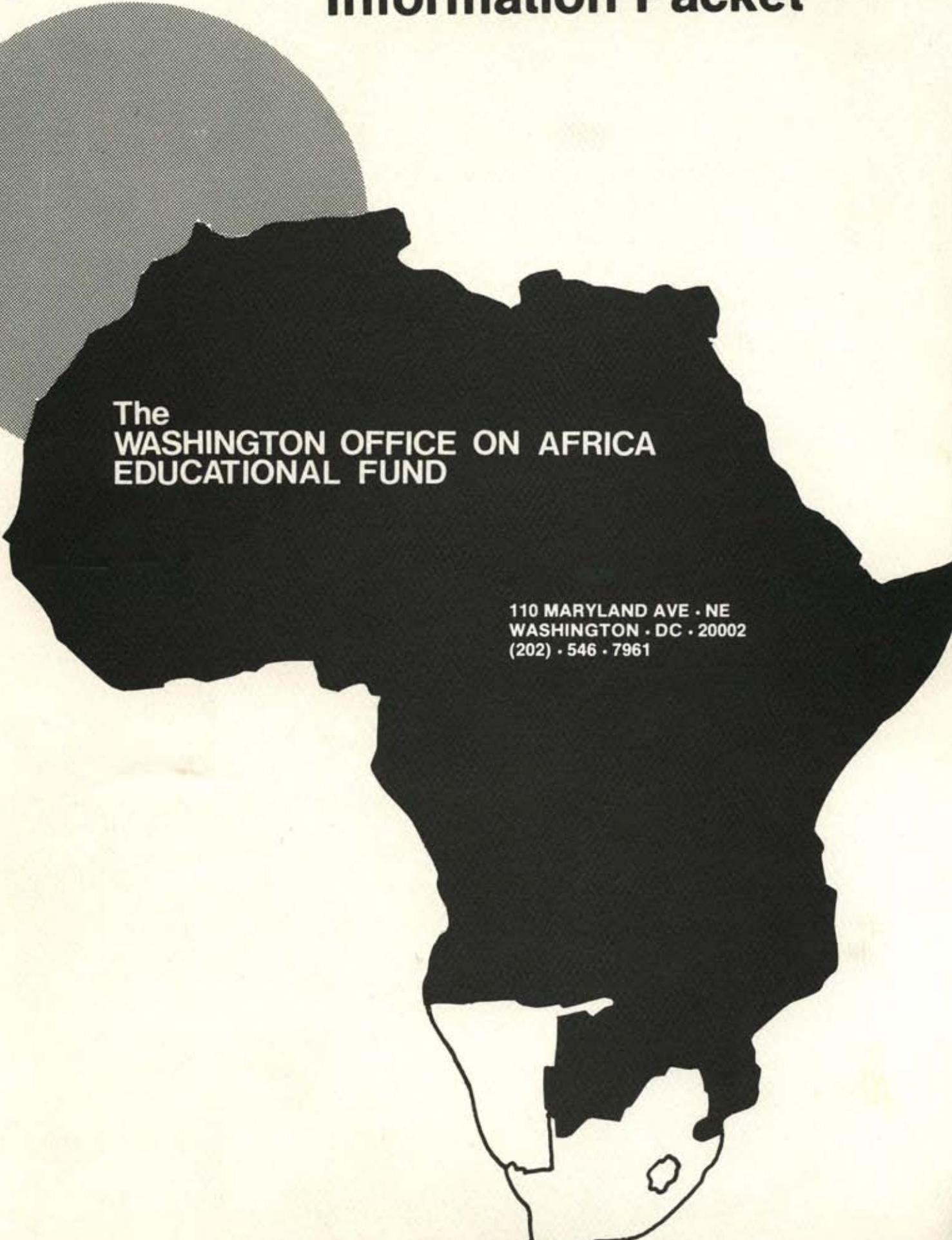


SOUTH AFRICA

Information Packet



**The
WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA
EDUCATIONAL FUND**

**110 MARYLAND AVE · NE
WASHINGTON · DC · 20002
(202) · 546 · 7961**



**The
Washington
Office
on Africa
Educational
Fund**

Dear Friend:

The South Africa Information Packet is a resource of the Washington Office on Africa Educational Fund. This packet was designed to introduce citizens to basic facts about apartheid to equip them for action against this heinous system. We hope that the packet will be used in the classroom, union meetings, church gatherings, wherever possible to educate and to motivate concerned people to isolate the racist regime of South Africa.

The packet's contents are as follows:

FACT SHEETS

1. UNDERSTANDING APARTHEID
2. APARTHEID'S GRAND DESIGN:
the bantustans
3. SEPARATE & NOT EQUAL:
health & education
4. THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE:
repression & resistance
5. APARTHEID'S WAR

ACTION SHEETS

1. STOP SUPPORT FOR APARTHEID
2. ORGANIZE AGAINST APARTHEID
3. LITERATURE LIST
4. GLOSSARY

Through materials, like this packet produced by the Educational Fund, and campaigns run by the Washington Office on Africa to mobilize citizens to action for justice in South Africa, there have been many victories against apartheid since we began our work. However, this vital work can continue **only with your help**. Become a member of our action network. You will receive materials which update you on current affairs in South Africa and on US policy. We will alert you to the need for specific action and connect you with other members of your community who are working to end racism in South Africa and here at home.

