

Apartheid racism is a system of intense colonial-type exploitation. The difference between South Africa and other systems of colonialism is that in South Africa coloniser and colonised are present in the same country. The colony is not a distinct territory, separated by distance from the empire. Rulers and ruled live side by side within the same geographical boundaries. But colour and race are used as the dividing line between the resident army of occupation of the whites and their subject populations. Africans in the vast majority, and Indians and Coloured people. The White group dominates in every sphere and all political and economic power is concentrated in the hands of the so-called 'master' race. Insurmountable barriers are built by law and force, to seal off the spheres preserved for the White minority, and to exclude Africans from it except where they are needed to produce the wealth of the country and man the economy, at prescribed levels of employment and rates of pay. Theories of race supremacy are used to buttress this rigid system of colour stratification. Where the race theorising does not work - as it has not worked because nothing in 300 years of the history of White domination has convinced Africans of their own inferiority - then there is rule by terror. The shooting at Sharpeville. Government by emergency proclamation.

Banishments.

trials and detentions. The torture of political activists, the execution of political prisoners.

Apartheid is the official policy of the Nationalist Party which came to power in all-white elections - in 1948. But the roots of the apartheid system grow much farther back than 1948, through successive minority white governments and three centuries of white rule in South Africa.

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mes-.."

The occupation of the country was achieved by military conquest of the African people, and the steady dispossession

Constitution,

the disputing

1 Early conflicts between Afrikaner (Boer) and

of their land and cattle and the forced use of their labour. English-speaking

settlers led to the division of South Africa into British possessions and 'Boer' Republics, culminating in the Boer war at the beginning of this century, in which the Boer Republics were defeated. But by 1910 and the adoption of the South African

sides of

white supremacy had already 'closed their ranks against the challenge to African demands. Between them, two parties, the United Party led by General Smuts and the Nationalist Party, led successively by Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd and now Vorster,

country's economic resources and devised a system of race rule to make this minority power impregnable. Smuts said of his policy, in 1945: "There are certain things about which all South Africans are agreed, all parties and all sections . that it is fixed

except those who are quite mad. This is .

policy to maintain white supremacy .

" In 1936 Dr. Malan

said: 'Reduced to its simplest form, the problem is nothing else than this: We want to keep South Africa white. Keep-

ing it white can only mean one thing, namely White domination. not 'leadership' or guidance. but control. supremacy Two minority white parties. but a single policy of

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white domination.

The early pattern of the economy was one of mining and industry dominated by British capital and representative in the main. of United Party political interests; with Afrikaner economic interests entrenched in agriculture and the white farming community. Before World War 2 the Afrikaner share of economic power was relatively insignificant. That pattern has changed. The rise to political power of the Nationalist Party was accompanied by a sustained campaign for the acquisition of Afrikaner Nationalist economic capi-

that; Nationalist power today has an economic base of the bulk of the farming Capital of the country. an expanding sector of private industrial and commercial capital. and a complete monopoly of State capital. By 1960 the amount of foreign capital invested in South Africa was about the same as the total of State capital, and the direction being taken by the economy was calculated to further strengthen the hold of State capital under the direction of the Nationalist Party and its supporters. In recent years there has also been a convergence between the two sectors of White ; economic power. Leading representatives of Afrikaner Nationalist and State capital have joined the boards of directors of the old mining and finance houses, the banks and insurance companies; and the mining-finance houses have themselves acquired industrial assets and interests. South Africa is extremely rich

in resources. She produces

43 percent of the world's gold. She uses twice as much steel and electricity as the rest of Africa combined. 40 percent of the continent's industrial products and 80 percent of its coal come from South Africa. 30 percent of the continent's income is generated in South Africa. Since the end

of World War 2 South Africa has maintained an above average rate of growth. Between 1960 and 1965 it was an average figure of more than 6 percent. one of the fastest in the capitalist world. This exceptional rate of growth is possible because of the special nature of apartheid. On the one hand the economy has reached a high level of industrial expansion, and on the other hand. it is guaranteed. through the workings of apartheid laws and controls. an exceptionally high degree of exploitation of cheap African labour. How does apartheid work?

latterly as the Bantu homelands. or Bantustans. A

Cornerstone of the apartheid system is its land and labour policy. Africans are prohibited by law from owning or occupying more than 13 percent of the total land area of the country. These areas reserved for Africans were known first as reserves,

What they (the white policy-makers) desire is to force into reserves as many Africans as possible under conditions which will compel them to come out and work for the Whites' said a liberal judge in 1931. Years of forcing too large populations into these areas together with a continuous history of neglect and a minimal, almost total lack of capital expenditure on improvements have turned these reserved areas into labour reserves with a debilitated African agriculture that cannot support its population. This poverty, together with the policy of compulsory taxation a pan tax per head of male population regardless of income or whether the taxpayer is in employment or not - is the linchpin of the system of migrant labour. African labour is channelled into the mines. into the white farming areas. into industry and the cities. but it is regarded as temporary labour. The pass laws and other controls keep this labour market but place obstacles in the way of growth of secure and stable African urban communities and the development of an organised labour force. with trade union rights.

