's motives for acquiring the complete nuclear fuel cycle from the West Germans are not clear.

U.S.A.: While the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was working to block the export of key items for the South African enrichment plant, the CIA, and its allies in the Pentagon facilitated its construction by approving the provision of two vital Foxboro computers. In the Federal Reserve and the Treasury vast financial subsidies for the uranium industry in South Africa were arranged through I.M.F. loans.

'It is still an open question how the United Stated and allied government will deal with South Africa as a nuclear power. It is vitally important to bring secret deals into the open. The survival of the world could depend on it.'

MILITARISATION

South Africa has become an increasingly militarised and armed society. There has been a massive growth in military expenditure and expansion of all the armed forces, including the police, in recent years.

Conscription has been extended. White males between the ages of 18 and 55 years have since 1982 been required to do an initial two years military service followed by periodic camps and service in the commandos and reserve forces. A small number of war resisters have rejected conscription. They face exile or prison terms of up to six years as South Africa recognises only very limited grounds for conscientious objection.

By 1983 the government was considering the extension of conscription to the Asian and Coloured communities. Segregated battalions exist for different 'population groups' and bantustan armies have been set up to complement the regular force.

Large-scale civil defence programmes and the large number of white South Africans licensed to carry arms (just under a million people in 1983) are further reflections of militarisation.

A voluntary United Nations ban on all arms exports to South Africa has been in force since 1977. Nevertheless, the regime has been supplied with sufficient technological know-how, patent concessions and equipment by its Western and other allies to establish an arms industry. Over 100,000 people were employed in arms manufacture by 1983, and the regime was attempting to export arms.

International South Africa's military power is seen as a threat to world peace. It has the capacity to produce nuclear weapons and has refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. This nuclear power station at Koeberg, near Cape Town, produces plutonium as a byproduct. It came into operation in 1984, delayed for a year by an attack on it in 1983 by the ANC.

From 'This is Apartheid', a pictorial introduction. I.D.A.F. publication for use in schools. Slip from I.D.A.F. 64 Essex Road, London N1.
Censoring Reality

An examination of books on South Africa

Beverley Naidoo: Teacher, Schools Psychological Service, S.W. Herts.

Many of the books on South Africa which are most easily available to children — those commonly found in schools and public libraries — rely on the South African Embassy as a main source of information and illustration. The older books are overtly racist, and the newer material more subtly so.

Beverley Naidoo’s research undertaken as part of the South West Herts Anti Apartheid Book Campaign, is to be published by the ILEA Centre for Anti Racist Education. An extract from the work appears below as a compendium of reviews. The research demonstrates the lack of reliable textbooks on South Africa for use in the Geography classroom. Beverly’s “Criteria for assessing bias in non-fiction books on South Africa” appears on page . We hope that it will help teachers in selecting appropriate teaching materials as new books are published.


This is probably the most commonly stocked children’s reference book on South Africa.

“The Kung Bushmen . . . have a tiny brain.” (p. 82)

‘The Bushmen’s language’ sounds more like the chitter of baboons than the talk of men.” (p. 84)

“The Bantu are very conservative . . . The men are superstitious, and seldom look ahead.” (p. 32/33)

“The mining hostel is sheer luxury compared with what the Bantu are used to . . .” (p. 42)

“The first Bantu was a success . . . Although the Bantus are the result of the South African government’s policy of separate development (which has been severely criticised), it does benefit the Bantu, and gives them experience in government which could be useful later.” (p. 136)

A review by Professor David Hawkridge (of the Open University) concludes:

(The author) clearly regards the whites as the South Africans. His judgements about all ‘non-white’ groups in South Africa are very similar to those made by whites in South Africa, defending their own interest and implicitly justifying continued white dominance.


This book is now out of print but is still widely available.

The author paints a picture of idyllic pastoral life in a Zulu kraal, with complete omission of enforced migrant labour, the pass system, family break-up, malnutrition, infant mortality and so on. In another section he does note that black miners ‘have to leave their families at home’, yet adds an apology:

‘But hard and restricted as their conditions of life are, they earn good money, and after two or three years, many of them are able to save enough to return to their distant families.’ (p. 57)

Southern Africa by R. Clayton & J. Miles (Finding Out About Geography, Hart-Davis Educational, 1972)

This book appears to an attractive colourful topic book for primary school libraries.

The images are of flourishing farms, booming industries and contented workers. There are bland statements such as

‘Today many Bantu live in areas reserved for them . . . Here the men clear and then the women cultivate small plots of land around their kraal, or they graze their cattle, sheep and goats on the savanna grassland.’ (p. 21)

Or in referring to migrant labour:

‘Many of these workers come here for a while from the neighbouring countries, and they live in houses or hostels provided by the mines.” (p. 36)

Apartheid is only mentioned in this text in a short section at the end, entitled ‘Problems’. It is explained simply as

‘. . . the name given to the official policy of separate development of the different people of South Africa.” (p. 44)

The authors refer to United Nations’ disapproval of apartheid, but give no indication why. The readers are spared any unpleasant ideas to do with white domination and exploitation. The book begins with ‘discovery’ of this part of Africa by the Portuguese and the historical concept promoted is that of ‘settlement’ by Europeans, certainly not invasion and colonisation. There is no mention of any African resistance. In fact, the process of European ‘settlement’ appears quite natural and uneventful.

What then does the young reader then make of the book’s final sentence?

‘This remains one of the main centres of racial problems in the modern world.” (p. 45)

With all the omission of information, the young reader will probably imagine the issue as a biological one — that people of ‘different races’ somehow just don’t get on. Indeed the final picture of the book might add to the message. It is of a white woman tutor instructing a group of black nurses in a hospital. Perhaps the young reader’s final concept will be modified to: People of ‘different races’ somehow just don’t get on, even though white people do their best to help black people.

In the interest of balance . . .

An issue often raised by librarians and teachers is that of ‘balance’. In the interest of ‘balance’ shouldn’t each side be allowed to put its case? Yet it is not difficult to think of other issues (pornography for example), where such licence would never be contemplated, whatever the interest of ‘balance’, because the form of the presentation itself carries a message, as does the language. An attempt to give equal prominence to pro- and anti-apartheid views immediately gives a certain respectability to apartheid. By implication, it is at least ‘presentable’ (particularly now that the crude, direct statements about the purpose of apartheid — to entrench white power — have been replaced by careful formulations about ‘distinctive peoples.’) Hugh Greene, Director General of the BBC in the 1960s, made a clear statement relating to ‘balance’:

‘A man who speaks in favour of racial intolerance cannot have the same rights as the man who condemns it.’

This is a text written for older geography students. It includes some information on the workings of apartheid, but continually modifies any adverse impressions. For instance, after describing the journey black Sowetan have to make into 'white' Johannesburg each day, she adds:

'However, their journey is perhaps no worse than that which thousands of Londoners voluntarily undergo daily, commuting to work. (p. 149)

Perhaps Ms. Hickman has seen Londoners travelling in between railway carriages and hanging out of open doors and windows, while their train is in motion. (For those unfamiliar with the daily journey for Sowetans, it would be worth contrasting Ms. Hickman's comments with the vivid pictures of photographer Ernest Cole, in House of Bondage [Allen Lane, 1969]. They are entitled 'Nightmare Ride'.)

Yet again, in referring to the destruction of black homes after areas have been declared 'white', she modifies the impact:

'When Johannesburg itself was a small place there were many African townships scattered nearby. But, as the land was absorbed by mining concession companies, and as land values increased, non-white communities were shifted out of the municipal area. Sometimes this was necessary — slum clearance for many African villages had grown up haphazardly, like the mining camps. (p. 151)

Furthermore, when Ms. Hickman shows two photographs of Soweto which don't look so attractive, she adds in the caption:

'Some areas are better cared for than this.'

Her stance 'balance' seeks to disappear altogether, however, in her description of a mine hostel, with all its 'amenities'. To readers unfamiliar with the reality, it could sound like a sort of Holiday Camp on the Rand' (David Wright, 1981).

Finally, she provides an example of a respected text-book writer critically using — and thus endorsing — the terminology that promotes the notion of the 'independent Bantustan' with its own 'nationals'.

'. . . the government of an independent Bantustan can protest about the conditions of their nationals working in a white area if it thinks wage levels are too low.' (p. 154)

Without some knowledge about the nature of South African society, and without close consideration of the images being created in the minds of the readers, the bias in this text could easily go undetected. It is a subtle and multifaceted bias' (Wright & Pardey, 1981), reflecting a shift from the earlier, more overtly racist texts. David Wright's stimulating articles, in particular his detailed scrutiny of W.F. Rice's Patterns in Geography: Two (Longmans, 1975; 6th edition 1982), reveal the kind of sensitivity to text and visual material which is required (see 'Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education' Vol 1 Issue 1 Autumn 1983).

The Southern Continents Honeybone & Robertson (Heinemann, 1978, 4th ed.)

Black South Africans are essentially children, requiring guidance from white people:

'The Bantus may consider that some of the policies of the European controlled government are bad. Some of them wish to govern themselves. On the other hand, many Europeans feel that as they have much more experience in governing, they should continue to do so.' (p. 142)

The Southern Lands Spink and Brady (New Ventures in Geography, Schofield & Sims, 1974, 1st ed. 1969)

Black South Africans are the recipients of white munificence:

'Look at the picture of the Bantu village. Nearly half the negroes live in these huts, and the Government spends millions on improving them . . . .' (p. 17)

South Africa in Pictures Peter English (Visual Geography Series, Longmans, 1977)

This book derives its information from the South African Embassy. It includes many unsubstantiated claims and half-truths; its implicit tone is one of white superiority.

'All South Africans benefit from high quality welfare services.' (p. 31)

'South Africa has about 7000 free schools for the exclusive use of Bantu children.' (p. 40)

The author provides no documentation on comparative hospital services, number of doctors, pension payments or other indices of welfare provision for white and black citizens. He provides no documentation on the rate of drop-out from school, or on pupil-teacher ratios. Publication of the latter would, of course, present the 'exclusive' schools in a different light — 20:1 for white children, 48:1 for black pupils (Official Yearbook figures for 1979). The black pupil-teacher ratio is in fact even higher, but the official figures now exclude information from 'Bantustans' which are labelled 'independent republics'. Their inhabitants are now conveniently designated 'foreign'.

An analysis of the pictures in 'South Africa in Pictures' immediately reveals the bias. Of over 130 pictures only 25 focus on black Africans, and 16 of those present tribal images. There is a photo of a rich 'Indian' home, and a 'Colonial' university, but not a single picture is intended to suggest any criticism of apartheid. Apartheid is dealt with in a short section, as if it were a separate area of life in South Africa — instead of the whole fabric — and it is explained in the language of an Embassy handbook:

'It (apartheid) provides for the separate political development of all the distinctive peoples that go to make up South Africa's multi-racial population. It enforces a number of self-governing Bantu nations alongside and in co-operative association with the White Nation — a South African commonwealth or community of nations.'
Those who are familiar with the white minority's official publications will immediately recognise phrases like 'distinctive peoples' and 'community of nations' as part of the new cosmic language with which apartheid policies are now promoted. In this language, South Africa is no longer a single country with a black majority. By apartheid division into 'ethnic groups' it has become a 'plural mosaic', 'a multi-national country', 'a country of minorities' (South Africa, Target or Opportunity, Maskey Miller, 1981—supplied free by the S.A. Embassy). South Africa's black population on paper, in the official statistics, is dwindling. Millions of its black citizens are being de-nationalised and cut off the records as the 'Bantustan' areas like Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei are declared 'independent homeland states'. The apartheid plan is that all black South Africans of African origin (73.5% of the population) will be allocated to the different 'homelands' (1.3% of the land area of South Africa). It is estimated that already three and a half million 'unwanted' people have already been physically removed to their 'homelands', many seeing these places for the first time. As a result, text book writers with a pro-apartheid bias will now be able to quote new improved figures for various social indices of life for black South Africans. Miners contracting tuberculosis and sent 'home' will now spend their last days and die, apparently not in South Africa but in their own 'independent republics'. Black infants will continue to die, apparently not in South Africa, but in their own 'independent republics'.

Perhaps some authors who omit, or sanitise, the reality would attempt to defend themselves by arguing that the children for whom they are writing are too young to be told about harsh social reality. Does this mean 'information' books should misinform?

Zulus by John Mack (Surviving Peoples, MacDonald Educational 1980)

It is necessary to distinguish between an author's intentions — and perhaps own lack of awareness of bias — from the images and concepts that may be conveyed to the young reader.

The author's intention is to show sympathetically the tradition of people described as 'remarkable', 'proud and brave' (p. 4). Yet with the major focus on traditional rural life and customs which have survived from the past, particularly through the pictures, it is unlikely that the book will challenge the stereotype of essentially 'primitive' people. The author devotes only one chapter to the 50% of Zulu speakers who work in towns and the poor conditions under which they live, although the most important developments in opposition to apartheid have come from people in urban areas — and not on an ethnic basis, but united as oppressed black South Africans. Yet the only reference to political opposition is focused on the exclusively Zulu Inkatha movement and its leader Chief Buthelezi.

Surprisingly, there is no mention of Albert Luthuli (Nobel Peace Prize winner), the late president of the major liberation movement, the African National Congress — which is quite opposed to ethnic divisions. In fact, Mack omits any reference to Zulu-speaking South Africans who consider themselves primarily as South Africans, not in terms of a tribal identity. Instead he highlights a distasteful racist quote from a medicine man, Credo Mutwa:

'Do I want my children to be soul-less half breeds dressed in jeans rocking and rolling to the Beatles ... and calling me Daddy O?" (p. 40)

Even apart from other considerations, did the author and publishers consider how hurtful the designation 'soulless half-breeds' would be to many children?
We need to consider:

- what material has been selected and what has been omitted;
- how material is presented.

**Historical Information:**

(i) Is the pre-colonial period covered or does the history of South Africa begin with ‘discovery’ by Europeans? Is evidence of Iron Age settlements included, or is it claimed that black and white arrived in South Africa at the same time?


(iii) Is the experience of slavery dealt with adequately?

(iv) Is the focus on European personalities while black lives are omitted or treated as marginal? Is the history of resistance included?


Is it implied that only white people were worthy and capable of handling power?

(vi) Does the writer portray the colonial relationship as bringing the advantages of Western civilisation, education and technology to Africans, while exploitation is minimised?

**Geographical and Contemporary Information:**

(i) Is reference made to apartheid? Is it defined by the South African Authority’s definition as ‘separate development’, or is it shown to be a system of domination?

(ii) Is the focus on positive concepts like industrial development, agricultural output and economic progress, while negative features of the system are omitted?

What attention is given to the contrast between white privilege and black poverty? (e.g. with reference to wages, housing, education, health, welfare.)

(iii) Are the living conditions of Black South Africans falsified or justified? (e.g. presented as ‘better than what they are used to’ or ‘better than in the rest of Africa’.)

(iv) How is the ‘pass’ system portrayed — as a forced labour system or merely as the control of movement? Is the destruction of family life mentioned?

(v) How are the Bantustans presented— as areas confined to under-development and the provision of cheap labour for the developed ‘white’ areas or as areas for ‘separate ethnic development’, or ‘independent states’ with ‘self-government’?

Is it shown how millions of black South Africans are being denationalised by being assigned to bantustans?

(vi) Are democratic claims made about changes in the political system, or are these changes carefully examined?

(vii) What is said about methods of dealing with political opponents, including trade unionists? (e.g. indefinite detention without trial, torture, banishment, censorship.)

(viii) What is said about the South African Government’s relations with other African states? (e.g. its involvement in Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and the other neighbouring states.)

(ix) Is there an examination of the extent of western investment in South Africa, and a discussion of its consequences?

**Biological Information:**

(i) Are racial stereotypes promoted? Or does the author show how the categorisation of people into ‘distinctive races’ and ‘separate ethnic groups’ is used to maintain control by the government?