In order to become a member, just fill out the coupon below and return it in the envelope provided for you. We request a minimum contribution of \$15.00 each year to help cover our costs. We look forward to working with you in the future.

Sincerely,

Jean Sindab
Executive Director

YES! I want to join the growing anti-apartheid movement!

Enclosed is my \$15.00 contribution for membership in the Washington Office on Africa network, and my additional contribution of \$_____ to your work.

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Telephone () _____ Congressional District _____

STOP SUPPORT FOR APARTHEID

Apartheid is a huge, violent machine which ensures the supremacy of South Africa's white minority by brutally repressing the black majority. However, the South African government does not have the ability on its own to maintain its apartheid machine. It has used billions of dollars of US and other foreign corporate investment to fill in some vital gaps. US corporations supply the apartheid regime with much needed computers, motor vehicles, heavy machinery, military hardware, money, and oil. They are active supporters of the brutal system of apartheid and make large profits from the oppression of the 24 million black people.

Throughout the United States there is a growing concern about US corporate involvement in South Africa. One of the largest and most successful movements which attacks US support for apartheid is the *divestment* movement. Divestment is the withdrawal of funds from corporations and banks which do business in South Africa. In order to understand the demand for divestment, it is necessary to realize the extent of US corporate involvement in apartheid.

US corporate support of apartheid

The most significant aspect of US investment in South Africa is its importance in maintaining apartheid. US corporate support of South Africa is critical for apartheid's survival, as shown by the strategic areas assisted by US firms:

- **Computers**—US firms control 70 percent of the computer market. IBM supplies computers to the apartheid regime which help monitor the pass system and keep records of race classifications.

- **Motor Vehicles**—Both Ford and General Motors supply vehicles to the military and police.

- **Heavy Machinery**—Caterpillar Tractor supplies the government with bulldozers which are used to flatten black communities during forced removals.

- **Military Hardware**—US-made electronic sensors, infra-red detectors, and tracking equipment are all available on the open market in South Africa.

- **Money**—US banks loan billions of dollars overall to the South African government. In addition, US firms pay taxes to the apartheid regime and buy government bonds. This money allows the regime to increase its war against the people.

- **Oil**—Oil is the only natural resource which South Africa does not have. Yet, Exxon, Caltex, and Mobil keep the apartheid machine well-oiled.

US firms support the oppression of apartheid because



Ford ad on "non-whites" only bus

Photo: Multinational Monitor

it is that oppression which gives them huge profits. Apartheid allows US companies to pay whites 10 times more than blacks. Blacks risk jail if they strike for better wages or justice on the job. Unionization is severely restricted, so blacks have little bargaining power through government-approved channels. High unemployment, planned by the government, keeps wages very low. Pass laws, which limit the movement of blacks, and the threat of being forced to live in barren bantustans produces a controlled labor force.

Act to end support for apartheid

The divestment movement has grown in this country as more and more people have decided that they should not profit from apartheid. As a result, churches, universities, and trade unions throughout the US have taken their funds out of companies and banks doing business in South Africa. Now local and state governments are divesting from South Africa because taxpayers are demanding that their hard earned dollars stop supporting a system opposed to democratic ideals. So far, five states, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Michigan, Nebraska and Maryland, and many cities including Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC have responded by passing divestment laws. Over 21 other states, cities and counties are considering such bills.



Demonstrating for divestment in Boston

Photo: New York Times

Corporate camouflage

Although the evidence supporting divestment is overwhelming, corporations trying to protect their profits argue that divestment will have a negative effect on the situation in South Africa. Critics of divestment claim that black unemployment will greatly increase if US companies pull out. This claim, however, grossly overstates the number of black South Africans who work for US corporations in South Africa. US firms hire less than one percent of the black South African workforce.

Other critics argue that US corporate presence in South Africa can be used as a "force for change." Some US firms have implemented a fair employment code called the Sullivan Principles and claim they are making a better life for blacks. The Sullivan Principles require basic reforms in workplace conditions, such as desegregated locker and dining rooms, but these "improvements" are merely cosmetic; the Principles do not attack the roots of the apartheid system. Even if US companies adhere to the Sullivan Principles (which few do), blacks still cannot vote, they are forcibly removed to bantustans, and they are not free to choose where they work or live or whom they marry. US corporate investment in South Africa overwhelmingly supports the evil of apartheid while producing no significant benefits for blacks.

Benefits of divestment

Many people claim that divestment will result in a loss of money for the government or institution divesting. However, it has been shown that divestment does not necessarily result in a financial loss. The state of

Connecticut, Michigan State University, and several other institutions have **profited from divestment**.

Divestment can also help to create jobs in the US. Money which is divested from South Africa can be invested in job-creating community development here in America. Divestment ends US support for apartheid and strengthens the American economy.

