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jMIOCRATIC WHITE OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID

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- Democratic White Opposition: Historical Introduction
- National Union of South African Students (KUS^S)
- Black Sash - ---
- War Resisters
- Bibliographical note

## Democratic White Opposition: Historical Introduction

(1)

Throughout both the Segregation and Apartheid phases of South African history there have always been whites opposed in various ways and degrees to system of capitalist exploitation and national oppression. These "democratic whites" are not drawn from a single class force but come from different backgrounds. They have allied themselves in different ways with the struggles of the oppressed masses - sometimes through organisations

based in some way on these masses themselves, in other cases -through organisations consisting mainly of whites. This chapter considers the latter two types of organisation. However at the outset it should be noted that whatever the different organisational forms involved, two broad currents

among the "democratic white opposition" can be identified: a) the socialist / communist and b) the liberal/radical.

### Main trends prior to 1948

The socialist/communist current of white opposition grew out of the left-wing of the labour movement at the beginning of this century.

-Its strategic objective was to establish a socialist society in South Africa. Particularly in its early years, it had considerable problems over such key strategic questions as: Which class forces would be in the vanguard of a South African revolution

- white workers (as was thought for some years), an undifferentiated

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working class, or black workers? What was the role of national oppression in South Africa and how should socialists/communists relate to the struggles of nationally oppressed classes other than the black working class?

The liberal/radical current developed among certain categories of intellectuals (churchmen, university teachers, students, etc.). Mainstream t ^kx.

liberalism is aro-always has been a minority tendency within/strategic political thinking of the capitalist class. Its fundamental critique of the institutions of segregation and/or Apartheid was not that they subjected the masses to exploitation and oppression but rather that they threatened the stability of the system by not creating sufficient "space". for'emergence of a-supportive black middle class\* is one leading

liberal. Professor Edgar Brookes, put it'in the 1930s:

,r3antu nationalism must ... reach out towards Bolshevism. How could it be otherwise? If there is a clearly defined proletariat anywhere in the world it is in South Africa. Happier or wiser countries postpone or altogether avoid a Marxist "class war" by the creation of common interests, by opening doors of opportunity enabling the ambitious member of the proletariat to escape into the governing class, at the very least by ostentatious professions of a single national unity transcending class distinctions.

'in South-Africa we follow a different course. We try to prevent the multiplication of common interests, we close almost every door of opportunity, and we loudly proclaim the impossibility of union in a single nation. Class becomes associated with something definite and /s tangible fiuch as colour. The stage i ' inevitably set for the \*'class war'10, is a member of the bourgeoisie myself, I hope it is not set for the ^dictatorship of the proletariat'\*. is a~liberal I believe that only swift and far reaching reforms and many more opportunities for self-realisation on the part of the Bantu can create the impossibility of such dictatorship. I insist ... that those who are fighting the Battle of the Bantu are the real friends of the white man and the whole South African community".

However, a more radical minority current within liberalism has' not been, explicitly and self cgnsciously tied to ruling class-strategy. Rather, its strategic objective has generally been to seek to end national oppression

in South Africa but without ending capitalist exploitation. It does not recognise, indeed denies, that the fundamental source of national oppression lies in capitalist relations of exploitation. It also denies the importance of class and class struggle. As the leader of the Liberal Party, Ilan Paton, put it in the 1950s: "A true liberal does not think in terms of groups, g he thinks in terms of persons". Nevertheless, liberalism in its more radical form has been an important force of political activity among whites

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which has not merely sought to perpetuate the fundamental structures of the system in some different way, hut which has genuinely opposed and challenged at least some of the basic institutions of segregation and/or

Apartheid.

Democrat1c â€œ [hi to Opposition 1948 to the 1970^

The coming -cower of the Nationalist Party regime in 1948 (see pp. -000)

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to an unprecedented attempt to mobilise whites in a broad front of democ  
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opposition to the intensification of mass repression and further undermini  
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of such, democratic rights as existed. During the war progressive white  
servicemen formed the Springbok Legion as a trade union of the ranks  
dedicated to fighting fascism both internally and externally\* During and  
after the war left wing white trade unionists, Communist. Party members

others, acted in a number of ways to resist the assault by Broederbond/

4fel4'8Â«Btw "Christian National" trades unionists (see pp. 000) . After  
1948

thrilorch Commando, a broad front alliance of snti-Nationalist forces  
based mainly on ex-servicemen, staged a number of large demonstrations  
in

opposition to repressive measui\*es introduced by the Nationalist .regime.  
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their height these organisations and activities took/certain classes and "J

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strata of "white society".