The economy cannot function without African labour. and;

each year demands an ever-increasing supply of it. 'With-â\200\234,
out African labour South Africa could not have readwed.
' nor could it maintain. its present level of industrial produc-
tion. The mining industry and agriculture are totally depen-
dent on African labour. Afficans. together with the other '
non-white groups, constitute 99 per cent of the unskilled
workers in industry. 66 per cent of the semi-skilled and
17 per cent of the skilled iabour.

glgljglpfjjay 3995519,!) and \$49391â\200\235??? skilled wankers. jar Africans are â\200\235prohibited by law from {daiqu skilled work.) Whatever. the theorists of apartheid say about separate development â\200\230 of the races, this is impossible under South Africa's highly industrialised and integrated economy. Of the total African population, approximately 4% million live in the reserves. (Of these more than 40 per cent of the men between the

ages of 15 and 64 are migrant workers). The rest are distributed in approximately even proportions as labour for the . white farming areas and industry. By 1950. 28 per cent at South Africa 5 non-whites lived in the towns; by 1960 the is expected ,tigure had risen to 37 per cent; and by 1970 it to rise to 45 per cent.

When the Nationalist rarty came to power in 1948 it advocated apartheid as official policy. instead of the previous system of segregation of the United Party. though, as painted out. one was a development from the basis laid already by the other. The election manifesto of the Nationalist Party described apartheid as follows: 'In general terms our policy envisages segregating the most important ethnic groups and sub-group/s in their own areas, where every group will be enabled to develop into a selfsufficient unit. We endorse the general principle of territorial segregation of Bantu (Africans) and Whites. The Bantu (African) in the urban area as a whole should be regarded as migratory citizens not entitled to political or social rights canal to those of the Whites.â\200\230 The African peOple were expected to abandon their Claim to rights and equality in the whole country, and to confine their aspirations to Bantustans or hamelands. These Bantustans were to be built out of over 200 reserved areas (ih which only 40 per cent of the total African population lives, remember) to whidâ\200\231t not an additional acre of land was to be added to help make them economically viable. The first Bantustan was set up in the Transkei. others are to follow. making up eight in all. These areas contain less than twa~fifths of the African population of the country. The scheme is a device to try to stop the thrust of a united non-tribal liberation struggle of the African people. and to dissipate their unity in scores of societies thrust back into tribalism. White supremacy. it is calculated. y will be sttengthened by using tribal dwiefs and reinforced 5 tribal authority to focus attention not on the concentration of power in White hands but on a number of small tribal states. Above all the Bantustan scheme is used to rationalise the tragedies and hardships created by apartheid -â\200\224

the economic pressures, the teaseless haundings by the police, the heavy burden of Â«.â\200\230discriminatory laws - on the grounds that Africans may â\200\235develop in their own areas."

the break-up of

families.

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Race and Apartheid Power

Extract from an article in *Sechaba*, III, 4, April 1969.

Sechaba is the official organ of the African National Congress

(South Africa).

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The statute book is heavy with discriminatory laws
designed to make them progressively more burdensome and opp-
ressive. Under the Population Registration Act of 1950
the entire population is classified by race and group.
Humiliating 'race' tests have been inflicted on people and
families torn asunder in the registration at different mem-
bers as different races or sub-groups. Under the Group
Areas Act, different group areas have been declared for
different population groups, and settled communities have
been
by
areas totally undeveloped and barely provided with
of
services and education. Under the Prohibition
social
Mixed Marriages Act, marriages between Whites and
Africans were made illegal. Under the Immorality Act, sexual
relations between the races are punishable by heavy penal-
ties. The pass laws and influx control measures
which
restrict the movement of Africans out of the reserves have
been made more stringent and applied to African women.
A thousand Africans a day are arrested under the pass
laws and hauled before court for prosecution and impris-
onment. Africans in the cities must live compulsorily in
segregated areas, may not enter such areas without pre-
vious permission, and if they are arrested at any time of
night or day, must prove before court that they have not
been in
72 hours. Curfews operate at night and breaking the cur-
few is a criminal offence. When it comes to social services,
the Unemployment Insurance Act has been amended to
exclude Africans from its benefits. Health services for Afri-
cans are slender, and in one of the most flourishing socie-
ties of this century, the infant mortality rate for Africans in
some cities is as high as 400 per 1,000.