Most importantly, divestment puts pressure on the South African government. Divestment expresses an abhorrence for apartheid.

Become Involved

1) If there is no divestment bill before your city council or state legislature, lobby to have one introduced. If one has already been introduced, work for its passage.

2) If you are a student, organize to have your college or university divest its holdings from corporations investing in South Africa. If it already has a divestment policy, make sure that it is being implemented.

3) If you are a member of a religious congregation, request that your congregation's funds not be deposited in a bank that makes loans to South Africa. Convince the officials of your denomination to divest all holdings from corporations investing in South Africa.

4) If you are a union member, work to divest your union's pension fund and for your union's endorsement of divestment legislation.

For more information contact the Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002.

ORGANIZE AGAINST APARTHEID

In order to end apartheid, our international solidarity is essential. The alliance between apartheid and the US must be challenged. We urge you to form a local anti-apartheid committee to work on the following campaigns, linking them with local issues. Working with other groups—women, peace, labor, black and other minorities—is crucial to the success of any campaign.

State/Municipal Legislation: Support laws to stop public funds from being invested in banks and corporations that invest in South Africa. Such funds should be used to rebuild local communities and create new jobs.

Bank Withdrawals: Organize local churches, unions, campus and community groups and individuals to withdraw their deposits from local banks that lend to South Africa until the banks publicly stop such loans. Mass withdrawals on a specific day (e.g., during an annual meeting) can publicly embarrass the banks and pressure for change in policy.

Divestment: Religious groups and universities should be pressured to end their investment in banks and companies doing business with South Africa. Several major churches have taken positions in favor of divestment; many universities are considering it. Pressure must be directed from concerned individuals to make sure these decisions are carried out.

Krugerrands: If your bank or coin dealer sells these or other South African gold coins, protest to encourage the stopping of this practice. The US is the largest market for these coins. Hold pickets and mass demonstrations until they agree to sell Krugerrands no longer.



Protest Krugerrand sales.

Photo: Business Week



Demonstration in Washington, D.C.

Photo: Deborah Sagen

National Legislation: Voting is only the first step in exercising your democratic rights. You must also make sure your elected officials really represent your views and positions. Calls, letters and telegrams can influence Congressional votes and encourage your representatives to speak out on key issues affecting Southern Africa. The Washington Office on Africa maintains a legislative information service, the *Anti-Apartheid Action Hotline* (202/546-0408) to update you on the action that you and your Congressperson can undertake.

Counter South African Propaganda: Write or call newspaper, TV and radio news editors and newscasters protesting incorrect or biased stories or editorials on South Africa and Namibia. Praise well-done coverage. Urge more frequent and in-depth stories, especially around important events. Raise Southern African issues on radio call-in shows. *Make your views known.*

Material Aid: One concrete way to support liberation in South Africa and Namibia is to collect needed items (clothing, school supplies, medicine) for shipment to refugee camps in Southern Africa. This campaign

involves large numbers of people in your community, makes the issues more visible locally and facilitates joint work. The ANC and SWAPO offices (801 Second Avenue, New York, NY 10017) can provide further information.

Isolate South Africa: Local groups are ideally placed to protest white South African attempts to build cultural, sporting, business, entertainment and political ties with the US. Monitor your local media for news of visits by South African athletes, academics, officials and performers. Protest these visits and publicize the issue. Make your community an APARTHEID FREE ZONE:

- *Boycott* performances, concerts and records of artists who visit South Africa.
- *Demonstrate* against honorary South African consulates to local officials and the State Department. Picket these buildings. Los Angeles, New Orleans and Pittsburgh activists forced their consulates to close down.
- *Protest* South African scholars and scientists who visit local universities.



Send school supplies to Southern Africa

Photo: SECHABA

Product Boycott: Boycott African produce and wines. Picket stores which sell these products. If your state government controls liquor sales, work for legislation to ban the sale of South African wines.

South Africa Teach-Ins: Teach-ins are a good way to generate debate on Southern African issues. Many films and educational materials are available. Make sure that South Africa is addressed in a human way. Ask for more and better teaching on these issues in