Is it acknowledged that there are South Africans who reject racial categorisation and regard themselves not as ‘Xhosas’, ‘Zulus’, ‘Tswanas’, ‘Indians’, ‘Europeans’, ‘Coloureds’ etc. but as ‘South Africans’?

**Cultural Information:**

(i) Is the focus on white culture, or is reference made to black South African culture, without it being treated as ‘exotic’?

(ii) What reference is made to literature and art which provide critical comment on the society?

**References and Sources:**

(i) Are only establishment books and organisations referred to for further information?

(ii) Are only establishment sources of information and illustrations used?

**Visual Information:**

(i) Are the illustrations biased towards historical events and characters significant only to the ruling minority?

(ii) Do the illustrations promote stereotypes?

(iii) Do the images suggest industrial and agricultural prosperity, without revealing the poverty of black workers?

(iv) Are the stark contrasts in education, health and welfare revealed? Or do the pictures feature progress made in selected black areas?

(v) Are there pictures which bring out the effect of apartheid regulations (e.g. the ‘pass’ system, demolition of homes and transportation to ‘home-lands’)?

(vi) Do pictures legitimise Bantustans as ‘independent republics’?

**Statistics**

(i) What areas of life do the statistics cover? Only those which suggest over-all progress, or also those which reveal privilege and poverty?

(ii) Is there an awareness that official statistics now omit information about millions of denationalised black South Africans who live in areas declared ‘independent’, where rural poverty is most intense?
Teaching under Apartheid

by Jora Sol

Jora Sol writes from personal experience: he was born and brought up in South Africa. He taught in the Cape from 1949 to 1970 and was an active member of the Teacher’s League of South Africa, involved particularly in the struggle against indoctrination through schooling. He now teaches in London.

“The damage and destruction that is caused in the lives of millions of children in Apartheid schools has yet to be described in its totality. I think this needs to be done for teachers everywhere, especially in places like Britain where the Government is gaining more political control of the curriculum. Teachers here need to be vigilant and critical.”

The Purpose of Apartheid Schooling

The practice of Apartheid has been in existence ever since the Dutch first landed at the Cape in the mid 17th Century, and appropriated the lands of the San and the Khoe-Khoi, but it was under British rule that this practice was first systematised. Rhodes, the outspoken agent of imperialism, made it clear about the inferior status of the African.

“I will lay down my own policy on the native question. Either you have to receive them on an equal footing as citizens or call them a subject race. I have made up my mind that there must be class legislation, that there must be pass laws and peace preservation Acts. . . We must adopt a system of despotism such as works so well in India in our relations with the barbarians of South Africa”.

It is important that this background be understood; the notions of race supremacy did not spring unbidden to the minds of the present rulers of South Africa. His views on the education of Black people towards the end of the nineteenth century are reflected in the words of Dr. Verwoerd who piloted the notorious “Eiselen Education Bills” through the South African Parliament. He said:

I have travelled through the Transkei and have found some excellent establishments where the natives are taught Latin and Greek . . . There are kafir parsons everywhere. They are turning out a dangerous class . . . That is why I say that regulations of these schools should be framed by the government, otherwise these kafir parsons would develop into agitators against the government”.

Half a century later the South African authorities acted on Rhodes’ advice. In 1948 the F.A.K., the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisations issued its infamous “Christian National Education Doctrine”, which was adopted by the Nationalist government as the basis of education reform. This doctrine outlined the tribal system of schooling intended for the different “races” into which people were artificially divided. It prescribed the abilities, needs and destinies of each of the “racial” groups, using Herrenvolk anthropological “science” to justify the system.

In 1953 the Eiselein Commission Report outlined proposals for a system of indoctrination carefully designed to perpetuate the subordination of the African in South African society. In the words of Dr. Verwoerd: “There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour”. He went on to say that education in the past “miseducated him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze”.

Below are described some of the features of “Education” in South Africa

Age of Admission: The “African” child begins school only at eight years of age. According to Herrenvolk science, the gap between the “races” makes this educationally desirable.

Compulsory Education: Schooling is compulsory to ensure that no one escapes indoctrination. To prevent parents opting out of the system, the Bantu Education Act declared that no unlicensed individuals could undertake the education of the black child. So explicit was this injunction that a parent who teaches a child to knit is technically guilty of breaking the law.

Mother Tongue Education: The first four years of the child’s education is taught through the mother tongue. “Educationists” are found to support this policy. The black parents are not duped, however. They realize that cutting out education in English is against the best interests of their children. As a result of forcing Afrikaans as a “home language” upon thousands of urban location dwellers, by making it the sole medium of education, English has become virtually a Foreign language. Teachers are alarmed at the fact that pupils in secondary schools hardly read for pleasure, but more alarmed is the fact that they cannot read, cannot translate the symbols and patterns into meaningful sounds, words and symbols. As reading skills are such a fundamental tool in learning, especially at the post-primary levels, in this respect must retard their standards of achievement all round.

Double Shifts: Because there is a shortage of accommodation, schooling for many is accomplished on a “shift” system. This means that there is extra pressure on books, classroom equipment and teachers as they are all used twice over. The double shift system applies mainly to Infant and Junior schools.

Pupil Teacher Ratio: To those of us who regard 30 pupils as too many to teach effectively at once it might be salutary to discover that the pupil-teacher ratio in “Bantu” schools is conservatively estimated at 55 to 60:1. That is the overall figure taking secondary and university populations into account. In the Primary Division alone the ratio is closer to 75:1.

Teachers: Of the 88,355 teachers in the employ of the Bantu Administration, 82% have an educational standard of Junior Certificate and below. The “J.C.” would compare with the first year of an “O” level course in Britain. There is thus a downward spiralling effect of poorly qualified teachers producing poorly equipped pupils, who then become even poorer teachers. To help cope with the situation use is made of the Monitorial system. Originally monitors were to help with the cleaning of classrooms and assisting with handicapped pupils, but in the Transkei and Ciskei they are even used as teachers.
Farm Schools: There are about 5000 farm schools with a pupil population of half a million. In these schools it is the farmer who is in direct charge. The Bantu Affairs Department (B.A.D.) pays the teachers, supplies the benches and a certain proportion of books. And that is all. The rest have to be provided by the parents. The parents often earn the paltry sum of R20 per month plus a bag of mealie meal. From these starvation wages they have to find the wherewithal to pay for stationary and textbooks. Although the regulations forbid the use of the pupils for farm labour, the prohibition is often ignored. The true horror of the farm schools are not fully known as farmers do not allow noisy visitors.

Inspectorial Harassment: Many teachers in the lower school have become completely demoralised by the harassment which they have suffered from inspectors fanatically determined to impose their pet theories on the teachers. The most resented technique is the summoning of teachers to quarterly conferences during schooltime to receive detailed instructions on content, method and apparatus, followed by regular visits to check on how strictly the teachers carry out their instructions. Often inspectors work in conjunction with publishers, who through the inspectors use the pupils as guinea pigs before launching a new series of readers. Royalties are, no doubt, involved.

The Textbook: The textbook has become the most misused and abused educational tool. Its use is enforced by Departmental Diktat. For the lazy and incompetent teacher, of course, the textbook is a godsend. There is one approved textbook, instead of many reference books, and the system discourages research beyond the approved text. The text contains only information which is supportive of apartheid capitalism.

Geography, History and Science: The teaching of History and Geography has degenerated into preparing lists of questions to which one word answers are required. Pupils in the upper Primary standards spend hours colouring in blank maps without understanding the significance of the features they are supposed to be illustrating. Inspectors come round to check that a specific number of such tasks are completed and marked. What applies to Geography, applies in even greater measure to the teaching of History and Science. Because there are so many "sensitive" areas in South African History, the syllabus has been carefully laundered and the textbook prepared with meticulous care. After all the aim of the system is to inculcate notions that will reinforce Herrenvolk ideology. The pupil is required to learn a number of selected "facts". In this way events are isolated, erroneous statements presented as facts, and racist ideas perpetuated. Teachers are expected to use the abusive racist terms of Hottentot, Bushman and Kaffir instead of the terminology that the people prefer. Instead of pupils being given an insight into History as a continuous and continuing process they are required to learn isolated "facts" and so learn to hate History. Few schools have science rooms and many teachers are only too happy not to be burdened by another "apparatus" subject. In the upper school where pupils are required to answer questions in essay form the crippling effect of their language weakness causes them to write gibberish.

School Libraries: All books in the school library have to pass the approval of "headquarters". In the past, school heads could accept gifts of old library books from White schools or overseas. After 1964 that came to an end. A Library Inspector makes an annual visit to check on the shelves in the library to determine that the proportion of English to Afrikaans is within the prescribed limits and that the books chosen are not by proscribed authors, these are particularly those banned under the Suppression of Communism Act or those who have known anti-Apartheid views.

Surveillance: Most pubs in South Africa have their police spies, so do most schools. Teachers know what a careless remark in the staff room could entail: a visit by the Special Branch and a warning. There are known quisling teachers who spy on their colleagues. Not only that, often pupils are offered bribes to spy on known Anti-racist or left wing teachers. A teacher who is too much of a nuisance can be transferred to a distant post where, cut off from his/her roots, he/she may become ineffective. One prominent teacher to be banned like this was the late Victor Wessels, who was sent from the Cape Town Area, where he was regarded as a scourge of the quisiling class, to the town of Upington, a thousand miles away, in the hope of neutralising him. When it was evident that even there he was to prove a thorn in the flesh, there was a malicious campaign of slander and vilification against him, in the expectation that the people would down him. When that failed he was returned to the Cape where he was placed under house arrest and ousted from teaching. He died a premature death, a victim of the Coloured Affairs Department.

Meetings: School teachers in Britain take it as natural that they should be allowed to hold their union branch meetings on the school premises. There is no such right in South Africa.

Debasement and retardation: Pupils begin their school career late. They then begin learning things they should have been taught a few years before. This means that their progress and development is retarded right from the start. As the child's parents have been earlier victims of the same system, they suffer the disadvantage of limited reading skills and live a bookless existence. This is a major disadvantage, for the child is denied the benefits in the parents' conversation of discriminated reading. In a situation like this the child is well on the way to becoming a non-reader. Poor economic circumstances such as inadequate nutrition before and after a childbirth could also easily affect his/her intellectual development and confine his/her mental potential for the rest of his/her life. Furthermore, black children live in a world of overcrowded homes, violence, police raids and the rest of the harrowing universe of the bitter struggle for survival.
TURKEY: WEST GERMANY’S BANTUSTAN?

Ali Uc, Institute for Intercultural Education. Free University of Berlin

The exploitation of migrant labour is not confined to South Africa. Europe, too, makes use of "cheap" "foreign" labour, especially in work which is monotonous, dangerous, dirty and poorly paid. There are several senses in which Turkey can be regarded as West Germany's Bantustan. Dr Ali Uc presents an argument which makes this point, and which shows how capitalism in West Germany, like that in South Africa, relies on the creation of a reserve of unskilled and semi-skilled labour which can be brought into the economy when necessary, and expelled when convenient. This benefits the owners of industry and the government in many ways, however, it holds few benefits for the "foreign" workers, who have limited rights in the country, and who suffer social deprivation by being parted from their families. In addition they face the racism born of a social hierarchy in which foreign workers form the bottom levels.

The Function of Migrant Labour in the Economy

The Federal Republic of Germany is not a country of immigration. Instead, the country's economy makes use of "migrant" labour, which is taken into the labour force temporarily, when it is needed, and shed at times when it is no longer useful. Foreign workers can be recruited, deported, or moved from one region to another according to economic needs: they are therefore ideal for the purposes of the employers. In addition, they can be scapegoated for crises which appear in German society. Table 1 indicates the importance of migrant labour in selected European countries.

72.5 foreign workers in the Federal Republic come from Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, Portugal, Italy and Spain. The largest group is from Turkey (1.5 million).

Between 1973 and the end of 1978 180.000 foreign workers were shed from the West German Economy. This was achieved in three ways: recruitment was cut, work permits of existing workers were not extended, or residence permits were withdrawn on the grounds of long term unemployment.

By getting rid of surplus workers, West Germany managed to export its unemployment problem (Uc, 1982).

On closer inspection, however, it is clear that the measures taken by the Federal Government in 1973 aimed to keep an adequate pool of unemployed workers, in order to put pressure on pay, working conditions, and union negotiating positions.

In the G.F.R the average rate of unemployment is 7.5%. However, 13.7% of foreign workers are unemployed.

It might be thought that 'home' workers can benefit when 'foreign workers are 'exported'. This is not the case, however, for as will be shown below, 'Guest workers' occupy jobs which indigenous Germans do not want, or are physically constrained from doing. The presence of foreign workers exerts pressure on German workers, however, for wages are lowered and justified wage demands are difficult to achieve in the presence of a large pool of unemployed. Indeed, studies have shown that the threat of replacing elderly-sick, less productive workers with more efficient and willing ones, the intensity of work in the GFR has risen greatly in recent years.

Berger and Mohr, in their moving account of migration, (1975) describe the advantages for capitalism of the migrant process as follows:

For capitalism migrant workers fill a labour shortage in a specially convenient way. They accept the wages offered and, in doing so, slow down wage-increases in general. The significance of this is explained in a Report by the German Institute for Economic Research:

'Although opposition to the continual inflow of foreign workers is to be found here and there, it is necessary to realize that with a labour market cut off from other countries the pressure of wages in the Federal Republic would become considerably stronger, due to increased competition by employers for the domestic labour potential. This increased pressure of costs could hardly fail to affect the competitiveness of West German enterprises, both in the export markets and at home.'

According to present legislation, the residence permit can be used to prevent foreign workers from becoming involved in political action to improve wages or working conditions.

The law of 1965 excluded not only the right to vote, but also other civil rights. The regulation that instructs officials on how to implement the law states:

'Foreigners enjoy all basic rights, except the basic right of freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of movement, and free choice of occupation, place of work and place of education, and protection from extradition abroad.'

(Allgemeine Verwaltungsanweisung zur Ausführung des Ausländergesetzes, paragraph 6.)

This legislation helps to prevent solidarity between indigenous German workers and 'foreigners'. It therefore benefits only the employers.

Foreign Workers and Unemployment

"They take our jobs"

Foreign workers are frequently used as the scapegoat for unemployment, and in the G.F.R. as in other European countries, they often find themselves the object of racist attacks and abuse.

"The creation of a foreign 'industrial reserve army' is assured in part by the employment practices of large companies. It is a system which is of obvious benefit to the employers and in which the foreign workers have little real choice — they are affected by the decision making at state and company levels, but they are not part of it. However, despite these considerations, the prejudice remains amongst German workers that unemployment is the 'fault' of the foreigners. In order to clarify this matter one must examine more closely in which areas and with which qualifications foreign workers in the G.F.R. work. Over 80% are unqualified. They are predominantly employed in production areas with physically
heavy and dangerous jobs on low pay, on the bottom rung of
the industrial hierarchy. According to official enquiries 37% of
foreign workers are in the iron, steel and metal industry, 25%
in the chemical and textile industry and 14% in the building
industry. (BFA 1983). In these areas therefore, the quota of
foreigners at 10-13% is far above the average. In these areas
work four fifths of foreign workers. (See Table 2.)

After 1973, such extensive "rationalisation" measures
took place in these areas that within only three years, by 1976,
40% of the cut-back in jobs concerned foreign workers, al-
though in the same period of time their proportion of the
whole work force amounted to only 10%. So every fourth
foreigner lost his/ her job at this time and only every twenty-
fifth German. (Uc, ar 1983).