By shortly after the 1953 elections, however, most of these early forms  
of large scale white opposition had disappeared. This was partly due to t  
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heavy attack \$to which they were subjected as part of the more genera],

assault by the regime On all. forms of popular organisation and resistance.  
However-, the initial bBjint of the regime's attack fell on communists and  
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trade unionists. To the extent that whites were included in these groups  
they also fell victim to state repression. The Communist Pa.rty was  
outlawed in 1950, its members ~ black and white - were "listed", and some  
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were banned. Thirty-three progressive trade unionists were also banned  
in the early 1950s. A large number of these were whites.

Orx.effect of this attack fon the white left was that the leadership vrithin  
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the broad front Torch Commandojincreasingly passed into the. h^3.s of

liberals with constitutionalist illusions. This coupled with the fact that despite initial [p]ar the Nationalist regime did not, in fact act against the vital interests of any class in "white society", but on the contrary created the conditions for all whites to prosper, rapidly led to its demise. After entering into a "people's front" ('sic) alliance with the United Party and Labour Party in the 1953 elections and accepting that its demonstration activities should be curtailed in the interests of the "parliamentary struggle", the Torch Commando collapsed.

Two organisations of the democratic white opposition stand out during the period following the demise of the Torch Commando - the Congress of Democrats (COD), and the Liberal Party. There were however also democratic whites in student organisations such as NUS/S (see pp. 000). Various church groups found protest groups such as the Black Sash (see pp. 000)

The Congress of Democrats was formed in 1953 in direct response to a call by the MiG for whites to join a body which would work in close cooperation with the liberation movement and recruit white support for the policies and practices of the /sNC. Among the leading forces in COD were former

Communist Party members, without a legal political home since the banning of the Party in 1950. But COD also attracted other former members of the

Springbok Legion and a number of liberals to the left of the Liberal Party

COD sat as an equal partner (along with the INC, SACTU, South African Indian Congress and Coloured People Congress) on the Consultative Committee of the Congress Alliance<sup>^</sup>-flea-s<sup>^</sup>. It identified completely with the INC,

the senior partner in the alliance. Though few in number, COD members played a significant and active role in the Alliance. Many were drawn from the banned CP and were politically experienced. COD was involved in all major Congress activities of the period particularly the campaigns against Bantu

education and population removals, and the ANC campaign to collect a million signatures in support of the Freedom Charter.

The Liberal Party was formed in 1954\* From the outset it saw its principal role as placing its "policies and principles before the white voters to reassure them that a non-racial democracy is a valid and exciting choice"

It opposed all forms of legislated racial discrimination. Membership was

open

to individuals of all races. However, it held as a fundamental tenet that it was striving for the establishment of a bourgeois parliamentary democracy

based on "free enterprise" such as it saw existing in Western Europe or North America. It was thus strongly opposed to "communism", although some

individual members were prepared to give Communists their due acknowledging that they were non-racist\* and stood for a "mixed" society.

The party was also strongly committed to "constitutional methods" of struggle, opposing "violence" and "illegal actions" in all forms. It denied that class or class interests were of any real significance and believed that the white electorate could eventually be won over for liberalism in only they better 11: 100 "the severe disabilities under which the non-Europeans are at present labouring ...". The party's focus on the white electorate led it initially to call for a qualified franchise, then thought more acceptable to white voters than one person one vote.

Finally it strongly opposed the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter, arguing that the clauses in the Charter calling for nationalisation of monopolies were fundamentally illiberal.

Whilst the Liberal Party never abandoned its anti-Marxist/anti-communist

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tenets towards the end of the 50s did move somewhat closer to the Congress movement. Party policy was reassessed and the earlier emphasis on electoral

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activities was reduced. The 1958 elections marked a major turning point.

The Nationalist victory confirmed that the United Party (see pp. 000) would not be able to defeat the Nationalists, and sowed doubts amongst Liberals about the effectiveness of electoral politics. Pressure from younger liberals also pushed the party leftwards.

By the late 50s it had changed franchise demands to one person one vote.