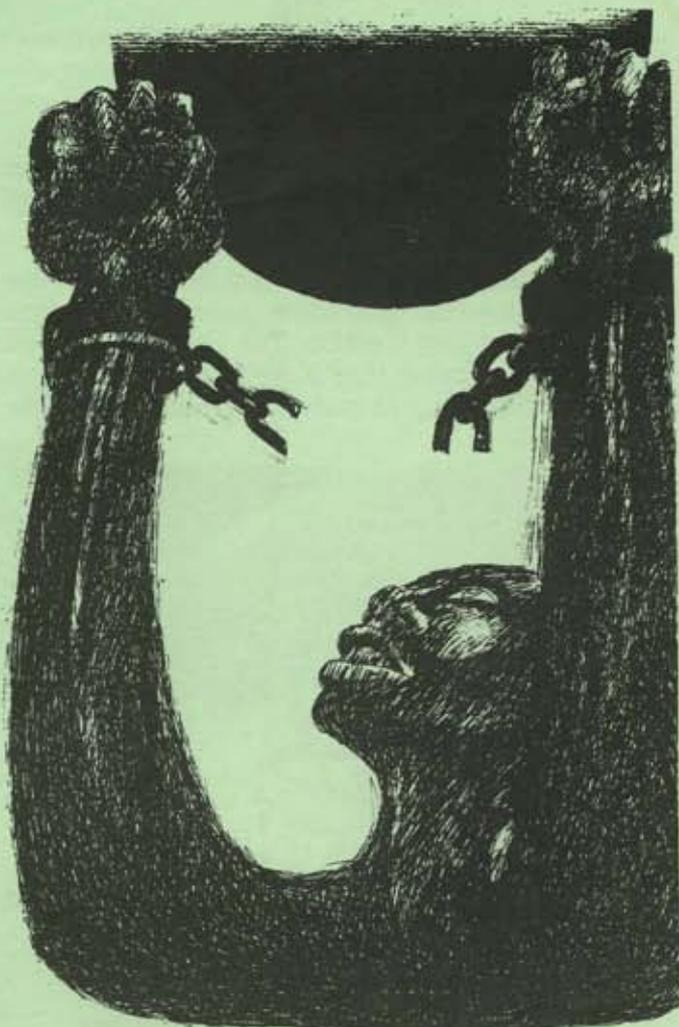
local schools, churches, unions and colleges. See that your library has a variety of books, films and periodicals on Southern Africa.

Union Solidarity: Black South African trade unions need our support. Contact your union officers to ask what concrete steps they are taking to oppose apartheid and support black unions in South Africa. Call for the withdrawal of union pension funds and other investments from South Africa. Urge passage of a resolution on South Africa.

National Celebrations: Organize events to commemorate dates of Southern African resistance movements, such as Sharpeville Day (March 21), Soweto Day (June 16), and Namibia Day (August 26). Coordinate with national groups to ensure national action. Many universities have annual activities starting March 21 (Sharpeville Day) and continuing through April 4 (assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.).

Make sure you publicize your actions against apartheid.

For more information contact the Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002.





LITERATURE LIST

**The
Washington
Office
on Africa**

and

**The
Washington
Office
on Africa
Educational
Fund**

SOUTH AFRICA INFORMATION PACKET. Basic fact sheets (with glossary) explain apartheid. Also includes action sheets on divestment and tips for organizers. (\$2.50 for 1-50, \$2.00 each for over 50, teacher's discount available.)*

THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE: IN SOUTH AFRICA AND HERE AT HOME. Making the links between US and South African struggle for peace, justice and majority rule. (25¢ for 1-10, 15¢ for 11-50, 10¢ each for over 50.)

AMERICAN STEEL JOBS AND SOUTH AFRICA. A 4-page resource on steel imports from South Africa and the impact of American workers. Co-produced by the United Steelworkers of America. (Free for 1-25, 10¢ each for over 50.)

STOP THE APARTHEID BOMB! A 6-page resource on US-South Africa nuclear collaboration. (25¢ for 1-10, 15¢ for 11-50, 10¢ each for over 50.)

STOP THE APARTHEID BOMB! ACTION PACKET Resources for organizers (\$2.50).

FREE NAMIBIA! 6 pages detailing the Namibia issue. (25¢ for 1-10, 15¢ for 11-50, 10¢ each for over 50.)

STOP APARTHEID'S WAR! South African destabilization in Southern Africa. (20¢ for 1-10, 18¢ for 11-50, 15¢ over 50.)

CAMPAIGN AGAINST INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA RESOURCE PACKET. Background materials on local, state and other divestment campaigns. (\$2.50)

ORGANIZE AGAINST APARTHEID. How to build local anti-apartheid coalitions, organizers' tips on issues, useful contacts for resources. (10¢ for 1-25, 8¢ over 25.)

WASHINGTON NOTES ON AFRICA. Quarterly newsletter of the Washington Office on Africa. In-depth analysis of recent happenings in Southern Africa and US policy toward the region. (Free, along with all other resources, to members of the Washington Office on Africa network. Membership \$15.00 annually.)

SPECIAL CHURCH ISSUE of *Washington Notes on Africa*, Autumn 1983. Apartheid's attack on the church in South Africa and on those churches in the US which support the freedom struggle. (25¢ for 1-10, 20¢ for 11-50, 15¢ over 50. Limited numbers of other back issues of *Washington Notes on Africa* also available.)

Audio-Visual

AMANDLA! "Amandla" means power in the Zulu language. This audio-visual presentation tells the story of the freedom struggle in South Africa. (Filmstrip \$50, Slide Show \$80, Videotape \$120. Rental \$20, slide show only. Available for preview.)

*Add 35% for postage and handling to all prices.

110 Maryland Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-7961

GLOSSARY

African National Congress (ANC)—South African liberation movement founded in 1912 to struggle for a free and just South Africa. Banned by the government and forced underground in 1961.