About 70% of foreign workers are working in jobs which
were left in the '60s by German workers in favour of better and
higher paid employment. The typical characteristics are:
physically heavy, dirty, monotonous, hectic, accident prone.
(Uc, ar 1980). These jobs have not yet been rationalised away,
less for technical than for cost reasons. Furthermore, they will
remain preserved, so long as a workforce is to be found easily
for them, and without any expenditure worth naming, that is
semi-skilled, and prepared for frequent change for variable
pay conditions. This is the case with foreign workers. German
workers are not, as a rule, prepared to work in low paid
physical work; many workers are now too highly qualified as a
result of retraining measures of the Federal Institute of
Employment with which politically the unemployment crisis
could be counteracted.

As the Institute of Economy states: "The job character-
istics and qualification requirements of jobs of Germans and
foreigners don't often correspond. Therefore a substitution of
foreigners by Germans would scarcely be possible on a larger
scale."

Indeed the German unemployed stem predominantly
from business or office professions, i.e. from the white colla

| Table 1 Minority labour force as percentage of total labour
force of West European countries |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>9.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>5.1</td>
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<td>n.a.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>2.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>22.9</td>
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Table 2

Federal Republic of Germany
Employment of Foreign Workers in the heavy industrial sector:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Industrial sector</th>
<th>% of foreign workers</th>
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<tr>
<td>Iron, Steel and Metal Industries</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemicals and textiles</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>14%</td>
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</table>

Four fifths of all foreign workers are employed in these industries.

Source: Repräsentativuntersuchung 72 der B.I.A. 1983 S.49

Migrant Labour and State Benefits

"They sponge off the state"

To maintain therefore, that foreign workers take jobs away from Germans, is, on closer inspection, completely untenable. Just as little can it be maintained that foreigners exploit state benefits. Consider for example, child benefit. Since 1975 foreign workers receive for their children in their home country 10 Marks (for the first) or 25 Marks (for the second child). Germans, on the other hand receive 50 Marks for the first child, 120 marks for the second child up to 30 June 1982 and 100 marks after that. Foreigners who have lived longer than 15 years in the G.F.R. have received no benefits at all for the children in their home country since 1979: that affects about 25% of all foreign workers. Also as regards unemployment benefit and welfare aid: foreigners have to pay contributions in both areas, as they do for child benefit — but since they can be denied a work permit and deported if unemployed, many foreign workers gain little advantage from these contributions.

There is scarcely a state investment which goes beyond the protection of the biological existence of foreigners. In the area of education only the cheapest pieces of equipment are used. The cultural offering from films, reading, theatre and television is nil. The burdens on the health system are below average because only 9% of all the foreigners living here are over 50 years old.

John Barger, 1975, writes:

"Migrants pay taxes and social security contributions but will not draw many benefits during their temporary residence. Their cost to the system in terms of social capital can be kept to a minimum.

Migration involves the transfer of a valuable economic resource — human labour — from the poor to the rich countries. The workers who migrate may have been unemployed in the country of origin, but this does not alter the fact that the community has invested considerable sums in their upbringing. Economists sometimes speak of "emigration as capital export", similar to the export of other factors of production. It has been estimated that the upbringing price of survival till the age of twenty by a migrant, has cost the national economy of his/her own country about £2,000. With each migrant who arrives, an underdeveloped economy is subsidizing a developed one to that amount. Yet the saving for the industrialized country is even greater. Given its higher standard of living, the cost of "producing" an eighteen-year-old worker at home is between £8,000 and £16,000.

The use of labour, already produced elsewhere, means an annual saving for the metropolitan countries of £8,000 million.

The labour power of migrant workers is ready-made. The industrialized country, whose production is going to benefit from it, has not borne any of the cost of creating it; any more than it will bear the cost of supporting a seriously sick migrant worker, or one who has grown too old to work."

Racism

Overt racism affects Germany's "Guestworkers". The sharpest form of racial hatred is aimed at the Turks. Modifications of fascist "Jewish jokes" are made openly, no longer even with hand in front of the mouth, against the Turks. Even at the official level the foreigner problem is denoted as the "Turkish problem". (Der Spiegel) The Turks form the numerically strongest group among the foreign workers. They are the least qualified and have, since they predominantly come from the underdeveloped, rural areas, the greatest difficulties in adapting to the industrial way of work and German social relationships. A smooth adaptation is made more difficult because of their different religion and the traditions of the Islamic cultural groups from which they come.

As foreigners the Turks offer the stereotyped picture: black-haired, dark-skinned, men with moustaches, women with headscarves or even baggy trousers, many children. As workers on the bottom rung of the ladder, with hands which are lined by heavy work, in cheap clothes they already irritate the German population with its predominantly middle-class values, just be their image. Also, since the present law with its deportation rules pushes foreign workers and their families to the extreme edge of society, there exists for German society scarcely any necessity to question its traditions which were moulded by national socialism. Thus racial hatred, racial harassment has already become an everyday phenomenon of federal republic reality, be it in the form of graffiti on house walls, or a pamphlet by professors, like the "Heidelberg Manifesto" or even a circular, which a mayor in Swabish Alps wrote to factories in the area, "... if possible do not employ Turkish nationals, since Turkish inhabitants do not as a rule integrate."

"A storage system for the Industrial Reserve Army?"

In extremely cramped living conditions the children have no scope for action, no peace in which to be busy, to play, to race around, to fulfill the needs for motor activity, since the flats are only set up to cater for the needs of adults: eating, resting, sleeping. Playing is forbidden on the stairs and in the yard, it is too dangerous to play in the street and the nearest play area is, frequently, above all for the smaller children, too far away.
Discrimination in Schooling

The proportion of foreigners in the special schools of the G.F.R., with 11.3%, is far above the general average (8.6%), whilst their proportion in the technical and grammar schools with 2.7%, is below average. (Essinger 1977) These figures raise the question, whether the special schools are becoming the schools for foreign children? A considerable number of foreign pupils in West Berlin, isolated from German pupils, are taught in so-called preparation classes, in special classes or in other specialist institutions (Integration courses — measures for professional and social integration of foreign youth). In the school year 83/84 there was a foreign school population of 40,768 in West Berlin. Their proportion of the total school population was 19.1%. Of the 28,973 foreign pupils who were in junior and secondary modern schools, 8,581 were taught in so-called classes for foreigners (preparation classes and foreign special classes). That means that about 30% of foreign pupils in these two types of schools were taught separately from Germans.

The performance level of the special classes is, in comparison to the German classes, so much lower so that, for example, in the year 1981/82 no pupil from the Kreuzberg district managed to move from a special class into a grammar school, therefore, even good foreign pupils can only achieve low school qualifications. Because of separate teaching, foreign children are greatly affected by the selection mechanism and with it their right to education is considerably limited from the beginning.

For example in West Berlin in the school year 1981/1982, 40% of foreigners left the secondary moderns without a school leaving certificate (Germans 22.3%).

"Foreign" children are not congenitally stupid. Their relative failure in the school system must be examined in terms of the way the system operates to discriminate against them.

Conclusions

This article argues that racism and discrimination in employment, housing, health care, schooling and law characterise the economic system in West Germany.

The exploitation of migrant labour is one feature which capitalist economies of West Germany and South Africa have in common: another is the creation of an unskilled "underclass" through the mechanism of ensuring unequal access to education for the children of "foreign" workers. The differences between South Africa and West Germany are differences only in degree — there are many fundamental similarities. Capitalist economies require the hierarchical organisation of labour, and rely on prejudice and discrimination to help keep the hierarchy intact. Racism and the class structure operate interdependently to ensure that workers fail to acknowledge their shared interests.

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DWA, Nr. 13/78, S. 129
IG-Metall, Nr. 12 vom 9. June 1982, s. 14
ANBA 5/82, S. 830
Der Spiegel, Nr. 50/81, S. 36

RECOMMENDED READING

A Seventh Man
John Berger, Jean Mohr (Penguin 1978)
A moving account of the experiences of migrant workers in Europe. Sets migration in an economic and political context. Examines the economics of the countries from which migrant workers come, and those to which they go. An excellent source of photographs, quotations and statistical information. Case study material on Switzerland and Germany for use at all levels of education.

Here For Good: Western Europe’s New Ethnic Minorities
Stephen Castles, with Heather Booth and Tim Wallace (Pluto Press 1984)
An analysis of the part played by migration in Western Europe’s Economy. Useful case study material for Britain, Belgium, France, and Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and West Germany. Provides up to date statistical tables and analyses international patterns.

Race, Class and The State: The Black Experience in Britain.
An essay in “A Different Hunger: Writings on Black Resistance”. A. Sivanandan (Pluto Press 1982)
Analyses the function of migration in the economy of post colonial Britain. Useful examination of the links between economic and legal systems. The legacy of colonialism and imperialism as reflected in relationships between black and white people in Britain today.
Migrant Workers and the South African Pass Laws: A Simulation Exercise

Devised by: Alasdair Brown, Ann Harries, Sue Adler and Roger Diski.
Members: Education Sub-Committee, British Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa

Objectives
(a) to demonstrate the operation of the pass laws as they apply to African workers in the bantustans who seek work in the 'white' cities
(b) to demonstrate the restrictions placed upon an African who succeeds in finding work
(c) to reveal graphically and powerfully the nature of the system of institutionalised racism in South Africa
(d) to give an understanding of 'migration' in the South African context.

How the simulation works
The material offered here assumes that teachers will wish to present the exercise to between 20-30 students, (but see 'Comments and Suggestions' for organising the exercise with larger numbers).
Participants are given envelopes at random which contain instructions (role sheets) to take on one of the following roles:
(i) African worker who lives in a bantustan
(ii) Member of the South African police
(iii) A white employer.

The exercise needs two controllers — one to take on the role of a Labour Bureau Official and one to hand out the Chance Cards once the exercise is in progress.

Physical space is needed to create a representation of a South Africa divided into bantustans and white areas. The diagram below is offered as a guide. There should be sufficient space between the tables to imply journeys of some length.

For 30 participants there should be seven employers, five police and eighteen workers.

For larger groups:
20 participants
5 employers (omit Building Site and Factory)
14 police
11 workers
7 contract cards

30 participants
7 employers
5 police
18 workers
13 contract cards

40 participants
7 employers
10 police
23 workers
17 contract cards

50 participants
14 employers (2 factory owners, 2 mine employers etc.)
11 police
25 workers
18 contract cards

150 participants
35 employers (5 factory owners, 5 mine employers etc.)
90 workers
25 police
67 contract cards.

A corresponding number of role sheets, chance cards, pass books etc. will need to be supplied.
Step by Step Instructions

1. Set up the space, as in the diagram. The Labour Bureau requires a long desk, the other places each require a small table with two or three chairs. Attach labels to each place: 'Labour Bureau', 'Police Station', 'Prison Farm' and then attach labels which correspond to the work places mentioned on the contract cards — 'Park Station', 'Dunlop' etc.

Each time BDAFSA has used the exercise we have mounted a small display behind each work place consisting of photographs and facts relating to conditions of work, wages etc. in that particular job.

2. Check the contents of the envelopes.

Each Employer envelope should contain:
(a) Employer's role sheet
(b) Employer's badge
(c) 'Vacancy' signs
(d) About thirty plain pieces of paper
(e) A pencil.

Each Worker envelope should contain:
(a) Role sheet
(b) Pass book
(c) Worker's badge

Each Police envelope should contain:
(a) Police role sheet
(b) Police badge.

3. On the Labour Bureau table there should be the Section 10 stamp and pad.
On the Police table there should be the Return to Bantustan stamp plus pad.

4. Check the contract cards. There should always be fewer cards than there are workers, enough for around 75% of the workers. Thus for eighteen workers there should be: 3 Mineworker cards, 2 Railway Worker cards, 4 Domestic Service cards, 2 Factory Worker cards, 2 Building Worker cards.

The number of cards should be adjusted according to the number of participants but the exercise will only work properly if:
(a) the whole range of occupations are more or less evenly represented on the cards.
(b) a quarter of the workers do not receive contract cards and therefore do not receive the Section 10 stamp in their pass books.

5. The participants in the exercise can now be called into the space. Explain briefly: the apartheid policy regarding the bantustans; the fact that at the age of 16 years every African is given a pass book which is to be carried for life; and why school children in Soweto and elsewhere demonstrated in 1976 and since. A map of South Africa which shows the bantustans and the pattern of removals would be useful at this point.

6. First controller introduces the exercise by handing out envelopes at random. Participants should be told they are being asked to play roles in which they may be required to assume a different sex. The purpose of this simulation is primarily to help participants understand a process rather than to identify with specific individuals.

7. First controller asks participants to open the envelopes, pin on their role badges and read the instructions. About five minutes should be sufficient.

8. Both controllers should reinforce the tasks which each group is being asked to perform. Workers must find employment in the 'white' city. If they do not earn a minimum of £50 a month their families and dependents in the bantustans may starve. Explain and demonstrate that a loud blast of a whistle represents the passage of a month. Stress that not all workers will be given a legal right to work. Those people who are not given this legal document must therefore try to find 'illegal' work in the city as their families in the bantustans depend on them. The exercise is structured so that 'illegal' work is available but does not inform the worker at this point.

Tell the employers that they have to comply with the government regulations regarding the employment of African labour. Each time the whistle blows they should write £50 on the piece of paper and hand it to every 'legal' employee. If they sack an employee they should take the contract card back to the Labour Bureau. They must do this personally and not permit the worker to do this.

Tell the Police that their task is to be as vigilant and active as possible in detecting 'illegal' workers.

9. Ask the Employers to take up position at the Work places, the Police to go to the Police Station and the Workers to line up at the Labour Bureau.

10. First Controller (or an outside person if preferred) takes on the role of the Labour Bureau Officer and reads the 'script' on the role sheet to the Workers.

11. Now the Labour Bureau Officer examines pass books and gives Workers their appropriate contract cards. Second controller stamps 'Section 10(H)d' into the pass book of all those Workers who have contract cards. S/he refuses to stamp the pass book of anyone who has not been given a card.

12. First controller stays at the Labour Bureau to handle enquiries from Workers who have lost jobs and to receive returned contract cards. S/he may award or withhold jobs at his/her discretion. S/he should also blow the whistle about every four minutes.

13. Second controller becomes Police Officer and hands out T.B. Pass or Fail cards alternately.

When the exercise has been running for about five minutes s/he begins to hand out the chance cards. The rate at which these cards are handed out will depend very much upon the second controller's perception of the progress of the exercise. Try to ensure that all Workers and Employers receive chance cards regularly and be careful to hand them out in numerical order.

14. When the last chance card has been distributed the controllers confer and decide when to end the exercise.

15. Ask participants to refill their envelopes. This will make the exercise easier to organise next time.

Context of the Exercise

This exercise is intended to be used as one element in a larger teaching programme on Apartheid. We consider it particularly useful as a way of introducing the topic. If the simulation is used as suggested, prior to the exercise students should be given a brief background on the situation in South Africa with particular emphasis on:
(1) forced removals of peoples and the bantustans
(2) pass books
(3) the uprising of the Soweto schoolchildren in 1976 who demonstrated against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools, and against apartheid education. The immediate follow-up to the exercise should be a discussion led by someone with knowledge of the situations reflected by the simulation. BDAFSA may be contacted with regard to provision of a speaker.
Comments and Suggestions
This simulation is not as complicated as it might appear. All that is necessary for a successful run through is that:
(a) the envelopes are packed correctly
(b) there are the correct number of contract cards
(c) the whistle is blown regularly
(d) the chance cards are handed out in numerical order.
Provided the above take place the simulation runs itself. There is scope for improvisation: the Police could be bribed; Employers may feel sympathetic to Workseekers and employ them 'legally'; pass books could be stolen; Police may decide to raid the work places etc. This can deepen the individual's experience of the exercise and since improvisation can only take place within the deliberately tight structure, it is unlikely to produce incidents which do not accurately reflect the reality which the exercise is attempting to mirror.

It is important that everything which happens during the simulation should be discussed afterwards and gauged for accuracy.