In 1959 it supported the JNC's call for an international boycott of South African goods. It called for trade union rights for blacks and for a radical redistribution of land, but qualified this by saying that there should be no major drop in agricultural production. It also called for a "welfare state".

This leftward shift provoked a number of conflicts within the party. The "old guard" strongly resisted attempts by younger members to support such methods of struggle as pass burning, strikes and civil disobedience. They also opposed attempts by the left of the party to turn it into a mass

movement through launching a recruiting drive amongst blacks.

These conflicts eventually produced a number of splinter groups on the fringes of the Liberal Party. When the PAC split from the ANC in 1959 (see pp.000), a number of more radical liberals -identified with the

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"Africanists", One of them^the staunchly anti-communist^ Patrick Dunca n, eventually became the only white to be admitted as a member of the PAC

. Another group of radical liberal intellectuals repudiated the position on non-violence and together with individual Trotskyists, formed a sabotage group, the African Resistance Movement (ARM). After damaging a few installations the group was eventually tracked down, partly through being betrayed by its secretary, Adrian Liffitch, who turned state's witness. Several ARM

members were condemned to long terms of imprisonment. One, John Harris, who had planted a bomb in the Johannesburg station, was hanged.

Both COD and the Liberal Party and its fringe groups came under attack with the wave of intensified repression following the Sharpeville massacre. Once again, however, it was the left wing COD with its Congress connections which suffered more. In 1962 COD was banned, as had been the ANC in 1960

(the other three constituent organisations of the Congress Alliance were not banned-although many of their members were detained or restricted).

Thereafter a large number of COD members were banned or detained, and after the destruction of the underground command at Rivonia in 1963 a large number went into exile together with ANC members.

This crackdown enabled liberalism to assert a virtually unchallenged hegemony over/beleaguered democratic white opposition still existing within the country. For a short time after the banning of the AwC and COD a number of former members of these organisations joined the liberal Party,

The state soon responded by picking off the most radical elements within the Liberal Party with banning orders and detentions. Eventually, in 1968 in the face of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act ^proscribing multiracial political organisations, the Liberal Party dissolved rather than segregate itself.

Democratic opposition continued to survive among whites in student groups like NUSAS, church organisations and protest groups like the Black Sash

But by the early 1970s its impulse was both small, and overwhelmingly liberal.

Democratic white opposition in the period of heightened mass struggle 4.

The position of democratic white opposition changed significantly in the period of intensified mass struggle following the strikes of 1973 (see pp. 000). While it remained confined to a tiny minority of mostly intellectuals (students, lecturers, church people, etc), the numbers involved fell appreciably. However liberalisation has lost its dominant position and the white left is no longer ghettoised as it had become by the early 1970s.

These changes were caused by a number of factors. Most importantly was the

heightened mass struggle and a number of possibilities for involvement

by the white left. Perhaps as significantly, it also produced an intense

crisis for ruling class ideology in all its forms which had the important effect of

polarising more intellectuals towards the masses.

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A second crucial factor was the rise and subsequent transcendence by most mass organisations of the ideology of black consciousness. While black consciousness presented itself ideologically as a rejection of all whites,

it reflected above all a rejection of white liberalism. It forced

white radicals, especially students, to confront their own racism. Its

blanket ban on white participation in black consciousness organisations

forced them to seek alternative forms of engagement! This was an important

factor in the turn to organise workers by left-wing whites students in the early 1970s. The subsequent advance beyond black consciousness to non-racism created broader possibilities for democratic whites to identify with mass struggles in a way which they had not been able to since the days of COD.

A third factor has been the adoption by the ruling class in the face of the heightened mass popular struggles of certain elements of liberal ideology.

One of the aims of the state's "Total Strategy" (see pp. 000) and of "private"

organisations like the Urban Foundation (see pp.000) has been to win over

fr / a supportive black "middle class". This has been done by attempting to

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promote among them certain basic liberal propositions e. g. that there is a radical separation between the "free enterprise" economy and racial -4

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discrimination, and that the encouragement of the former will lead to the undermining of the latter\* This has led to a widespread rejection among

the popular masses of liberal ideology in general and this has been a major factor leading to the erosion of liberal hegemony among democratic whites. It also has the effect of pushing many of liberals towards more radical positions.