Afrikaans—A dialect of the Dutch language spoken by Afrikaners in South Africa.

Afrikaners—White South Africans of Dutch descent who established the apartheid system. Afrikaners make up 60 percent of the white population.

Apartheid—South Africa's system of legalized racism. Apartheid denies all civil and human rights to the black majority and ensures the supremacy of whites.

Banning—A form of house arrest by which the government silences its critics. Banned individuals cannot be published or quoted, and their movements are restrained.

Bantustans—Name for barren wastelands making up only 13 percent of South Africa's land, which the South African government has declared the only places where Africans can live permanently.

Bantu—White South Africa's racist term for black people, the majority of the population.

Black Consciousness Movement—A movement banned by the South African government which stresses pride in African heritage. It insists that blacks must take the initiative in their struggle for freedom.

Black Spot—Land in rural areas occupied by blacks, sometimes for generations, in "whites only" areas of South Africa. These communities are the first target of forced removals.

Black Township—The "blacks only" part of urban areas in South Africa. Townships are far from jobs, overcrowded with poor housing, little electricity or plumbing, and no sewage system.

Divestment—The withdrawal of funds from corporations and banks which support apartheid by doing business in or with South Africa.

Forced Removals—The South African police will drag blacks off their land, often at gunpoint, and bulldoze communities declared to be "white" areas. Over 3.5 million blacks have been forcibly removed since 1960.

FRELIMO—Front for the Liberation of Mozambique. Governing party in Mozambique which freed it from Portuguese rule in 1975.

Frontline States—Countries neighboring South Africa which present a united front against apartheid. These states include: *Angola* (an-GO-lah), *Botswana* (boat-SWA-nah), *Mozambique* (mow-zam-BEEK), *Tanzania* (tan-zah-NEE-ah), *Zambia* (ZAM-bee-ah) and *Zimbabwe* (zim-BOB-way).

Homeland—South African government's term for portions of land designated for blacks; bantustan.

Lesotho—(leh-SOO-too) a small country completely surrounded by South Africa.

Liberation Movements—Movements in Southern Africa which are dedicated to fight for justice and political freedom.

Migrant Laborers—Those forced to leave their homes and families in rural bantustans to find employment in urban centers of "white" South Africa.

MPLA—Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola; the governing party in Angola which freed it from Portuguese rule in 1975.

MNR—Mozambique National Resistance. A South Africa-supported terrorist group infamous for cutting off peoples' ears, noses and lips, sometimes murdering them, as well as burning crops and bombing bridges.

Namibia—(nah-MIB-ee-ah) The country which South Africa's military has occupied since 1915. Namibia was formerly called South West Africa.

National Party—The ruling party in South Africa led by the Afrikaners. It came to power in 1948 on a platform of white supremacy, legalized apartheid and stripped blacks of all rights.

Nkomati Peace Accord—By supporting the MNR and carrying out sabotage against its neighbors, South Africa has forced Mozambique to sign agreements which forbid it to militarily support ANC and PAC. However, South Africa has not carried out its promise to end support for the MNR mercenaries.

Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)—South African liberation movement founded in 1959 based on black nationalism. Banned by the government in 1961.

Passbook—A document all blacks must carry at all times. Whites are not required to have one. Failure to carry a passbook results in arrest and jail for blacks.

Pass Laws/Influx Control Laws—Laws which control the movement of blacks. These laws forbid blacks to live in "white" areas and help the white government control workers.

Pretoria—The capital city of white South Africa. Also refers to the South African government.

Race Classification—Apartheid laws divide South Africans into four racial groups: *Africans*—people of African descent (72 percent of the population), *Coloreds*—people of mixed race (9 percent of the population), *whites*—people of European descent (16 percent of the population), and *Asians*—mostly persons of Indian descent (about 3 percent of the population).

Sharpeville Massacre—On March 21, 1960 the police shot and killed 69 blacks who were peacefully demonstrating against the pass laws.

South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)—The liberation movement fighting to free Namibia since 1966.

Soweto—A black township outside of Johannesburg. Over 2 million blacks live in this impoverished township.

Soweto Uprising—On June 16, 1976, South African police gunned down students in Soweto who were peacefully demonstrating against apartheid education. This began a series of protests and clashes with police around the country; over 600 people were killed.

Subsistence Farming—Raising only enough food to meet basic needs. Most people who live in bantustans cannot grow enough food to maintain good health.

Sullivan Principles—A "fair employment code" for US businesses operating in South Africa, started by Rev. Leon Sullivan in 1976 while he was on the Board of General Motors. The code is used by the corporations to hide their support for apartheid.

Swaziland—(SWA-zee-land) A small, land-locked nation between South Africa and Mozambique.

UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. A South Africa-supported group created to overthrow and destabilize the government of Angola.