We have attempted to offer an exercise which can be developed and built upon as the situation in South Africa changes. The final chance card locates the experience in 1976 at the time of the Soweto demonstrations. The purpose of this is not simply to introduce the topic of Soweto but to confront participants with the fact of resistance to the apartheid system which takes many forms.

Controllers, therefore, may prefer to use something more topical than the Soweto chance card.

Equally, other chance cards may be introduced to ensure that the exercise is kept accurate and up-to-date.

The simulation is concerned primarily with the experience of Workseekers in the 'white' cities of apartheid South Africa; it does not explore the internal situation in the bantustans. This could be done by writing chance cards (handed out by the Labour Bureau Official to Africans who have failed to find work) which develops the simulation in the bantustan and thus extends the exercise.

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**PERSONAL PARTICULARS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIRST NAMES</th>
<th>Robert</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SURNAME</td>
<td>MASHIGO (MALE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CITIZENSHIP</td>
<td>KWA ZULU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 3894614</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**EMPLOYMENT PARTICULARS**

**DIRECTOR**

**REFERENCE**

---

The wealth of South Africa is produced by a predominantly black workforce, many of them migrant workers.
ROLE SHEET
LABOUR BUREAU OFFICIAL

You are a Labour Bureau official. All those people in the bantustans who wish to work in Johannesburg must come to you. Your job is to direct them to the available jobs. These jobs are specified on your job cards. The government wishes to keep a strict control on the number of black people in the "white" areas, therefore you must stick to the regulations which control the labour situation. When the workers arrive at your office, sit them all down and explain the following regulations.

1. First open your Pass books and see what is written in the employment section. If your Pass book says you are a minerworker, that is the job you must do. You are only eligible for the employment stated in your Pass book. You are not free to choose your employment.
2. Any work you get in the town will only be for 12 months. Your employer will discharge you when the 12 months is up. You must then return to the bantustan for a minimum of one month before returning to this office to re-apply for the same work.
3. You cannot, under any circumstances bring your family to live in Johannesburg with you. If your family wishes to visit you, you may apply for a 72 hour permit. If they stay longer than 72 hours they will be fined or imprisoned if they are found by the authorities.
4. If we find work for you we will stamp a Section 10(1)(d) into your Pass book. This entitles you to work legally in Johannesburg. We will also give you a contract which you must take to your employer.
5. It is illegal to work in Johannesburg without a Section 10(1)(d) stamp in your book. If you are caught working without a stamp you will be arrested and fined.
6. Now will you form orderly lines while we see if work is available.

NOW
- Refer to the jobcards in front of you and allocate jobs on a first come, first served basis.
- The jobs allocated must correspond to the job stated in the Pass book.
- When you allocate a job, stamp in the Section 10(1)(d) and give the worker the contract to take to the employer.
- If the mining employer sends you a worker who wishes to work because a vacancy has arisen, check that the employee has:
  a) "mineworker" in the Pass book
  b) has a contract
Then stamp the Pass book.

ROLE SHEET
FACTORY OWNER

Your task is to comply with all the regulations when you employ someone to work in your factory.

As soon as a worker seeks you a contract from the Labour Bureau, check that he has a Section 10(1)(d) stamp in the Pass book. If this is in order, tell the worker he/she is now employed and pay £50 every time the bell rings.

Do not accept anybody without a contract. If there is a vacancy in your factory but the worker does not have a contract, advise him or her to go back to the homelands and return with a contract. You may write a note to say that you are willing to employ the worker, if you wish.

Tell your workers about accommodation. They have to live in single sex hostels in Soweto. Their families may not join them at any point.

If a worker leaves your employment, find a replacement by putting up a VACANCY sign.

If one of your employees wishes, for any reason, to return to the bantustans, he/she will automatically lose the job. If he/she wishes to look for work again he/she must go back to the Labour Bureau. If you lose an employee, put up a VACANCY sign. Tell the ex-employee to take the contract card back to the Labour Bureau.

ROLE SHEET
MINE MANAGER

You are a mine manager.
1. Your task is to comply with all the regulations when you employ someone to work in the mines.
2. As soon as a worker seeks you a contract from the Labour Bureau, check that he/she has a Section 10(1)(d) stamp in the Pass book. If this is in order, tell the worker he/she is now employed and pay £50 every time the bell rings.
3. Do not accept anybody without a contract. If they are looking for work in the mines they must go back to the Labour Bureau in the homelands and return with a contract.
4. Tell your workers about accommodation. They are to live in single bachelor quarters, 12 men to a room, in the mining compound. No women, including wives, are allowed on the premises.
5. Then send your employees for a medical examination. They will return with cards saying O.K. or T.B. If the card says T.B. sack your employee.
6. If one of your employees becomes disabled as a result of a mining accident, sack him, send him back to the homeland but tell him he has a pension of £20 a month.
7. If any of your employees go on strike or involve themselves in any kind of political or trade union activity, sack them and send them back to the homelands.
8. If you sack an employee, put up a VACANCY sign outside the mine. If approached by someone looking for a job, check that the "mineworker" is written in the Pass book. If it is, give the worker a contract card and send him back to the Labour Bureau to get a Section 10 stamp. Employ this worker when he returns.
9. Repeat procedures 4 and 5.
10. If one of your employees wishes, for any reason, to return to the bantustans he will automatically lose his job. If he wishes to look for work again he must go back to the Labour Bureau. If you lose an employee put up a VACANCY sign and tell the worker you have lost, to take the contract card back to the Labour Bureau.

ROLE SHEET
FARM OWNER

You own a large maize farm, situated outside the bantustans, 100 miles from Johannesburg.
You may employ anyone who wants work. However, you pay only £10 a month. You also have prisoners working on your farm whom you do not pay. If a Pass offender is sent to you, you may keep him cutting maize on your farm for one month. You do not pay him. You send him back to the bantustan after the month. No chance cards.

ROLE SHEET
HOUSEHOLDER (1)

You are a fairly wealthy householder. You have a husband or wife, and three young children. You have a large house with a swimming pool. You need two servants: a nanny and a general domestic servant. Put up your VACANCY signs.
You prefer to employ servants legally. This means that people applying to you for work should have:

a) a contract
b) a Section 10(1)(d) stamp in the Pass book.
But you feel sorry for the plight of black workers in the city and you are prepared to employ workers if they do not possess the above. Warn anyone in this situation that they must not be caught by the police. Detection would mean that you would be fined £300 and the worker would be sent back to the bantustans.
Your two employees may live in the servants' quarters at the back of the house. No visitors of the opposite sex. Visitors to leave the premises by 11 pm.
If one of your servants leaves your service for whatever reason you may advertise for another by putting up a VACANCY sign.
When the bell rings pay each of your employees £50.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROLE SHEET</th>
<th>POLICE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your task is to ensure that all the Africans have the legal right to work in Johannesburg.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>You are trying to catch illegal workers. To do this you must constantly question the workers as soon as they leave the Labour Bureau and throughout the simulation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A legal worker has:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) a contract from the bantustan Labour Bureau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) a Section 10(1)(d) stamp in the Pass book.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the pass is stamped you allow the worker to remain in Johannesburg.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>If the pass is not stamped, the worker is not legally approved. You give them the option of a £50 fine, prison labour for a month, or returning to the bantustan. If they choose to leave, stamp their Pass book with the endorsement: ‘Leave within 72 hours’.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Even if the stamp is present you should test the worker’s knowledge of the Pass book number and ask them where they work, how long they have worked and whether or not they are members of a trade union.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Use the prison area if workers choose to go to prison. Use it also with anyone who is difficult.</td>
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<tr>
<td>If you find an employer employing workers who have no Section 10 stamp in the Pass book, fine the employer £300.</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROLE SHEET</th>
<th>WORKSEEKER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You live in the bantustan of South Africa where there is no work. You are desperate to find work to keep your family alive. This means you must try to find work in Johannesburg.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Your task is to find work in Johannesburg and to earn at least £50 a month. This is the minimum amount needed to keep your family alive.</td>
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<tr>
<td>First, study your Pass book carefully. Note you name, age, sex and employment.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second, go to the Labour Bureau and find out what you must do to find work. Your aim is to work legally for as long as you can. If you are not given legal work, or if you lose your job, do what you can to earn your £50 a month.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once the simulation has started, a whistle will sound every time a ‘month’ has passed. If you haven’t earned £50 during this time your family is in danger of starving.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>If you lose your job, if you are working illegally, or if your wages are too low, look out for VACANCY signs and apply where you see them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the police send you back to the bantustan you could risk ignoring them and look for work either in the town or in the farms.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROLE SHEET</th>
<th>HOUSEHOLDER (2)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You are a fairly wealthy householder. You have a wife or husband and three young children. You have a large house with a swimming pool. You need two servants: a nanny and a general domestic servant. Put up your VACANCY signs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You only employ servants legally. This means that people applying to you for work should have:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) a contract</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) a Section 10(1)(d) stamp in the Pass book.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check to ensure applicants have the above. Do not employ anybody who does not.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your two employees may live in the servants’ quarters at the back of the house. No visitors of the opposite sex are allowed. Visitors of the same sex have to leave the premises by 11pm.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>If one of your servants leaves, you may advertise for another by putting up a VACANCY sign. When the bell rings pay each of your employees £50.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROLE SHEET</th>
<th>RAILWAY MANAGER</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your task is to comply with all the regulations when you employ someone to work in your railway company.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As soon as a workseeker gives you a contract from the Labour Bureau, check that s/he has a Section 10(1)(d) stamp in the Pass book. If this is in order, tell the workseeker s/he is now employed and pay £50 every time the bell rings.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not accept anybody without a contract. If there is a vacancy in your railway company but the workseeker does not have a contract, advise him or her to go back to the bantustan and return with a contract. You may write a note to the effect that you are willing to employ the workseeker, if you feel so inclined.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell your workers about accommodation. They have to live in single sex hostels in Soweto. Their families may not join them at any point.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>If a worker leaves your employment, find a replacement by putting up a VACANCY sign.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If one of your employees wishes, for any reason, to return to the bantustan s/he will automatically lose his/her job. If s/he wishes to look for work again s/he must go back to the Labour Bureau. If you lose an employee, put up a VACANCY sign and tell the worker you have lost to take the contract card back to the Labour Bureau.</td>
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**The British Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa**

Director: Ethel De Keyser  
Cannon Collins House  
64 Essex Road  
London, N1  
Tel: 01-359 9181

The British Defence and Aid Fund will be happy to assist teachers in preparing their work on Southern Africa. The group has made cross curricular education work an important part of its overall work. The emphasis has been on primary and middle school children who are generally omitted from educational work on Southern Africa. A special committee on education, consisting largely of teachers and educationalists, has been working for almost three years. Projects include the production of a resource pack on racism and Southern Africa, and guidelines and materials for conference organisation.

The BDAF also provides speakers for schools throughout the country.
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You receive news that one of your family in the bantustan has died as a result of malnutrition. You must go to the bantustan. Tell your employer and ask if you may have your job back when you return.</td>
<td>You suspect one of your workers in encouraging others to strike. Confront this employee with the accusation and whatever he/she says, sack him/her immediately.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You receive news that one of your family, who is in the bantustan, has died as a result of malnutrition. You must go to the bantustan. Tell your employer and ask if you may have your job back when you return.</td>
<td>You have lost your pass.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One of your employees is allowing a friend of the opposite sex to spend the night in his/her room. This can attract the neighbours' attention who are likely to tell the police. Warn the employee that this must stop. Warn him/her that he/she is an illegal worker. If the police discover this they could send him/her to prison and you would be fined £300.</td>
<td>One of your employees has had an accident at work resulting in the loss of an eye. Sack this employee giving him/her £10. Put up a vacancy sign and take contract card back to the labour bureau.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You have discovered one of your servants reading an ANC (African National Congress) pamphlet. This is a banned organisation and you are frightened that the police may descend on your house. Sack the servant and send him/her back to the bantustan giving him/her £10. Put up a vacancy sign. Take the contract card back to the labour bureau.</td>
<td>You decide that you want to fight for a free and democratic South Africa and an end to the apartheid system. All the efforts that have been made to date do not seem to have changed the system. Distribute the attached pamphlet to all workseekers. Do not get caught by the police; persuade other workseekers to join you in this effort. (Copies of ANC Freedom Charter to accompany this card.)</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your servant is still allowing the friend to sleep overnight. Sack him/her and send him/her back to the bantustan providing him/her with redundancy money of £10.</td>
<td>Watch out for any of your employees who may be distributing ANC material—the African National Congress was banned in 1960. If you discover such activity report the offender to the police.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You receive news that one of your family in the bantustan has died as a result of malnutrition. You must go to the bantustan. Tell your employer and ask if you may have your job back when you return.</td>
<td>It is September 1976. Thousands of Soweto school children have been marching and demonstrating against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in their schools, against very inferior education and against the injustice of apartheid. Several hundred have been shot dead by police during peaceful demonstrations. Many of these students want you to show solidarity with their actions and to stay away from work for three days. Will you support them? If you stay off work you will automatically be sacked and sent back to the bantustan. Meet with your fellow workers now and decide what to do.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One of your workers has had an accident at work resulting in the loss of two fingers. Sack the worker and give him/her £10. Put up a vacancy sign and take the contract card back to the labour bureau.</td>
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</table>
Young and Black in South Africa

Freedom: South Africa
My name is Nkululeko Mkhwanazi. Nkululeko means Freedom. I use the English version to avoid mispronunciation by British people and other foreigners. I am a 23 year old male from South Africa. I belong to the African National Congress. I left South Africa after the Soweto uprising in 1976 and became a refugee. I was only 18 years old. I was still at High School doing an equivalent of O Level.

WHY DID I LEAVE SOUTH AFRICA?
I left because of the repression of the South African regime against a peaceful march by black students. We were demanding nothing less than a fair and non-racial education. This was in 1976. Black students were trying to air their grievances against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in the schools. Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor and was identified as a symbol of oppression by us.

It is important to remember that the ancestors of today’s all white government also rebelled against the use of English as an official language. This took place during the Anglo-Boer war in 1889-1902. One of the Boer generals was quoted as saying: ‘The language of the conqueror is the mouth of the conquered is the language of slaves.’ In a way, history repeated itself in 1976.

Needless to say, like in numerous other incidents, the police responded to our peaceful march by brutal force. Many students and children died. They died facing bullets with stones. Many are paralysed, crippled or suffer from mental problems because of torture. Some like me, fortunate to have survived, were forced into exile. Many joined the African National Congress.

WHAT IS THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS?
The African National Congress is the leading national liberation movement fighting for the rights and freedoms of black people in South Africa. It was formed in 1912. It has a record of fifty years of peaceful struggle. In 1960 after the Sharpeville massacre, when over 60 Africans were machine-gunned to death for refusing to carry passes, the ANC was banned. These circumstances forced it to go underground and use the last alternative, violence, as a means of political struggle. This is the violence provoked by the violence of the regime.

HOW DOES ALL THIS CONCERN BRITISH YOUTH?
• It was the British government that gave over the reins of power to the white minority in 1910 through the Act of Union. South Africa then was a member of the Commonwealth. The majority population, the Africans, were excluded from government.

• The British companies have tremendous economic assets in the South African economy. Their investments thrive due to their super-exploitation of the African working class, Britain, or the British public, have a moral duty to correct this injustice. In fact, in 1976 British Leyland landrovers were in action in Soweto.

• The United Nations has codified apartheid as a crime against humanity. Humankind has a responsibility to pass judgment on the criminals.

• UN figures show that EEC countries provide 43% of South Africa’s total imports. EEC countries buy 99% of South Africa’s total exports and in 1976 investment by EEC companies accounted for 57% of South Africa’s foreign liabilities.

South Africa is a key supplier of uranium to Western Europe, both from its own mines and also from Namibia. It rules Namibia illegally and in defiance of the UN. Imports of Namibian uranium are in direct contravention of United Nations policy that minerals should not be exported whilst there is not a democratically elected government of independent Namibia.