One of the main areas of activity by democratic whites has been in the trade unions. The upsurge of black working class struggle led to a number of democratic whites becoming involved in supportive activity. It first, this tended to be through distinct student support committees. In the early 1970s NUSAS (see pp.000), set up a number of Wages Commissions which did studies aimed to help groups of workers involved in struggles with employers. Democratic whites later became involved in the workers advice organisations which preceded the formation of unions (see pp.000) "and whites are now involved in all the different democratic unions. The degree to which democratic whites have become integrated in the trade union movement was dramatically highlighted by the mass response of workers to the death in detention of Dr. Heil Aggett in February 1982. .

Theoretical/historical study has been another prominent form of activity. During the 1970s a number of left academics set out to challenge the liberal interpretation of South African history and produce alternative Marxist analyses of Segregation and Apartheid. This activity, which began in exile, is now being continued and developed in a number of ways by intellectuals working within the country. Some or other form of Marxism has now established itself as a major intellectual force, and a leading liberal historian has lamented "the Marxist orthodoxy in South African Historiography".

The growth of community and civic organisations since 1976 has also been an area of activity with which democratic whites have identified. Moreover a growing number of whites who both inside the country and in exile have joined and worked for the liberation movement.

The growing tide of mass struggle has also had an impact on those progressive organisations which for one reason or another still tend to be based largely

on whites. HUSAS, which operates on the still largely whites campuses, became# visibly radicalised during then970s and now identifies in a number of ways with advancing mass struggles.' Among other things, through its South

African Student Press Union (SASPU), it produces some of the most important publications covering mass struggles.

Finally, mention should also be made of the war resisters' movement (see pp. 000). This emerged in response to the increasing militarisation of the 1970s, now operates to assist conscripts to resist being compelled

to fight for Apartheid.

Xis3wÂ«JSG.4-i-\$-iÂ«->.ih^Â»rs^continue to be sub jeon; to all contradictions arising ^

from the objective places they occupy in the class structure of South Africa. Liberal \* ideology still is a force among them, but an increasing number now identify with the Liberation struggle and accept! Marxism.

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## NATIONAL UNICET OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN STUDENTS (NUSAS) (2)

Anti-Apartheid student organisation open to all students but based mainly on white students, (overwhelmingly of bourgeois background) at English speaking universities. Since the English language universities are key institutions of main stream liberalism, NUSAS represents one of the main left wing forces within liberal institutions.

NUSAS was founded in 1924 by students from the nine (English and Afrikaans speaking) white universities then in existence. Its stated objectives were "to bring students together on the basis of their studenthood, to advance their common interests and to provide a forum for the examination and resolution of their differences". For nine years it ran a Student Parliament in which; students of different political persuasions debated political questions. Its National Council lobbied on agreed (mainly educational) issues. It excluded blacks and concentrated on building up unity between Afrikaans and English-speaking white students.

In 1933 the question of black membership was raised for the first time when Fort Hare University College (for blacks) was proposed for membership.

Although the proposal was rejected, it provoked the disaffiliation of all the Afrikaans campuses except Stellenbosch, which finally withdrew in 1936

(see pp. 000) .

NUSAS continued as an English speaking white student organisation with a

vague liberal rhetoric-but very little else until the end of the war. In

1945, inspired by anti-fascist sentiment of the war-years, it finally voted

to admit Fort Hare. At the same time it adopted a constitution advocating

inter alia, "... democracy and the rights of all to the free expression

, of a free press

of opinion ... and equality of educational/opportunity for all

NUSAS's general non racial liberal stance and opposition to Apartheid measures led it into increasing conflict with the Nationalist regime after 1948\* It opposed in particular the introduction of Bantu education in 1954

and measures to confine black students to separate "tribal colleges" and take over Fort Hare University College eventually passed into law under

the 1959 Extension of University Education Act.

The 1950s, however, saw a number of disaffiliations from 'black-centres' which accused KUSIS of concentrating too heavily on narrow academic issues and the erosion of freedoms which may well have been real, for white students, at which black students had never enjoyed. This ended the broader struggle then undisturbed provoked an intense debate within the organisation throughout the 1950s. On the one side the more radical wing wanted to concern itself with more than simply "freeing education";

on the other side the more liberal/conservative wing wanted the organisation to continue to restrict itself to "student concerns as such".

In the end it was essentially a liberal centrist position which triumphed out.