UNDERSTANDING APARTHEID

Definition

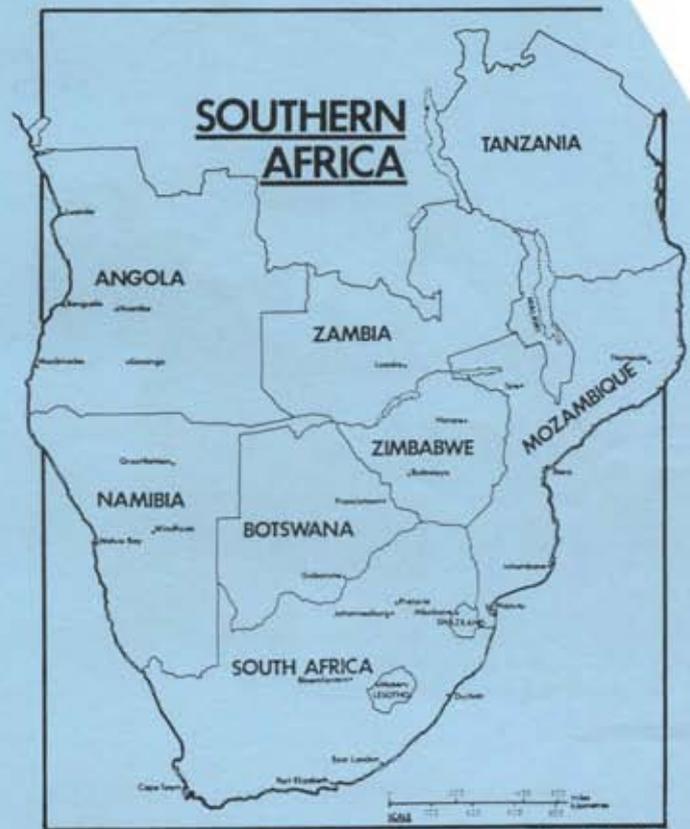
Apartheid (pronounced apart-hate) is a word meaning 'apart' or 'separate.' It is the system of legalized racism in the Republic of South Africa. Under apartheid, all persons in South Africa are classified by the color of their skin into the following races: African; White (persons of European descent); Colored (persons of racially mixed descent); and Asian (mostly persons of Indian descent). Although there are only 4.5 million whites, under the repressive system of apartheid, they control every aspect of life for the 24 million blacks (including Africans, Coloreds, and Asians).



Conductor on "non-whites" only bus. Photo: Time Running Out.

History

Since 1652, when whites first entered South Africa, they have inflicted racial oppression on the blacks living there. The whites are comprised of two main groups: The Afrikaners (those of Dutch ancestry) and the English (those of British ancestry). Because of superior weapons, the Europeans were able to win the continual wars they waged against the African population. The whites stripped the blacks of their land and livelihood. From the beginning all black resistance was brutally crushed, and blacks were forced to submit to laws established and controlled by the whites. By 1948, the National Party, dominated by the Afrikaners, was elected to power by the white minority on a platform of further strengthening white supremacy. Under this government, South Africa has institutionalized its oppressive apartheid policies to maintain total white control.



Map: COSAWR

Apartheid in action

Under apartheid blacks are denied all political, economic and social rights. By law they are denied the right to vote, to receive a decent education or decent employment. They are forced to live in inferior housing and have inferior hospitals. They are told where they may live, whom they may marry, on what buses they may ride and which churches they may attend. The white government controls every black person through a sophisticated computer network requiring all blacks over the age of 16 to carry a "passbook" **at all times**. The passbook contains fingerprints, a photograph, and employment records. If it is not produced upon demand, blacks are jailed and fined. More than 13 million Africans have been convicted of pass law offenses since the National Party came to power in 1948—**almost 1,000 every day!**

phony "independence" for four of them, thus stripping blacks of rights to citizenship **in their own country.**

Exploited Labor

Since the land which was their livelihood was taken, the blacks have been forced to work in an economy geared only toward white profit. The apartheid economy could not run without cheap black labor, but the blacks receive no benefits from that economy. Black workers are paid less than one-third of what whites are paid for doing the same job. Over 60 percent of urban black families earn less than the white government says is necessary to survive. Rural blacks are even worse off. Since there is little work in the bantustans, Africans are forced to leave their families and look for work in the "white areas" in order to survive. They work in the mines, factories, farms, and homes of white South Africa, while living outside the "white areas" in single-sex dormitories. These workers often work for 11 months out of the year and see their families for only 1 month. **Apartheid destroys black family life in South Africa.**

Blacks who do find jobs often work under very unsafe conditions and are not allowed to supervise whites. Yet, blacks have not had the means to work for better conditions. Independent black trade unions were illegal until 1978. Since then, the growing strength of black trade unions has forced some government concessions, but strikes and boycotts are still often suppressed by force. Labor leaders are harassed, detained, and sometimes tortured or killed while in detention by the South African police.