WHAT CAN YOU DO?
You need to make young people aware of the facts of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa.

You can write articles, discuss with friends at school or work, or take a project about South Africa in your history classes. For instance, Western Europeans have given South Africa the equipment and skills to build an atomic bomb, in return for supplies of South African and Namibian uranium. South Africa’s aggressive posture in Southern Africa should bring home the fact that in times of desperation it may deploy its nuclear arsenal to blackmail the African continent. The former Prime Minister, B.J. Vorster, has in fact threatened to do so.

You can encourage and support the people of South Africa by:
• campaigning for the release of political prisoners. Nelson Mandela, widely accepted as future Prime Minister of a non-racial South Africa has been in prison for about 20 years.

• Raising funds for clothes, books, medical kits needed by the liberation movements, such as the Freedom College run by the ANC in Tanzania.

The liberation of South Africa removes a threat to peace from the whole world. Today’s young generation have to do the spade work to secure for itself a peaceful and happy future.

Freedom and Biance wrote these papers after a 6th form conference which took place in London. Conferences for 6th formers and teachers are regularly organized jointly by the ILEA and B.D.A.F. Contact B.D.A.F. for help with similar conferences in other areas.
Young and Black in Namibia

My name is Bience Gawanas and I am from Namibia. I am 27 years old and currently studying in the UK. I belong to SWAPO of Namibia, a liberation movement waging a struggle against the Apartheid South African regime which is illegally occupying my country. I left Namibia in 1977 partly because of my active involvement in the struggle and in my search for self-expression and an air to breathe in freely. As a black woman oppressed by attitudes to my colour, class and sex, I found my involvement in SWAPO gives me an opportunity to realize myself and to play a productive role in a free and independent Namibia.

The problems that exist today in my country stem from the policy of Apartheid. Apartheid is not only an inhuman crime but it is a threat to world peace. It tells us, through our education as black youths, that we are fit only for lives of servitude. The word Apartheid means 'separateness' and it is used by the white racist minority against the majority - the black people. White people are made to believe that they are superior; they keep the black people ignorant and backward, thus justifying the 'fact' that we need them to rule us.

My Early Days in Namibia

Like many other Namibians of my age, I have been brought up under extreme conditions prevailing under the system of Apartheid. I was born in a large family of 11 children (me being the 4th born). Since towns and cities are solely for white occupation, we live in a black 'township' away from town in a matchbox four-room house. There were two bedrooms (one for my parents), a kitchen and a sitting-room which served as a bedroom by night. My eldest brother and two sisters were forced to live with us though they were already grown-ups. The authorities told my sisters that they should have children before they could get their own houses. This seems to be one way of discouraging young women from straining for a better future. We had no electricity or running water and our toilets (no bathrooms) were outside the house.

The absence of electricity, with so many people living in a 4-roomed house, made study very difficult. Despite all these hardships e.g. studying by candlelight only late at night when everybody had gone to sleep, I managed to complete my secondary education. Then there were other difficulties such as walking to and from school, sometimes without any breakfast or even pocket money. At midday when coming back from school, there was usually no lunch because both my parents were away at work until late in the afternoon. This is usual for black families. It has very bad effects on many children because they stay away from school without their parents knowing anything, and become street-people searching for food or stealing for survival.

At the ILEA 6th form conference there was time for discussion. Students asked many interesting questions about Namibia. I have listed some of them here, with my answers.

How are black youths (women in particular) discouraged from obtaining higher education?

First and foremost, the whole education system is designed so that black youths compete with white children for jobs. But we are at a disadvantage. For example, we are taught not to think or argue for ourselves. Certain subjects - especially science subjects - are considered to be 'above the black child's capabilities'. Also, in order to obtain higher education, our parents need to be in better financial positions. Many families cannot afford to send the children to school.

My own experience of being discouraged was when I was nearing the final year in secondary school. It was argued that as a woman and a black there was no need to send me to high school. Black women are only useful as producers of labourers and sweepers of floors. For this we need no education at all. Fortunately my parents and my eldest brother in particular urged me to further my education and to choose a career. Without their encouragement, I might have ended up leaving school at an early age to take up 'woman's work' as a housewife or a domestic servant. I can still recall that during my high school days, many of my female classmates were encouraged to take up nursing and teaching. (These jobs were by then the only professions open to women and were mere extensions of so-called 'woman's work').

By the end of my final year, we were only 6 girls out of 40 students. Out of 40 students, only two of us could enter into university. But even then we had to obtain scholarships from the church in order to pursue courses of our own choice. The education system is used as a filter so that only a few blacks can get into university.

My ambition was always to study law. When I went for an interview for university, I was told by a white man that as a black person my capabilities were lower than the capabilities of a white child, and I would not be able to cope. I should rather do teaching or nursing. I got so furious and more determined to prove myself as a young black Namibian woman.

How does education support Apartheid? How does it result in poor education for black people?

Education is meant to develop the minds and self-consciousness in all young people at a particular country. If this is so, why is it that our education is divided into separate systems for white, coloureds and Africans? It is to prevent the black people from gaining a world outlook and to keep us ignorant and make us feel inferior. Our education system, the so-called 'Bantu education', is intertwined with racial domination and the exploitation of our labour power and resources.

White children enjoy the right to compulsory and free education while we are struggling to get to school. There is a shortage of schools, qualified teachers, text-books, writing materials, accommodation and recreation facilities, libraries and job opportunities. We have no say in the drawing up of syllabuses. The history or geography we are being taught does not reflect our own country's and people's history or development. We do not have special schools for disabled, blind, deaf or dumb children while white people have such schools. We are not allowed to form students' unions or organizations to discuss academic problems or matters which face us generally.
How is family life affected by Apartheid?

The most fertile lands are reserved for the whites. Our land has been taken away from us and we are forced to live in dry useless areas which the whites call our 'homelands'. We can’t visit one another freely because we have to carry passes. In order to survive, our fathers and brothers are forced to leave us behind to go and seek work as migrant workers in mines, factories or on farms. In most cases women and young children are left behind. Young girls have to give up school to help their mothers look after younger brothers and sisters as well as help in the fields. The boys look after the cattle.

For people who live in the townships, most of the mothers are domestic workers and they have to leave early in the morning to clean and look after a white woman’s house. They look after white people’s children while we are left on our own. Our fathers are also away at work and usually both of them come home late in the afternoon very tired. They have no time to even talk or cuddle us. Sometimes our parents get so frustrated because of the work and low wages that they become impatient with us.

What is SWAPO and why is it important to black youths?

We are denied an education. We regard that as a crime against humanity. We are kept ignorant. Our people are living in poverty while the whites are rich and have plenty to eat. SWAPO was formed in 1960 as a liberation movement fighting to overthrow Apartheid. It is the South West African Peoples Organisation. The black youths, realising that the education system is designed to make them servants for the rest of their lives, quit schools, colleges and universities in order to join the struggle waged by SWAPO. Some of them left to seek a better education elsewhere. We see our future in the abolition of Apartheid. We want to bring about a society in which all, regardless of sex and race, can benefit from the fruits.

Our friends in various countries today offer scholarships to SWAPO in order to give an opportunity to the Namibian youth to educate themselves and to prove that there’s no difference between white and black students. We will then be able to overcome our inferiority complexes and take up our places among people the world over as equals. We regard our studies as an essential part of our struggle and we believe that we are studying to help our people.

Education ought to be a right, not a privilege, to enable all our people to play a part in building up a free and independent Namibia.

Why is there violence in Namibia? Is violent struggle really necessary? Is there no other way?

Since the time our land was colonised we have always tried to pursue peaceful means to achieve our goal. We held demonstrations which were always broken up by armed police and soldiers. Because of this, many of us were forced to leave our beloved motherland to take up arms to liberate ourselves. Violence is not just war but it is with us every day in our lives. We are humiliated and our people are living under starvation. We are being taught by white soldiers in uniform and guns: we are forced to join the racist army. All these things mean violence to us. We want nothing more than peace in our country. It is not easy to see so many people killed, but in order to get peace we must fight a war.

Why does the UN not do anything to help solve the problem of Apartheid?

The UN is a world body made of many countries. One such country is your country, Britain. For many years now, the UN has tried to force South Africa to leave Namibia, but every time your country and other Western countries have blocked such attempts. These countries all have economic ties with South Africa and they have to protect their interests.

What part is played by multi-national companies in Namibia?

Namibia is one of the richest countries in the world but the majority of the Namibian people live in poverty. We have diamonds, copper, tin, etc. which are taken by foreign companies. Many of them are British companies. These minerals or products are sold and the money goes to the owners of these companies and not to the rightful owners – the Namibian people. The fruits, meat, food that you are eating, the fur coats that you are wearing and the uranium that is used for nuclear weapons are all coming from our country. Cheap black labour is exploited to obtain these things. Remember when you are eating South African products that it comes from the sweat and hard labour of the black people.

How are women doubly oppressed in Namibia?

Most of the black women are denied education so that today the majority of Namibian women are illiterate. They are therefore employed to do unskilled work such as domestic work or cleaning. Those who are teachers or nurses are paid lower wages than men, even though they do the same work. Women’s contribution to the economy is not recognised. As uneducated people their work is regarded as just a mere assistance, it supplements the husband or man’s salary.

We are destined to be kitchen workers or childbearers only. A white woman gets better jobs and higher salaries than a black woman even if a black woman has higher qualifications. Only in an independent Namibia will women be able to realise themselves and play a more productive role in the economy.

Why should Namibia’s problems concern British youth?

Most of the British youth believe that it is not their concern if other young people, thousands of miles away, are suffering. But they should remember that Britain went miles and miles away to exploit other people. The development of Britain and other Western countries was built on the sweat of black labourers and the exploitation of our natural resources.

As young people the world over, we should join hands in our search for a better secure future, and for peace. Nobody can ever live in peace when other young people elsewhere are suffering and demanding a better life. Remember, that whereas you have a family to live with, we don’t; whereas you have something to eat, we don’t; whereas you have a right to education, to form students organisations, we don’t.

You have an opportunity to live together and to go to school together as people of different races. It’s time for you to learn from each other, to appreciate each other’s cultures and backgrounds in order to make this world a better place. It’s that unity that we are striving for. Once you have it and you join hands with the suffering youth of Namibia, we can play an important role as young people both here and in Namibia and South Africa.
Namibia

Population: 1.5 million (estimated)
Black 92% — White 8%

Capital: Windhoek

Main Resources: Uranium, diamonds, tin, silver, lead, zinc, copper, vanadium

Main Industries: Mining, livestock rearing, fishing, Karakul sheep pel t production

Infant Mortality: Black — 163 per 1,000
White — 21 per 1,000

Education: 1% Black adults complete secondary school
12% complete primary school

Labour: 45% of labour force is migrant labour
18% of labour force is unemployed

An Economy of Theft
Namibia’s natural resources, particularly its minerals, have been extracted and used by multinational companies and other foreign interest groups. Many would describe what has happened as ‘robbery’ or ‘pillage’ — and it is in fact illegal according to the United Nations and in international law.

Namibia is potentially one of Africa’s richest countries, yet the majority of its people live in poverty. In 1976 the United Nations estimated that the white people in Namibia enjoyed average annual per capita incomes 24 times as large as those received by the average black person (R3,000 compared with R125 per head — a rand is equivalent to about 60p).

Wide discrepancies in wealth, income, wages and living conditions continue to characterise Namibia today. Most black Namibians who are employed are in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs in agriculture, mining, domestic service, the manufacturing sector, construction or commerce. These are the jobs with the lowest pay and least attractive working conditions. In 1977 there were estimated to be only 100 African and 250 Coloured Namibians in managerial or administrative posts.

Government spending on health, education and other social services is unequal. For example in 1980/81, R23.70 was spent on health services for each white person in Namibia, compared with R24.85 per head in the Ovambo region where nearly half the black population live. Thousands of black families live in shanty towns and squatter settlements, without proper sewage facilities, running water or electricity.

Political Events
Resistance to South African rule goes back to the last century. It came together nationally when SWAPO, the Namibian liberation movement was formed in 1960. Initially an organisation among migrant and contract workers, it soon broadened to include students, youth, women, peasants and church groups. It is internationally recognised as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people.

In the knowledge that decades of peaceful resistance in Namibia had been met with violence, SWAPO launched a guerrilla war in 1966. The liberation movement has continued to take part in international negotiations for a Namibian independence agreement and to mobilise people inside Namibia in support of the struggle for a free, non-racial and democratic society.

Meanwhile, South African rule has become more and more militarised. It depends on the continued presence of 100,000 South African controlled troops and a network of repressive laws to curb increasing opposition. Attempts by South Africa to install a ‘government’ in Namibia composed of groups sympathetic to South African policies and hostile to SWAPO have repeatedly failed.

History of Foreign Occupation
Namibia has experienced over a century of foreign occupation. During the 19th century two groups moved in — German settlers who established huge cattle ranches, and foreign mining companies. They were protected by the German army. Over 80,000 Namibians were killed or died of starvation as the German forces established their rule and evicted those in their way.

South Africa, acting under the direction of the British, moved into Namibia in 1915. German rule was replaced by South African rule. In 1920 South Africa was given a League of Nations mandate to administer Namibia ‘in the best interests of its indigenous population. South Africa violated the mandate by imposing its own policies of racial discrimination and segregation. In 1948, South Africa formally adopted its present policies of apartheid when the Nationalist Party was returned to power in a general election. In 1966, the United Nations, the successor to the League of Nations, revoked South Africa’s mandate and placed Namibia under U.N. supervision. South Africa has refused to recognise the authority of the UN and remains entrenched in Namibia, illegally, to this day.

War
The war in Namibia has escalated during the past five years. The military wing of SWAPO, which has widespread support among the people, has successfully attacked a number of South African strategic and military bases. South Africa, which has imposed martial law on 80% of Namibia’s people, is spending 33m PER DAY on a campaign of terror. The war is costing an average of 50 Namibian and Angolan civilian lives A WEEK. Church sources report repeated massacres by South African forces of groups of civilians on suspicion of being SWAPO members; thousands have been detained and tortured and churches have been burned down. The people live in the midst of a battlefield. Their problems are compounded by severe drought, the difficulty of sustaining agricultural production and virtually no access to medical aid.

SWAPO Refugee Settlements
An estimated 80,000 black Namibians have fled the horrors of war and persecution to become refugees in settlements in Zambia and Angola. Many of them are elderly people and children.

Here, their needs for food, water, health, education and welfare are looked after by SWAPO. They live in tents, under constant threat of South African attack. One such attack happened in 1978 at Kassinga, where South African soldiers killed nearly 800 people, mostly women and children.

SWAPO, through its Women’s Council and other organisations, endeavours to provide education for all, in very difficult conditions. There is often only one textbook between 20 people and a desperate shortage of pencils and paper. The Women’s Council have also established projects for livestock rearing, sowing, weaving, carpentry and mechanics. There is a nursery with 24-hour childcare which also enables mothers to work and study. Most of the children are orphans. Care centres have been established for the elderly and disabled. All refugees are given medical check-ups on arrival, many carry diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria. SWAPO’s health programmers try to fill the gaps left by South Africa’s neglect.

The Future
The United Nations independence plan for Namibia, Resolution 435, was drawn up in 1978. It provides for South African withdrawal and the holding of internationally supervised elections. Since 1978, SWAPO has expressed its willingness to sign a ceasefire and co-operate in implementing the plan. But South Africa has invented numerous obstacles and year after year of United Nations member states have called for sanctions against South Africa to force it to withdraw and allow Namibian independence. British and American governments have consistently blocked these efforts.

While South Africa remains in Namibia, the war and people’s suffering will continue. If South Africa would agree to a ceasefire and the holding of truly free and fair elections, SWAPO would undoubtedly win. A SWAPO government would try to reduce the inequalities of income and ownership in Namibia. The contract labour system would be ended to allow people to live with their families, and basic social services and rights to education and health for all would be introduced.