In the formula which was to guide HUSIS's practices throughout the 1960s it identified its principal role as being to draw "recruits into the struggle against white supremacy from groups that the left had been unable to reach" and most importantly "... from the large reservoir of moderates among (its largely white) mass membership". This was to be done by campaign over specific, generally academic, issues and "leadership training" which would "broaden and radicalise" the perspectives of new recruits.

Port Hare- and other black centres reaffiliated in 1957 and the presence of

black students produced a certain pressure leading HUSIS to enter from

time to time into the wider realm/politics\* with a number of "radical" statements

about broader issues.

By the mid 1960s HUSIS had become perhaps the most outspokenly radical.

of the legally existing opposition organisations. Most other opposition

to the left HUSIS had been repressed. To its credit HUSIS never moderate

its stance on its basic principles - non-racialism and its support for

/ various democratic demands. It

. After 1964 ITUSIS came under increasing attack from the State. Various

cases followed.

In 1965 the NUSIS leadership was

targeted.

Bannings and restrictions were imposed on the leadership, and

Finally, NUSIS was subject to extensive infiltration by BOSS agents - the most notorious being Craig Williamson who became an executive member of

By the late 1960s the liberal formula of concentrating on winning over the mass of moderate (largely white) students came under increasing criticism both white and more importantly from "black students. Local

committee organisation on all campuses had by the late 60s become much less effective as radicals turned to other activities. More significantly, reflecting the growing restiveness of the oppressed classes generally, black students, became increasingly dissatisfied with UDS, as a potential vehicle for their struggles. .

In 1967 the majority of black centres and black individual members

withdrew to form the South African Students Organisation (SASO - see pp. 000), which

SASO criticised NUSAS for its "white liberalism" arguing that it concentrated on academic issues of importance to white students rather than the pressing concerns of blacks.

SASO left ITUSAS in a quandary. It eventually reluctantly accepted SASO's withdrawal and began to search for a new role for itself.

For nearly three years until 1972, it appeared to flounder, considering during a period of "reassessment" such diverse proposals as the re-establishment of a "student parliament" consisting of Afrikaans and English speaking white universities, becoming a political party within a new

to a purely-cultural and/or educational organisation.

"alternative" parliamentary structure which it would create, and becoming . Yet the Black Consciousness critique of HUSAS and white liberalism did

have an important impact. It both forced white students to examine their own racism and, more significantly, propelled a small group of more radical

student activists into a concern with issues affecting black workers. The

were then taken up by NUSaS as a whole. In 1971 /2â€¢ it set up a, series of

"Wages Commissions" which produced a number of studies of considerable

use to workers<%in putting demands. Various^students moved into active

involvement in organising vrorkers. The wave of strikes and resurgence  
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of working class activity after 1973 created- a number of possibilities'  
for work supporting the emerging trade union movement.

The radicalisation of MJSiS in the 1970s was further stimulated by increasing state action against it. A large number of its activists were banned in 1972, and

to justify its activities, it was declared, "an affected organisation" in 1974, outlawing any form of external finance. In 1974 a "Free Political Prisoners" campaign led to the trial (and acquittal) of a number of HUSjiS leaders charged with furthering the aims of the IFJC. By the late 1970s it was strongly supporting various forms of democratic struggle, particularly on community issues.

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it is currently committed to a joint campaign with IZjISO and CC^Sib to "socialise" education. It also produces a number of useful

publications, on various issues. Student newspapers too have undergone a

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vast change, with SISPU National becoming one of the best sources of

work, and M., and

information on mass struggles. This link with mass struggle and the critique

of liberalism generally has also changed NUS^S's ideological stance. -is

Liberalism is not dead within the organisation though it is certainly

today a much more militant and effective organisation than it was ten years ago

Not surprisingly it has continued to be subject to state repression.

recommended stringent state action

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BL/;CK S/J5H (3)

Organisation based mainly on white women of bourgeois origin. The Black

Sash was founded as a ^conventional liberal pressure group but has moved

steadily leftwards over the years. It has recently identified itself with

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. certain popular demands and mass campaigns. In 1981/supported a resolution

declaring 'at the principles of the Freedom Charter offered "the only

viable response to the present exploitative and repressive system".