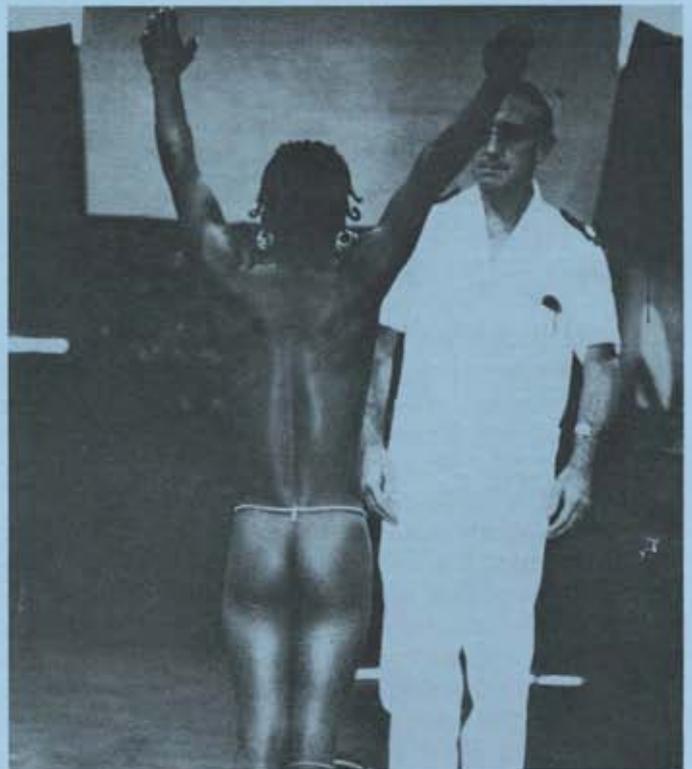
Policeman checks woman's pass.

Photo: National Union of South African Students

Stolen Land

The whites gained control over blacks in South Africa by taking their land. Today under apartheid, the most fertile and mineral rich land, 87 percent of the country, is set aside for the white minority, while 13 percent of the poorest land is left for the black majority. Under apartheid laws no black is allowed to own land in areas restricted for whites only. Some blacks are allowed to live in black townships near the urban areas, but they are not allowed to purchase land. Blacks who have purchased land that is later designated a "black spot" in a "white area" are stripped of their ownership and forcibly removed to areas designated for Africans. Their communities are bulldozed or burned.

The areas designated to Africans have been divided into ten barren reservations called "bantustans." These bantustans are in remote rural areas where there are no cities, no jobs, no access to health or educational facilities, and the land cannot support even minimal farming. At present approximately 50 percent of the African population lives in the bantustans. Of the ten bantustans, the apartheid government has declared a



Inspection of a black mineworker.

Photo: International Defense and Aid Fund

APARTHEID'S GRAND DESIGN: the bantustans

"The Bantustans are to us what concentration camps and ovens were to the Jews."

—The Rev. Sipo Mzimela, exiled South African pastor

The South African government's policy is to preserve white power through its legalized system of racism known as apartheid. The grand design of apartheid is the long term plan to forcibly remove blacks from their homes and place them in barren reserves, called "bantustans." All blacks who are considered "unnecessary" to the apartheid labor system are forced to live in these desolate and forgotten wastelands which make up only 13 percent of South Africa's land. Thus, although whites make up only 16 percent of the total population, they control 87 percent of the land. The white-controlled land includes all of the country's most fertile farms, cities and rich mineral deposits. The 13 percent of the land which makes up the bantustans is barren, soil-eroded and not suitable for farming or cattle raising.

The South African government forces blacks to live in these bantustans through a policy of *forced removals*. Between 1960 and 1984, the South Africa government has removed over 3½ million blacks from the "white areas" to the bantustans. If communities resist a government-planned removal, even though they legally own the land on which they live, they are taken from their home—often at gunpoint—and their homes, churches and schools are bulldozed to the ground by the government. Entire families are taken to their designated bantustan and dumped there on small plots of land with only a tin toilet to mark their new "address."

The white South African government's strategy is to divide the black people by their ethnic origin and force them into ten separate bantustans. Blacks cannot leave these bantustans without permission from the white government. The white government has declared four of these bantustans "independent" (Venda, Ciskei, Transkei, Bophuthatswana) and stripped the black citizens of their South African citizenship. No country in the world has recognized these bantustans as legitimate governments. Their so-called "leaders" are hand picked and paid by the South African government, which controls their defense, economic policy and monetary system. The bantustan "officials" have only an advisory role, no real power or control. They are simply a front to hide the true character of the bantustans as concentration camps.