This paper was prepared by the Namibia Support Committee.
Why I Won’t Play in South Africa

"The main reason why I won’t go to South Africa is that apartheid is as strong as ever. Black people are denied the vote. They cannot move around the country freely. They have sub-standard education. They get starvation wages. It’s a racist society."

But aren’t changes being made? There have been some multi-racial sports events recently.

It seems on the surface that changes are being made. But any multi-racial play on the sporting field is just a show. It’s a pretence to the outside world that nothing is wrong. The government makes “special dispensations”. These are agreements which allow multi-racial games but only on selected occasions.

What sort of occasions?

The Government decides. They choose occasions for maximum publicity. It is usually when international teams play in South Africa. The idea is to put a better face on apartheid. It’s to persuade people outside the country that nothing is wrong. Inside the country it is made very clear to the Afrikaners — the whites — that this is only done as a way of getting more international sport.

Why do they bother?

Sport is very important to white South Africans. Rugby is a lifeline to the outside world. They spend a lot of time and effort — and thousands of poundst — in persuading rugby playing countries to keep up contact with the outside world. Britain, New Zealand, Australia — South Africa wants sporting contacts with these countries.

It’s important to inform people in these countries what Apartheid is really like. There’s a danger that an English rugby team will be going to South Africa this year. It’s important to put pressure on them not to go.

Why is the English team going? Why don’t they know better?

They’ve been misled. They believe what the Government is saying about change in South Africa. It shows that they don’t understand what’s going on. Besides, many of them want to go — in spite of their visit being a direct encouragement to apartheid.

What sort of things does the Government say?

That apartheid in sport has broken down. They say that there are no restrictions on who you can play with, and where. But the teams fear that they have to take account of the fact that the laws haven’t changed. It’s still illegal for black and white to marry. Black and white people still have to travel in separate carriages on trains. They aren’t allowed into the same hospital wards. Or given equal pay for the same job. How can there be “normal” sport in that sort of abnormal society?

But isn’t it true that you went to South Africa with the New Zealand team in 1979?

Yes. We were the first multi-racial team to play in South Africa. It seemed the right thing to do at the time. But we soon learned that the white South Africans had no intention of altering anything.

All that they have done since — and it’s fourteen years — is to include a few token black and coloured players in the national team when it goes abroad. This does not pose a threat to apartheid in South Africa.

When the South African national teams play at home, a special arrangement is made to allow 1 or 2 black players to play. They’ll allow multi-racial games — but only when it suits them. It’s all a publicity stunt.

An Interview with Chris Laidlaw, Ex-captain of the New Zealand Rugby team, now a diplomat, based in London. May 1984.

Do black and white children play together at schools?

No. Only last year the Minister of Education said — and very bluntly — that there is no way that multi-racialism would be brought into education. There are separate schools for black children, white children, coloured and Asian children. The schools don’t play against each other. In any case, what would be the point? The black and coloured children don’t have adequate sports facilities. In many cases they don’t have any at all.

Some people put up the argument that black people aren’t any good at cricket and rugby. It just isn’t their game — they aren’t inherently good at it.

It may be right that black South Africans don’t do well at rugby and cricket. But that’s because they don’t have the facilities. If you don’t have access to cricket grounds, coaching and equipment you’re never going to be a top player.

Yet in spite of this, some really outstanding black athletes have begun to emerge in the old “white” sports. Sydney Maree was a world record holder in the 1500 metres.

There are black cricketers and rugby players in the West Indies and in Britain. If there aren’t any in South Africa it isn’t because they don’t have the skill — it’s that they don’t have the chance.

What do you think of the players who do go to South Africa?

Well — look at the ones who go. Gooch. Boycott. They’re usually players who are at the end of their career. The “has been’s” and the second-rate players. The West Indian team is in South Africa now. But it’s mainly a team of old timers. Second raters. They’re at the end of their career.

There are lots of amateur sportsmen as well as professionals. They’re offered thousands of dollars to sell out — in many ways you can’t blame them. They don’t know the truth about South Africa.

Just look at education in Britain. The geography and history textbooks which mention South Africa — they’re full of information which comes straight from the South African Embassy.

Encyclopaedia and information books, they’re all the same. People just don’t know the truth.
How are black players treated when they go to South Africa?

Remember Jimmy Hill? He took a soccer team there last year. Black spectators refused to go and watch. They knew what’s what. They realize what the government is up to by inviting them. And the whites didn’t go either, so the whole thing was a flop.

Why would black sportspeople want to go? It seems worse, in a way.

But the West Indies is a long way away from South Africa. Quite apart from the big money offered to them, lots of the players didn’t have any idea of apartheid. Some had a rude shock though. In one case a player was asked to get off a train. It could have been worse. If he hadn’t been an international cricketer he would have been booted off, arrested, and probably beaten up at the police station.

It’s the same with entertainers. Black entertainers go there. It’s very good international advertising for the South African government. But there are special permits, they’d never be allowed into white hotels. They wouldn’t be able to eat with white people.

Life is different for South African black entertainers and sportsmen. They can’t travel freely. They can’t practise their game. They are never seen in big “white” hotels and nightclubs.

You keep talking about sportsmen. But what about women? Do any sportswomen go there?

Yes, I believe that many women have been as misled as the men, but it’s the men’s teams that make the headlines.

What sports do the women play in South Africa?

Very few. I suppose they’re too busy working. They work very hard all the time, and for low pay. I would imagine that black South African women have no access whatsoever to sports facilities. South Africa is like most other countries in terms of sexism. If there are facilities at all, they’re for the men.

Look at what’s happening in Britain. Football pitches. Cricket fields. Women don’t get the same amount of space as men. They don’t have the same training facilities. Schools tend to spend more money on boys than on girls. But that’s another issue.

I agree that sexism is a problem. Women are denied opportunities. But in South Africa racism is a problem that overlays sexism. It is a more important issue for the moment.

Jesse Owens, the black American athlete, in the Olympics in Munich in 1936. His four gold medals proved Aryan supremacy a myth. Hitler refused to shake hands.

Britain’s Stake in Apartheid

Today there is a complex web of interconnecting links between Britain and South Africa, involving nearly every aspect of life from sport to banking, from culture to military communications. In South Africa many British companies are household names — for example Dunlop, ICI and Rowntrees.

Did you know that . . .

- Britain is the largest single investor in the South African economy
  - There are more subsidiaries of British companies operating in South Africa than from any other country in the world
- More white people emigrate from Britain to live and work in South Africa than from any other country
- British holiday-makers constitute the largest category of any group of visitors from countries outside Africa
- British military equipment continues to be supplied to the South African armed forces in defiance of the mandatory United Nations arms embargo against South Africa
- Britain is one of South Africa’s major trading partners and the British Government continues to support and finance the production of this trade
- A British bank, Barclays, is the largest in South Africa, and makes a vital contribution to the South African economy

Trade: British — South African trade involves both exports to South Africa and imports from South Africa. Although imports such as “Cape” apples and “Outspan” oranges are the most well-known of South African products sold to Britain, minerals in fact account for the bulk of imports. Recently there has been a significant increase in manufactured goods such as trucks, clothing and textiles. Exports to South Africa are dominated by the industrial sector including items such as electronic equipment, chemicals, road vehicles, power generation plant, etc.

British exports to South Africa are promoted by British Government financed schemes including export credit guarantees and funds for trade missions to visit South Africa.

Investment: An estimated 650 British companies have subsidiaries or associates in South Africa; the total value of British investment (including indirect investment such as bank loans) is now over £10 billion. This means that some 10% of British overseas investment is in South Africa. British companies are involved in all of South Africa’s major industries — especially in mining and manufacturing.

Sport: In defiance of the Commonwealth Gleneagles Agreement on sporting contacts with South Africa many British sportsmen and women tour South Africa, and British sporting organisations continue to invite South African teams to visit Britain. Britain’s role as the major violator of sporting sanctions against South Africa is clearly revealed in the United Nations Register of Sportsmen and Women who have participated in sporting events in South Africa. Britain provides the longest list of names.

What can I do?

There is a great deal that young people in Britain can do to help stop British collaboration with apartheid. You can boycott South Africa products — such as Outspan and Cape fruit — and protest to the shops which stock them. When you open your bank account, you can boycott Barclays Bank — the bank with the biggest stake in apartheid. If you already have a bank account with Barclays, you can change it, and tell Barclays why. You can protest to sporting organisations and sportsmen and women who collaborate with South Africa.

Most importantly, you can educate others about apartheid and Britain’s stance in it — by telling your friends, by discussing it in General Studies or Current Affairs groups at school, and by forming anti-apartheid groups so that together you can take action against apartheid.

This paper was prepared by the Anti-Apartheid Movement
The Miners Dispute in South Africa: A Case Study for classroom use

by Martin Legassick
(The South African Labour Education Project)

International Capitalism and the South African Economy

The South African economy is dominated by a small number of large companies — owned by British, West European, United States and South African capitalists. Their decisions therefore exert an over-riding power over the conditions of life and the fate of the overwhelming majority of South Africans.

These ‘multi-nationals’ — industrial enterprises, banks, insurance companies, etc., — support and prop up the South African regime and its racist apartheid system, because that system secures them huge profits by guaranteeing cheap labour.

This is one part of the world-wide operation of the network of ‘multi-nationals’, which, because it is based on the drive for profit, is creating mass unemployment in advanced industrial countries at the same time that it is condemning millions in the developing countries to lives of poverty and starvation.

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Source: Chamber of Mines and SA Reserve Bank

Revenue, Cost and Profit

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Source: Chamber of Mines

Teachers Notes

The way in which the system of monopoly capitalism functions is well illustrated by the course of the recent dispute between the Chamber of Mines — the organisation uniting South African mineowners — and the young National Union of Mineworkers, formed to represent the interests of more than half a million black mineworkers toiling in the South African mines.

Out of this dispute and the background to it, teachers of many different subjects will be able to draw lessons to enhance their pupils’ understanding. This article provides only a brief introduction to the issue. It is supplemented by some project suggestions for discussion and some additional reading.
Control of Mining

Mining in South Africa — gold, coal, and other minerals — is almost entirely controlled by six ‘mining houses’. These same mining houses are closely interlinked, through cross-shareholding, with industrial monopolies, banks, insurance companies etc. in controlling probably 80-90% of the private sector. Foreign investors, at the end of 1982, had R15,300 million (£864.5 million) invested in the mining houses, 38% of their shares — and equivalent amounts in the interlocking monopolies. Just one of these mining-based empires, Anglo-American Corporation, has assets estimated at R30,000 million (£16,950 million), and controls 56% of the shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Discussion

Make these figures ‘real’; explain question of different curriculums; how do so few come to have so much control? One rand is worth about 60 pence, but the value goes up and down in the currency market. Look up the current rate in a newspaper.

Migrant Labour

From the start of large-scale gold-mining in South Africa a hundred years ago, the mining employers have organised production and obtained their wealth on the basis of a system of migrant labour. Workers have been recruited from their homes in the countryside — in South Africa itself and throughout Southern Africa — on contracts with near-slave conditions. Separated from their families for long periods, forced to live in military-style compounds sometimes housing twenty in a single room, these workers till underground 60 hours a week in intense heat, dust and noise, unable to stand upright while they labour — and are paid starvation-level wages.

Wages

The wages which they earned in 1970 were in fact lower, in real terms, than they had been in 1890 at the start of large-scale mining! During the 1970’s there have been huge increases in the price at which gold sells, and the bosses claim they have been able to ‘afford’ some wage increases. Yet the starting wage in June 1984 stood at R147 a month (£87) — about a tenth that paid to white South African miners, about one xth (you could work this out) that of British coal miners, and still at starvation level.

The mining employers, with their jet-set lifestyles, ‘justify’ these wages — lower even than paid to black industrial workers in South Africa — first of all on the grounds that black mine-workers get ‘free’ food and accommodation. In reality the workers would rather dispense with this ‘freedom’ to have rotten compound food and rotten compound living conditions in exchange for the freedom to live and eat with their families, in decent housing at the mines, earning a living wage.

The mining employers say further that these wage-levels are ‘justified’ because the subsistence of migrant workers’ families is supplemented by the land that they live on and farm in their rural homes. In reality, no subsistence at all can be scraped from the eroded and impoverished countryside of the ‘Bantustans’ or from countries like Lesotho, from which the miners are recruited. In reality, all miners have to repay a portion of their meagre earnings to keep their wives and children alive.

Just how vital these remittances are for their places of origin is shown in the case of Lesotho. Some 60% of its annual ‘production’ (GNP) comprises money remitted by migrants working in South Africa.

Thus, through the migrant labour system, many countries in Southern Africa are completely dependent on the South African economy, simultaneously deprived of resources of labour for their own development, and reliant on the earnings of those workers to try to balance their own budgets. Because in very one of these countries, and in South Africa itself, there is mass unemployment, the mining employers have the power to pick and choose how many workers they take from where, and thus to hold the surrounding countries at their mercy.

Discussion

What is the difference between money wages and real wages? What is the importance of the difference? What is a living wage? What is a fair wage?
Wage Negotiations

Where labour is cheap, life is also cheap. Accident rates on the South African mines are appalling. In 1983, 831 workers were killed in mine accidents — a ‘normal’ figure.

The Chamber of Mines has been accustomed to announce unilaterally each July 1st the wage rates for the coming year. Last year and this year it has been confronted with wages demands from the NUM. This year the NUM put forward a demand for an across-the-board wage increase of 60%, which it then reduced to a demand for 25%. The Chamber’s response was to announce wage increases of 13% only — about the amount that prices had increased over the preceding year, and less than they are likely to increase over the year ahead. Workers would have been no better off at all. While Chamber representatives sat across the negotiating table with NUM representatives, they refused to negotiate seriously, disparaging the NUM’s membership claims, and insisting that it was ‘unrepresentative’ of workers. The NUM therefore declared a strike. The Chamber, both on gold mines and coal mines, and consulting regularly with its members, prepared to take strike action.

Industrial Action

Less than a day before the strike was due to begin at eight mines where the NUM was most strongly organised, confronted with a ballot showing most workers in favour of the strike, the Chamber of Mines made a last-minute concession to the NUM — offering increases of 2.3% over and above the 13% already granted. The NUM leadership accepted this offer, subject to the agreement of their members.

As one employer’s representative admitted, for the NUM negotiators to have these consultations was no easy task: “at noon on Sunday and with only a few hours in hand, details of the renegotiated offer had to be conveyed and clarified to some 75,000 workers at 233 different shafts and in 22 separate hostels hundreds of miles apart”. Inevitably, the workers moved into action first, at those eight mines, and at other mines where workers were encouraged by the mobilisation and wished to present a solid and united front in support of their demands. At some of the mines which came out, the workers were not yet even NUM members. In the course of the action, according to the NUM, some 64,000 workers were on strike.

The response of the employers to this threat to their system of repression and cheap labour was ruthless: in less than 24 hours police were called in at several mines. On the Monday, 111 workers were injured by police action at Rand Mines Durban Deep mine, and more than 250 at an Anglo American mine in the Orange Free State. On Tuesday at least six workers were shot dead and 140 injured at Johannesburg Consolidated Investments’ Western Area Mine. On Wednesday police were brought in at Anglovaal’s Hartbeesfontein mine. The next Saturday, a further two workers were shot dead and 160 injured at General Mining Company’s West Rand Mine.

This was the answer by millionaire mining magnates, living in South Africa, or Europe, or the United States, to the struggle of black miners for a living wage. Of course, the mine employers claimed that the police were brought in because of worker’s violence and destruction of mine property. But it is the mineowners and their system which is to blame for the pent-up frustrations which are released when the workers begin to exercise their power to influence events.