Originally. "Called the Women's Defence of the Constitution League, the Black Sash was founded in 1955 to protest over the Nationalist Regime's

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proposal to enlarge the Senate and thus secure the two thirds majority necessary for 'taking coloured voters off the common voters' roll (see pp.

000). The organisation adopted as its emblem a black rose and its members

wore black sashes in public demonstrations to mourn "the abrogation of the South African Constitution by the Nationalist regime.

During the 50s and 60s it held a number of "vigils" and "haunts" to protest

against various measures being introduced by the regime. A "vigil" was a

stand of women in black sashes with bowed heads outside some public building.

A "haunt" consisted of a group of women in black sashes with heads up who

tried to embarrass government ministers by catching their eye.

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The organisation's class base led it in its earlier days to adopt a rather exclusivist stance, and to stand aloof from mass struggles. It declined an invitation to participate in the mass Women's March on the Union Buildings organised by the Federation of South African Women to protest at the extensions-

ion of the pass laws to women in 1956 (see pp. 000). Later, however, it did participate in the multi-racial "consultative committees", consisting of Congress members, church people and various liberals, formed in 1959 to exchange ideas.

By the mid 1960s as it became clear that the Nationalist regime would not respond to protest demonstration, these ceased to be the principal form of activity of the Sash. "Haunts" were abandoned altogether and "vigils" became less and less frequent. Instead it embarked on a programme of "political education" both of its own members and the "public".

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More importantly, it set up Pass Law Advice Centres to help first African women and later men with problems posed by the pass laws\* Its contact with

the masses through these Centres over the years visibly radicalised the organisation\* It produced a number of authoritative studies of the effects

of the

staunchest critics of the pass system, albeit from within a liberal ideological framework. In more recent years,

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the state has forced a number of its Advice Centres to close on the grounds

that they are involved in attempting to "bend the rules" so as to permit

urban areas.

In October 1981 the Slack Sash participated in the National anti-SAIC (South African Indian Council) demonstration (see pp.000) and associated

itself with a resolution declaring that "... the only viable alternative to the present exploitative and repressive system is one based on the principles of the Freedom Charter", and resolving "... that, until we have established a democratic South Africa based on the Freedom Charter".

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President: Sheena Duncan,

"illegal" Africans to enter or remain in

of the pass laws and became

## H/.R RSSISTICRS (4)

The militarisation of South African society and the increasing involvement of the military in brutal and aggressive actions, has led a growing number of white conscripts to resist compulsory military service. Between 1973 and 1982, over 5-000 people were prosecuted for failing to

report for military service

The specific forms of this resistance have been varied, as have its ideological bases. There are those who have made a firm, publicly stated

refusal to accept their call up, resulting in long sentences in Detention

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Barracks. Some of the preeminent resisters of this type have had a religious or pacifistic objection to involvement in any form of war, fetrti en

increasing number, who have called themselves "selective conscientious

objectors<sup>1</sup>, object to involvement in an unjust war\*such as a war for the maintenance of Apartheid. Others who have been unwilling to fight for Apartheid have gone into exile either on being called up for training or on

being drafted for active service in Namibia. Still others have responded to the longer and longer call up<sup>5</sup>, the increasing brutality of army life or specific atrocities by evading call-up, deserting, going absent without leave or in a few cases staging organised but usually short-lived walkouts

Oat of this of resistance /fess?Â©-grown a number of organisations.

The most important of these is the Committee on South' African Military Resistance (COSÂ®), operating in exile and underground. COSAWR v.Tas formed in December

1978, through the merger of two groups operating in Britain. It provides practical assistance and advice to resisters, particularly those going into exile. It also tries to involve exiled resisters in discussion groups and seminars and drÂ£w them into anti-Apartheid solidarity work. Finally

it does research on the increasing militarisation of the Apartheid state and produces publications, such as its journal Resister. CJs basic stance is one of general support for the liberation struggle, including the armed struggle led by the ANC.

Similar organisations exist in other European countries and in North America. They have played an important role in publicising atrocities committed by the Apartheid military Forces. They have also produced so

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the best research publications available 011 the South African military.

## Biblio/graphical Note General

Each of the organizations dealt with in this chapter produces its own publications. Their activities are well covered in the ARC Yearly

F (LONOSW/ 1977)

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'Cape Town) \* In addition such publications of the white left as

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invaluable source of information on a wide range of issues\*

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