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But the experience of the Transkei, the first Bantustan. shows that this is simply not the case. The Transkei's independence is fictional. It has no real power, and no possibilities for economic development. On the Legislative Council or so-called Transkei Parliament there are 109 members, but 64 are chiefs, virtually government civil servants and liable to summary dismissal for antigovernment acts or sentiments. The Council may legislate Only in certain education and internal;

proscribed

attains. but its laws are promulgated subject to the approval of the South African Cabinet. As for development. this is impossible without heavy capital outlay. and though plans were laid on paper. they have not come to anything. It was. for instance. proclaimed government policy to establish industries in the Transkei to provide economic opportunities and development possibilities denied Africans in the rest of the country. From 1948 to 1965 nine industries only were opened. employing in all 1389 Africans. In 17 years a programme of so-called industrialisation created only 82 new jobs a year.

justice.

Whatever propaganda boost the Bantustans may be given as part of the new look of apartheid. they remain backward

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impoverished areas from which Africans have to commute to work in white enterprises. leaving their families behind them. All the major industries, all the mineral wealth. all the important harbour facilities and the best arable land are in those parts of the country earmarked for white ownership and control. White prosperity and the present rate of industrial and other production are not possible without the steady supply of African labour. Apartheid as a scheme : for so-called separate development is thus a deception. But as a system of the intense exploitation of the South African majority, it is unparalleled. The overwhelming bulk of the wealth of South Africa is enjoyed by a white population whose standard of living (based on the national income per head) is the highest of any major country in the world except the United States of America. But South Africa's dramatic rate of growth and this white minority prosperity has been achieved at tragic cost to the conditions of life of the majority of the people. On the gold mines African cash wages are, in real buying power. no higher today than they were in 1911. National income figures for South Africa tell the facts of the division by colour of the prosperity and poverty:

National Income per Head

1 Net National Income in South Africa

Per capita (all races)

National Income per capita for Whites

National Income per capita for NonWhites

2.535 m.
148.5 m.
624 m.
36.7 m.

This means that the per copito income for Whites is 17 times that for Non-Whites.

Even in the years of South Africa's economic boom, after World War 2. the Non-White population shared hardly at all in the growing wealth of the country:

Growth in National Income per head of Non-Whites since the War:

1950
1960

28.7
27.0

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27.6
28.3
29.95

1961
1962
1963

In manufacturing industry, where half a million Africans are employed, the average wage is 921 o tmonth: In industry the wage gap between Whites and Africans IS 5 to 1: in mining it is 12 to 1. In 1960 the Whites, who constituted 19.3 per cent of the population accounted for 67 per cent of the notional income; the Africans who constituted 68.4 per cent of the population received 26.5 per cent. The reservation of skilled jobs to whites only.

1911. has steadily been extended to :

mining industry in

other occupations. Trade unions are segregated by race and African trade unions are refused registration. African strikes are illegal, with threats of heavy penalties (0 fine of 9500 or three years' imprisonment or both). The earnings of African workers are determined not by collective bargaining but by decree of the white minority govern-

ment.

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The key to the technique of race rule is the total and absolute exclusion of Non-Whites from participation in any aspect of government, whether legislative or executive.

Only whites may be nominated or elected as members of Parliament, Provincial Councils or Town Councils. Even th

wretched provision under earlier laws whereby a small group of African voters could elect three White members: to represent their interests in Parliament was abolished. No African may sit as judge, magistrate or prosecutor, nor may he serve on a jury. No Africans can become officers in the army or the police force. No African may serve in the CM! service except at the most menial rank in a clerical department serving Africans only. Discrimination in education is

in
designed to keep Africans at the most menial levels of society. Under the Bantu Education Act it is intended to

for
African children to receive any but state-controlled educa-
tion, and this is specially conducted to ensure that there

be no place for
Africans above certain forms of
labour" (the words of the former Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd). When it comes to expenditure on education the
some discrimination operates: about 963 is spent on the
education of a white child and 99 on an African child.

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