Discussion

What are the purposes of trade unions? Can trade unions fulfill their functions without the right to strike? Under what conditions, if any, is illegal action justifiable?

The Need for Democratic Government

From the events, black mineworkers in South Africa will draw their own conclusion. They will see the need to build stronger industry-wide trade union organisation, to struggle for their demands, and to resist the violence and intimidation of the mining employers and the state.

The events will reinforce the understanding that there can be no guarantee of lasting success while the government remains in the hands of those who serve the mine owners — they will reinforce the demand long raised by workers and the black oppressed in South Africa, for a democratic government of their own, which serves the needs and interests of working people.

The events will also reinforce the understanding of black South African workers that the political system of apartheid and the economic system of capitalism are linked together, and that there can be no democracy or social justice in South Africa so long as the industrial, banking and other monopolies are owned by a tiny few, rather than brought under the democratic control and management of the working class. “Nationalisation the monopolies” was the call of the Freedom Charter, the programme adopted in the 1950s by the mass Congress movement led by the African National Congress.

In 1960 the African National Congress was banned. But, just as the employers and the regime have been unable to prevent the re-emergence of trade unions, so they will be unable to prevent the ANC from rising again as a mass organisation, built by working people, and looked to as the means to carry to victory the struggle for democracy and social justice through the transformation of society.

Discussion

What are the advantages or disadvantages of nationalisation? Of workers control of industry? Is socialism “necessarily undemocratic”, as the employers like to argue?

46
POLICE VIOLENCE AGAINST BLACK MINeworkERS: 
Anglo-American Corporation Mines, Orange Free State, 17-18 September 1984

The SA National Union of Mineworkers declared a dispute with a number of mining companies (chiefly Anglo-American owned) over wages in mid-1983. A legal strike on these mines was due to start on Monday, 17th September. On the previous day, as a result of concessions by Anglo-American Corporation, the NUM negotiating committee agreed to settle the dispute, subject to the agreement of the affected members. Just to contact these was no easy task for the NUM. As was admitted even by Mr. E.P. Gush, chairman of Anglo’s gold and uranium division: “at noon on Sunday and with only a few hours in hand, details of the renegotiation offer had to be conveyed and clarified to some 75,000 workers at 23 different shafts and in 22 separate hostels hundreds of kilometres apart.” (Rand Daily Mail, 19/9/84)

Despite this, the Anglo-American Corporation called in police against black miners on at least two of its Free State mines on Monday 17th September. The following details of the police violence are extracted from affidavits in the possession of the NUM.

“On Monday the 17th day of September 1984 at about 8am whilst I was sleeping in my room someone opened the door. Thenceforth four policemen in camouflage uniforms entered the house. Three of the four policemen were white and the other one was a black policeman. One white policeman was being treated by me with a pick handle. The other three policemen were also carrying pick handles. The white policeman hit me on my back. The other one who was also white hit me on my right thigh with the pick handle. I did not know why they were hitting me but they kept saying that we should get off work. I was not doing right shift. I am working day shift. I had gone to work on that day because it was a day when all the miners were on an official strike. We were then waiting only for word from our union shanty tellers to tell us when to go to work. I never expected an order from the police to tell us that we should get back to work.

“I did get out of the house while I was being treated to whilst I tried to explain that I have never been on a night-duty. My explanations were all in vain. On my way out of the room the police met with another policeman who was standing just outside the door. He was also clad in camouflage uniform and carrying a sjambok. He hit me on my right eye badly damaging it. I tried to run very hard to save my life but I was hit by a rubber bullet on my stomach. This bullet was shot at me by another white policeman also in camouflage uniform. I then realized that there were many police and they meant to kill us. When the rubber bullet hit me I fell down. Another policeman then hit me all over my body with a pick-handle whilst I was lying down. I stood up and ran down the stairs. Another policeman was standing on my way to the medical station. He was holding a dog and ordered me to raise my hands. I did raise my hands as I was ordered to. At the hospital my right eye was removed.. I sustained multiple injuries all over my body...”

“On Monday September 17, 1984 at around 9am I was fast asleep in my bed at the hostel... I was woken up because I was being beaten by a white policeman in camouflage uniform who was using a sjambok to beat my body... I tried to run out of the room, but I was hit on the back of my neck with a pick handle... I ran down the passage and into the courtyard... There seemed to be about 50 policemen waiting outside the courtyard, but I ran away... I was hit by a rubber bullet on the back of my leg... In hospital I had an operation on my leg and now I go to the hospital every day... That night at the hostels I saw the police doing terrible things to the workers. The people were jumping through the windows to try and escape the police two let their dogs loose on the people. The people were badly beaten by the police and then just given to the police dogs. I also saw the police use real bullets to fire into the air and also at trees and poles, but I didn’t see whether they used real bullets to shoot the people I saw those beatings and shootings carried on for nearly two hours that night.”

“The comments of Mr. E.P. Gush, chairman of Anglo-American Corporation’s gold and uranium division, on these events at the time were: ‘The outcome... is most satisfactory and proves that sound and responsible relations are possible between the mining companies and the NUM.’

It is deeply regretted that many workers sustained injuries, some serious, during the dispute.” (Rand Daily Mail, 19/9/84)

MILLIONAIRE CAPITALISTS RESPOND TO MINERS STRUGGLE FOR A LIVING WAGE

111 injured by Police at Rand Mines
250 injured by Police at Anglo American Mine
Six Workers Shot Dead, 140 injured at Consolidated Investment Western Area Mine. Police brought in at Anglovaal Hartebeestfontein mine.
Two shot dead and 160 injured by police at General Mining Company’s West Rand Mine.
Why Are Trade Unions Necessary?

Further Reading

People only work for other people when they have no alternative: that is, when they have no direct access to the means of production, and so cannot work for themselves. This means that those who control the means of production have power over those who do not.

Although the employer is in principle equally dependent on the worker, from whose work he gets his income, this dependence is not symmetrical. Firstly, the employer almost inevitably has greater reserves than does the worker, who may be faced with starvation as the result of even a short period of unemployment. Secondly, although the employer is dependent on workers, he is not dependent on any particular workers. In the situation in which there are many workers and relatively few employers, it is easy for the employer to keep wages down using the fact that the worker needs urgently to work. That is, competition amongst workers for jobs can produce a situation in which each worker, in order to get a job, is willing to do more work for less pay. The workers’ great numbers mean weakness for each individual worker.

Workers can, therefore, only improve their position if they can combine to put an end to competition between themselves. Through combination they can turn their numbers, the source of their weakness, into a source of power. This is the essential purpose of a trade union.

Further Reading

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Workers can, therefore, only improve their position if they can combine to put an end to competition between themselves. Through combination they can turn their numbers, the source of their weakness, into a source of power. This is the essential purpose of a trade union.

However, combination itself is meaningless unless it means combination in action, in refusing to work for a particular employer unless certain wages and conditions are provided. That is, workers can only have some control over their working conditions if they are in a position to say: “I shall not work unless...”, and each individual worker can only say this if he or she knows that all the other workers are saying it at the same time. The right to have a trade union is nothing without the right to strike: the right to combine in refusing to work unless satisfactory conditions are provided. This is the only real power workers can have.

Yet, though workers’ power and influence rest on the right to strike, there can be few workers who actually welcome a strike. The worker nearly always lives very close to the margin, and any loss of income is a serious matter. A strike always means personal deprivation for workers, but it rarely does so for employers. Trade union officials always dread strikes, since a strike, if it is lost, will weaken the organization, and even if it is won it will place a severe strain on the union’s usually slim reserves. It is important to grasp fully these two obvious points, since continuous irresponsible reporting of strikes in countries where they are legal has built up a stereotypical picture in the middle class mind: a picture of workers longing to down tools on the slightest pretext, striking from mere blood-mindedness, and bringing their societies to the edge of chaos....

...in societies where strikes are legal they are relatively rare occurrences, and in all societies workers and trade unionists dislike striking. But what is important is that the threat of strike action should be available to the workers when they negotiate with employers over wages and conditions.


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**TABLE 1: MINE WORKERS’ MONTHLY WAGES**

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**TABLE 2: AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGES IN MANUFACTURING**

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Further Reading


For trade union developments in South Africa, see, inter alia: *FOSATU Workers News* (monthly)

IZVILETHU (Council of Unions of South Africa) (bimonthly)

South African Labour Bulletin

Work in Progress.

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"WE LIVE LIKE DOGS"

Slide/Video Presentation on the Black Miners Struggle in South Africa

Available from the: Southern African Labour Education Project 28 Martello Street London E8 3PN
The Freedom Charter

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

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justify claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

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

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

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together—equals, compatriots and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, uttering neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

All citizens eighteen years of age and over shall have the right to vote, sit and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws.

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country.

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex.

All bodies of municipal, rural, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be elected by democratic means of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS

There shall be equal states in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races.

All people shall have equal rights to use their own languages and to develop their own folk cultures and customs.

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride.

The practice and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime.

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people.

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly authority shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole.

All other industry and trade shall be compelled to assist the well-being of the people.

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK

Rents and returns of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land similarly amongst those who work it, to benefit families and land hunger.

The State shall help the peasants with implements, land, tractors and cheap loans to save the soil and keep the fields.

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land.

All people shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose.

Fruits shall not be enclosed in their casts, and forced labour and farm prison shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW

There shall be no laws which shall be imposed, departed or restricted without a fair trial.

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official.

The courts shall be representative of all the people.

Impeachment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance.

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people.

All laws which differentiate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organize, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children.

The privacy of the home from police raids shall be protected by law.

All shall be free to travel without restriction from country to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad.

Plain Law, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be set aside.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers, and to make wage agreements with their employers.

The state shall recognize the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full remuneration for their work.

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work.

There shall be a four-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave for all paid workers.

Masters, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights at all other jobs.

Child labour, compulsory labour, the ban system and occupational labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the advancement of our cultural life.

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

The arts of literature shall be so taught that the country shall have three people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, literacy and peace.

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children.

Higher education shall be opened to all on merit of their abilities and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit.

Adult literacy shall be ended by a state education plan.

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens.

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT

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

Unsound housing space to be made available to the people.

Rents and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry.

A preventive health service shall be run by the state.

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

Shaws shall be demolished, and new shacks built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, schools and social centres.

The aged, the orphaned, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state.

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all.

Free education shall be the right of all.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations.

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation—never war.

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all.

The people of the republic—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland—shall be free to decide for themselves their own future.

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-governance shall be recognized, and shall be the basis of this confederation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."
Dear Editors,

Having just read Brian Robert's letter in issue 3, it struck me that this is a particularly useful approach when introducing the Third World to a group of students.

Perhaps I can offer some further suggestions as to how these ideas may be developed and integrated into a course on the Third World. The following scheme of work may be of interest to other teachers:

1) a general perception exercise such as that suggested by Brian Roberts.

2) an exercise designed to investigate where we get our perceptions of the world from.

I have adopted an exercise from J. Bale (Ed) *The Third World: Issues and Approaches* p.24, where a map has been constructed to show the amount of coverage of different countries in the Nigerian press. I found that this exercise could be converted quite easily to cover the British press (see figs. 1 & 2). Apart from the relatively straightforward conclusion that could be drawn concerning the predominance of national news, followed by news from the EEC and the USA, and very little news from the Third World; several other points became clear:

a) most Third World news is of the drought, disaster, coup d'etat variety,

b) most Eastern block news is related to 'defence', military strategy and economic/political difficulties.

By ensuring that all the national papers were dealt with, it was also possible to be critical of the emphasis placed on certain types of journalism by different papers, as well as to contrast their more obvious political leanings. This exercise proved especially valuable as it became clear that, previously, pupils has not been aware of any real political bias in the presentation of the news.

3) a series of exercises and studies aimed at looking at other people's views of situations — again designed to demolish pupils' preconception and to heighten their awareness of alternative viewpoints. I included in this another quote from Bale (p24) on Naciema (see below), as well as a series of cartoons such as a 'I have discovered America' from the article by Bunge in CIGE 1 p.11 and several provided by a pupil from Soviet newspapers; these offer very different viewpoints on issues relating to the west. Again, after laughing at the cartoons for being 'silly', the creeping awareness by pupils of their own perceptual shortcomings was most rewarding, and certainly had the desired effect of making them think twice before accepting any one version of anything as the 'truth'.

4) To stimulate further thought (doubt?) about the seemingly impartial I have used Dawn Gill's exercise 'Studying Maps' to illustrate that you can't believe all you see, and to stress the real size of the Third World compared to the Developed World.

As a Scale 1 teacher forced to use Fairlie Rice 2 & 3, I at least felt that by using these exercises before the course commences, the pupils are better prepared to the critical of some aspects of these books (see for instance the article by Wright in Issue 1).

I hope this outline may prove useful.

Yours sincerely,

Charles Rawding
Market Rasen, Lincolnshire

Images, Myths and Reality (1)

Look at the extract below

In Naciema the daily body ritual performed by everyone includes a mouth-rite. Despite the fact that these people are so careful about care of the mouth, this rite involved a practice which strikes the uninitiated stranger as revolting. It was reported to me that the ritual consists of inserting a small bundle of hog hairs into the mouth, along with certain magical powders, and then moving the bundle in a highly formalised series of gestures.

In addition to the private mouth-rite, the people seek out a holy mouth-man once or twice a year. These practitioners have an impressive set of paraphernalia, consisting of a variety of augers, probes and pills. The use of these objects in the excorisation of evils of the mouth involves almost unbelievable ritual torture of the client. The holy mouth-man opens the client's mouth, and using the above mentioned tools, enlarges any holes which decay has created in the teeth. Magical materials are put into these holes. If there are no naturally occurring holes in the teeth, large sections of one or more teeth are gouged out so that the supernatural substance can be applied. In the client's view, the purpose of these ministrations is to arrest decay and to draw friends. The extremely sacred and traditional character of the rite is evident in the fact that the natives return to the holy mouth-man year after year, despite the fact that their teeth continue to decay.
Apartheid - A Classroom Simulation

'Come in 2Y, Rubia, James, Eltaz, Marcia, and Tracy, sit down at the desks where you can see an atlas. The rest of you stand at the back and wait until I tell you what to do'.

So begins a simple classroom simulation about apartheid in South Africa. Fifteen per cent of the class are allowed to sit in comfort at the desks which occupy 80% of the space. The remaining 85% stand in the 20% of space around the edge of the class. This distribution roughly reflects the distribution of land and people in South Africa. The minority white population occupy most of the best land, while the majority black population are restricted to their 'homelands' in the arid, mountainous parts of the country. As yet, the class have not worked out why I have made this unfair distinction between them. Of course, I don't tell them.

It is then explained that, just for a change, we are going to test our geographical knowledge this lesson. I will be asking such questions as, 'What is the capital of Afghanistan?', and the first person with a correct answer will receive a small reward. Out comes a bag of sweets. All of this goes against the more co-operative atmosphere that the class are used to. Everyone is confused.

Then a penny drops. 'But that's not fair! Those five over there have got atlases'. The line has been drawn between 'those five' and the rest. My attitude changes. 'Any questions like that and you won't get anything'. Generally I am off-hand to the people at the back, while devoting my attention to the five sitting at the desks. They can't believe their good fortune. The atlases provide them with the answers they need to gain their instant reward. In the same way white South Africans have all their disposal a vastly disproportionate amount of the resources in the country. This is the means by which they maintain a high standard of living but deprive black people of theirs.

At length, the disconsolate group at the back grow angry. More by luck than virtue, one of them gets the right answer, so grudgingly I throw him/her a sweet. She refuses to accept this gift from a 'corrupt' teacher. The rest of the group support her in this honourable decision. The reaction of the prosperous group is equally interesting. One looks round guiltily at his/her less fortunate classmates and even offers to swap places. The others enter into the spirit of the simulation and compete with each other to get the most correct answers. They develop their own group identity aware, perhaps, that they have more to lose were the rewards to be shared among the whole class.

The whole simulation lasts only quarter of an hour, but already it has brought many emotions to the surface. There is now a lot that has to be untangled. Not least, the parallels between the pupils' experience and the economic situation in South Africa. I give out information about land ownership and wage differentials. The class is amazed and then indignant that such a situation could exist in real life. However, there is a limit to what can be learnt from the mechanics of the exercise. A more fruitful line of enquiry is to explore the pupils own reactions while they were involved. Why did the majority lose interest, becoming at times angry and disruptive? Could they be described as lazy? Why did the minority behave in the opposite way? Did they actually believe they were more intelligent because they could answer the questions? Who got most from the activity? Why wasn't there a revolt in the classroom? Does the authority of the teacher have any parallel in South African society?

2Y are now better prepared for subsequent study of South Africa, exposed, as they were, in a mild form to some of the injustices which they will have to consider.

John Widdowson (Newham)

Other peoples' view of the world (1)

i) What does the cartoon suggest about the Russian view of Britain accepting American cruise missiles on her own soil?

ii) How does this differ from the views of the British and US press?

Translation: "Mummy, can I have a nice expensive doll for Christmas?"

1) What does this cartoon suggest about the Russian view of life in America?

2) How does this compare to the British and American view of life in the Soviet Union?
Reviews

APARTHEID: The Facts

International Defence and Aid Fund, 1983 ISBN 0904789490 £3.00

To assemble and present the facts on a subject as convoluted as apartheid is a daunting task. Either one risks becoming overwhelmed by detail at the expense of identifying trends, or one risks producing a shallow and oversimplified description of the topic. In Apartheid: The Facts, information on the past and present of South Africa is presented with sensitivity and clarity.

Extensive contents pages and an index make the information readily available, while numerous photographs and diagrams complement the text. Footnotes to all the sections provide the source of information and the Glossary of apartheid terms (which have Orwellian overtones) ensures that the South African State’s terminology does not obscure reality (for example, the Department of Co-operation and Development is responsible for forced removals and resettlement).

The first section provides a brief yet comprehensive historical background to South Africa, and is followed by sections titled: Segregation and Inequality; Education, Information, Culture and Belief; Economic Exploitation; Political Structures; Repression; The Armed Forces; Southern Africa; International Relations and, Resistance and the Liberation Struggle. The final section includes a list of organisations opposed to apartheid and their campaigns, and an interesting list of UN actions and resolutions regarding South Africa. These headings indicate the width of the book’s focus, which develops into a picture of South Africa seen only by those who experience oppression in the country, or by those willing to look deeper than the veneer of ‘reform’ propagated by the South African state, and provides the reader with information and explanation within a coherent framework that promotes political and economic analysis of the situation in South Africa.

Our Policy on Reviews

The editorial board wishes to use the review section to encourage good practice. We intend to promote books and learning materials which we think may be helpful for teachers or students, or discourage the use of materials which work against the objectives of the Association for Curriculum Development in Geography.

As is the case with all publications covering a changing subject, some changes have occurred in South Africa since the publication of this book. 'Home ownership' for Africans (not to be confused with freehold rights) has been introduced in an attempt to disguise one of the more glaring inequalities in the country, and to create something of an African middle-class. This and other superficial changes, does not invalidate the trends identified in Apartheid: The Facts; rather it reinforces the belief that the Government's talk of reform is no more than an attempt to retain control over the lives of the majority of the population.

In simplifying the complex reality of South Africa the authors have, however, tended to identify all blacks as anti-government; the emerging stratum of more wealthy blacks and the Bantustan ‘leaders’ such as Matanzima and Sebe introduce a class composition that is, as yet, not fully understood. It should also be mentioned that institutionalised violence has not only been used against blacks: the State used the military to quell the 1922 white miners’ strike on the Reef. Some out-of-date photographs (which do not indicate the period in which they were taken) may be a little misleading to those who do not know the country, although the trends evident in the pictures are still found in South Africa today.

For those students and teachers who do not know much about South Africa, Apartheid: The Facts provides a concise, reliable and easily read introduction to a field where oppression is enshrined in Acts of Parliament. For those who know about the country, the book is a useful source of information and will promote a greater understanding of the relationships between history, geography and politics of South Africa, and the country’s influence on the economy of the continent. The book is recommended to all who are interested in South Africa and its future; teachers, anti-apartheid groups and concerned individuals will find in the concise text and clear visual material a source of greater understanding of South Africa and the future of its people. It is recommended as a classroom text for geography in the upper forms of secondary school; it would be equally useful for undergraduate work. Teachers of younger students will find it extremely useful as a source of documentary and statistical material which could form the basis of worksheets for individualised learning in mixed ability groups. The book is clearly written, well illustrated, and a valuable source of maps and statistics.

Michael Proctor
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
An Atlas of AFRICAN AFFAIRS


Do not let the title deceive you, Griffiths book is much more than an Atlas. It provides a good comprehensive text on many aspects of African life. It is a good book. I say this after years of having been subjected to test books which are dry, boring and which avoid relevant political issues.

The book is well laid out, the print clear and well spaced. The maps although monochrome and simple are very useful. The text is divided into five sections: Environment, Historical, Political, Economic and a very informative section in which the South is discussed. Each section comprises a number of short, concise chapters (the book has fifty-eight of them). I found there was no necessity to read the book in order from cover to cover. Chapters or sections can be read as needed.

The chapter on the Environment is the most straightforward. Africa's physical characteristics are described. The chapter on drought and famine provides particularly interesting reading. In the Historical section pre-colonial European influence is considered, as is the question of slavery and the effects of independence.

The political section after a discussion of how political boundaries came into being, considers the question of political instability in Africa as characterised by military rule. Useful case studies are presented, amongst then Libya, Uganda, Nigeria (at some length); Somalia and Ethiopia. Other important issues like the pros and cons of the 'French Connection' and 'landlocked states' are also mentioned.

The Economic section appropriately is set in motion with a chapter on Poverty. This is followed by an analysis of the nature of the African economy. The important issue of regional economic unions is considered as is Energy, Urbanisation, Tourism and Transport. Again individual countries are used to illustrate the issues under discussion. In this section Tanzania, Kenya, Zambia and Ghana and the Ivory coast are examined.

The final section on the South provided an in-depth discussion of its problems, which often tend to be misunderstood. The region's interdependent nature is described; this is followed by an analysis of the creation of the black "homelands". The chapter which considered South Africa's strategic nature — both geographically and in terms of minerals — suggests that strategic considerations influence the Western World's non-caring attitude towards the plight of black people. The section is concluded with an analysis of Namibia's situation.

The book has a useful appendix and an adequate if not exhaustive bibliography.

The language throughout is kept simple. Relevant political and economic issues are discussed with a compassion often lacking in books currently used in schools and further education.

Griffiths book will prove useful for sixth forms and in F.E. whilst also providing a good general read. I consider this one of the best general texts on Africa. I urge you to buy it, although it should not distract from the use of and search for radical alternatives. In view of the poor quality of other geography textbooks on Africa "An Atlas of African Affairs" is without much competition.

John Allen
School of Oriental and African Studies
London University

DIVIDE AND RULE

South Africa's Bantu States
by Barbara Rogers. Revised edition (1983) 144pp. Illustrated Price £2.00

... reveals that in every respect the standard of living of the Africans had decreased since the implementation of the Bantu policy. A vivid contribution revealing that apartheid is a crime not merely against the millions actually involved, but against all humanity.

Detailed analysis of the history and structure of the homelands documents the real purpose behind the creation of the Bantustans.

South Africa has the only government in the world which is deliberately carving up its own territory into small fragments and launching them on the road to independence. The bantustans comprise less than 13% of the whole country, but millions of Africans are being dumped in these overcrowded rural slums, providing cheap black migratory labour for the white economy.

Agribusiness in Africa Barbara Dinham and Colin Hines
Earth Resources Research Publications 1983 ISBN 0946281 009

This book provides a detailed analysis of the activities of big business in African agriculture. Most people in the 'developed' countries react with horror at the scenes of starving Third World children which are shown with increasing regularity on our T.V. screens. However, the processes which cause this suffering are usually neglected and we are left with the vague impression that somehow the problem is inherent in the Third World, and may be "natural". Dinham and Hines dispel many commonly held myths by illustrating the role of the North in a process which systematically exploits the agricultural potential of a continent.

The authors trace the history of African agriculture from self-sufficiency during pre-colonial times, through the devastating impact of the slave trade and foreign rule, up to today's more subtle but equally damaging exploitation by trans-national companies. This external influence over African agriculture has led to a transition from food crop production, which is examined in relation to the economic and dietary needs of peasant farmers and the urban poor.

The book is easy to read yet contains a wealth of detailed examples and well researched data, making it relevant for all levels of geographical education. The main strength of the book lies in the clarity of explanation of the complex processes which convert African potential into Northern profit.

Dinham and Hines use sugar and coffee production to illustrate a wide range of company activity and government and peasant responses to it. The distinctive approaches of the Kenyan and Tanzanian governments are reviewed and an evaluation of each is given.

The book closes with a review of recent developments, and offers some prospects for the future — a future which may not contain much improvement for the majority of Africans whilst transnational companies dominate their agricultural production. A quote used in the book sums up the situation: "It is virtually impossible for a private business establishment to develop, distribute and sell enough of the kinds of foods poor people need and still break even, much less look for any profit". The quote came from the chairman of General Foods, one of the largest transnationals involved in African agriculture.

Neil Larkin, Forest Gate School, Newham.
Announcement

From this issue, the first in our second year of publishing, Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education will be published by Arklow, a subsidiary of Comedia. Comedia is a small but energetic organisation with a good reputation as publishers of perceptive books on media, communications and culture.

The Journal’s editorial policy — originally outlined in Issue 1 (1983) — will remain unaltered. The commodity support and technical — administrative expertise provided by Comedia to the journal, which retains its editorial autonomy in all matters of policy, is intended to ensure better production standards and promotion than chronic underfunding and exhausting production circumstances have allowed us to achieve to date. From the next issue, the Journal will be published in the smaller A5 format and the classroom materials will be separated out from the journal. All subscribers will get copies of the classroom materials automatically but they will also be available separately. The changes in format and cover price are intended to help us strike a better balance between economic necessity and editorial policy. We hope this will put the Journal on a sounder basis than has hitherto been the case. But for this change of gear to be successful, we will need, now more than ever, the support of readers and those who work in schools and institutions. And one of the most effective forms of support will be to take out a subscription to the Journal.

‘Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education’ an introduction

‘Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education’ seeks to open up or broaden areas of debate and to examine current controversies within the discipline, at all levels. The journal aims to collect and disseminate ideas and materials which help to develop a critical approach to the learning and teaching of geography. The journal seeks to promote an emancipatory geography: it seeks, in other words, to promote the idea that the future is ours to create — or to destroy — and to demonstrate that education bears some responsibility for building a world responsive to human needs, diversity and capabilities.

The publication of ‘Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education’, marks a new phase in the teaching and learning of geography. Major issues will be presented in a manner which is accessible to people engaged at all levels in geographical education.

It is envisaged that each issue will include articles which raise questions and ideas for discussion, and a selection of practical suggestions in the form of syllabus guidelines, lesson plans, resources, worksheets, pupil assignments and ideas on teaching techniques and organisational strategy. As far as possible and where appropriate we hope that the section of the journal dealing with practical suggestions will be in a form which is easily reproduced using simple reprographic facilities.

The journal will include alternative perspectives on the traditional content of geographical education and will present classroom materials to help illuminate these perspectives.

The journal is intended to help provide in-service education for educationalists in schools, colleges and universities; it is also intended to be of direct use to students in these institutions. We welcome the participation of readers at all levels.

Each issue will concentrate on a specific theme. However, there will be ‘open-space’ and ‘dialogue’ sections to provide a forum for continuing discussion and the consideration of other concerns.

Aims of the Journal

- to develop a critique of current curricula
- to explore the assumptions underlying much of geographical education and to make these assumptions explicit
- to examine the ideological content of geographical education in relation to its political context
- to demonstrate the relevance and importance of humanist and radical ideas for teaching and research in geography
- to promote an interchange of ideas between researchers, students and educationalists in geography
- to encourage dialogue between geographers and the various groups and organisations concerned with major issues in education. We envisage that these would include groups involved in world studies, peace studies, human rights education, environmental education, development education, multi-cultural and anti-racist education, anti-sexist education, urban studies and community education, education for equality and education for political awareness and participation.
- to facilitate the exchange of ideas on learning materials and classroom strategies
- to foster a geographical education which is more relevant to the present and future everyday lives of ordinary people and the communities in which they live
- to encourage the realisation of the links between critical understanding and the active transformation of the world in which we live.

Forthcoming Issues: Confronting the Environmental Crisis; The Geopolitics of War and Peace; Cities: Gender and Geography.
Change in Format

Contemporary issues in geography and education will have a new format in the future. The discussion, open space and dialogue sections of the journal will be printed as an A5 paperback. Classroom materials will come in a separate A4 package. These resources — produced as a series of worksheets or booklets — will also be available in class sets at a price which will be cheaper than photocopying in schools and colleges.

There are several reasons for this: schools and colleges face many problems at the present time:

* All 16+ geography syllabuses are currently being rewritten on the instruction of the Secretary of State for Education.
* Existing textbooks are unlikely to meet the resource needs of the 1980's and 90's.
* Cuts in educational budgets and increases in the price of textbooks make it increasingly difficult to but new learning materials. This tends to result in over-reliance on out-of-date resources.
* Policies of education publishers have helped to impoverish many school and college geography departments — instead of using a single text to support teaching of a syllabus, we now need class sets of six or more books.
* Changes in the copyright law affect the trend towards using home-made teaching materials: teachers now risk heavy fines if they photocopy books to make information sheets.

Meeting the resource needs of the Future

The 'Contemporary Issues' learning materials will:

* aim to meet the resource needs of Geography teaching in the near future.
* be easy to organise and store in a binder or ring file
* allow the teacher to build up flexible course units for students of different ages
* supplement topics already covered — as well as provide materials on new topics in the journal
* be available singly, as a supplement to the A5 journal
* be available in class sets at a low price
* respond to requests from teachers for materials on specific topics.

The main body of the journal, in its A5 paperback form, will be easier to store in bookshelves than the present A4 version and will therefore be more likely to be kept for reference. Each subscription will cover the cost of three issues of the journal and three packages of learning materials.

Namibia has been covered in very little detail. Readers are referred to 'Namibia, the Last Colony': R. Green, M. Kiljunen and K. Kiljunen (eds). ISBN 058259.7.358 Longman 1981

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- London University Institute of Education Geography Dept.

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The views expressed in this journal are not to be taken as indicating the policy of organizations to which the members of the Editorial Board belong. Theme editors work in a personal capacity.

Azania
Frontline

Price 25p obtainable from Azania Liberation Support Committee, BM Box 4863 London WC1N 3XX

AZANIA FRONTLINE a useful background to current resistance in South Africa. Political movements explained, information of the defeat of the racist elections, the school students’ boycott movement, women’s action and the Black mine workers’ union.

Interviews with the leaders of AZAPO (Azanian Peoples’ Organisation), CAL (Cape Action League) and UDF (United Democratic Front). The relationships between the groups put into perspective.

The Newsletter is produced by the Azanian Liberation Support Committee, a group of Azanian Socialists supporting the Black Consciousness current within the national liberation movement in South Africa. They are independent of, but give critical support to, the ANC (African National Congress), BOMA (Black Consciousness Movement of Azania) and the PAC (Pan-African Congress).
Hector Peterson — the first child to be shot dead in Soweto 76

How many have been killed by S. African state violence in 1985?
SOUTH AFRICA: APARTHEID CAPITALISM

Theme Editor: Dawn Gill
Co-ordinating Editors: Ian Cook and Dawn Gill

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