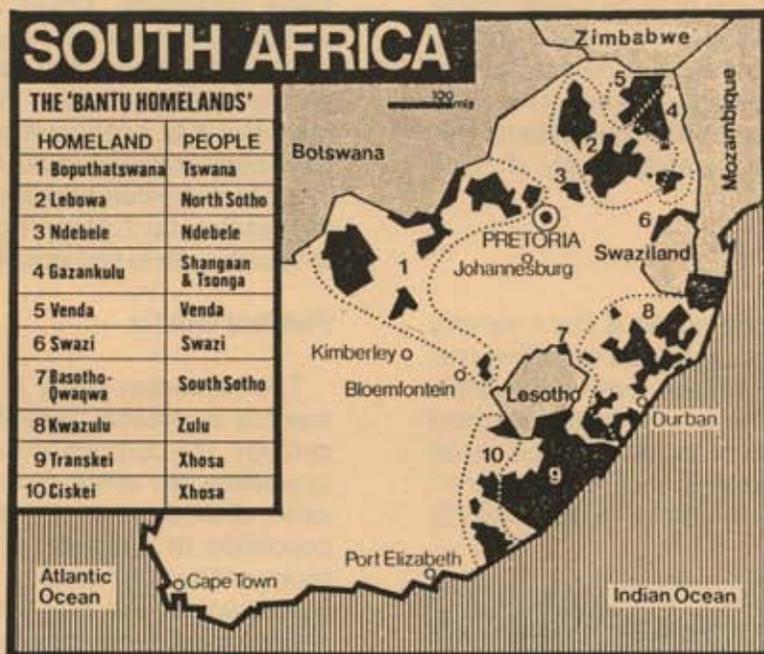
The bantustans are economic disaster areas. South Africa attempts to hide this fact by showcasing certain areas such as Sun City in Bophuthatswana. This is a huge entertainment resort area where many US entertainers have performed. The government of South Africa spends millions to recruit performers such as Frank Sinatra and others to help legitimize its bantustan policy.

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Impact on workers

Apartheid has created a labor system in which Africans must "migrate" from the bantustans to work and live in the "white areas" away from their families.



Map of bantustans

Map: SECHABA

GUARD
ANALYSIS

The system is designed to create a pool of cheap labor and to ensure a steady flow of black labor from the rural areas to the urban areas. The government ensures that there are no jobs in the bantustans or any viable means for blacks to support themselves. Therefore, blacks are forced to accept any job offered to them no matter what the working conditions or salary level.

For blacks who find jobs in the "white areas," living conditions are oppressive. Workers are forced to live in single-sex hostels away from their families. They can only return to their families once or twice a year. These hostels are cramped and disease-ridden and destroy workers' dignity. Workers must support themselves and their far-off families on their meager salaries. If they lose their jobs they are dumped back in the bantustans. This policy ensures a poorly paid, steady supply of black labor for white South Africa.

Impact on families

Another tragedy of forced removals is that it not only means the loss of jobs or the prospects of getting one, but it also destroys black families. Even if the entire family is resettled onto a bantustan, the conditions there are so squalid that the men must return to the "white areas" to find work to prevent their families from starving. The daily economic reality for the vast majority



Facing the future in a relocation area.

Photo: South African Council of Churches.



Agony of forced removal.

Photo: American Friends Service Committee

of people left living in the bantustans (mainly women and children) is the struggle to survive on the meager corn and millet produced on poor and eroded land. **Half of the children in the bantustans die before they reach the age of five.** These areas contain no adequate housing, education, or health facilities.

Many women and children, in an effort to escape these conditions, ignore the stringent "pass laws" prohibiting them from joining their husbands and fathers in the "white areas" and settle in large squatter camps on the edges of urban centers. The government's response has been swift and brutal. Squatter camps have been teargassed, bulldozed to the ground with the inhabitants beaten, arrested, fined and dumped back in the desolate bantustans. But men and women continue to take this risk to find jobs or to be near their loved ones.

Political impact

The bantustan policy of the South African government is a political version of the "divide and rule" strategy. The purpose of the policy is to divide the black population into ethnic groups and separate them from each other to prevent them from mounting political opposition to apartheid. The government intends to move all the blacks out of "white South Africa" to the bantustans by the year 2000, in order to make South Africa a totally white country where blacks can claim no political rights at all. The bantustan policy also serves to break institutional ties which hold the black population together—family, schools, and the church. This makes it difficult for the blacks to launch a united struggle against apartheid.

The bantustan policy is being used for expanding and maintaining white supremacy in South Africa while preventing political action by blacks.

SEPARATE & NOT EQUAL: education & health

HEALTH

Although South Africa was the scene of the first heart transplant, blacks still suffer illness and death from preventable or curable diseases. These diseases are the direct result of apartheid, which creates malnutrition, overcrowding, substandard housing and poor sanitation leading to serious health problems.

Malnutrition

Malnutrition is no longer a serious disease among white South Africans. Yet, one-third of black youths under age 14 have serious nutritional deficiencies. Both urban and rural black children suffer from kwashiorkor, a serious protein deficiency. Infant mortality rates for rural blacks are **31 times higher** than whites. In the rural bantustans *one-half* of the black children die before age five.

A major cause of malnutrition is poverty, which affects nearly all blacks in South Africa, particularly in rural areas. Government-forced relocation of blacks to the bantustans has, in some cases, resulted in over 300,000 people living on land which can only provide food for 1,000. But, while blacks die from lack of food, South Africa is a large exporter of food.

Widespread disease, no doctors

Cholera, a deadly disease easily prevented by providing clean water and basic sanitation, breaks out every year in the bantustans. Measles, a curable childhood illness, is a prime cause of death among black children; it caused 11 deaths per *day* in 1982. Diseases such as tuberculosis, diphtheria, polio, typhoid and many others which have been greatly controlled or eliminated in white South Africa, still kill a large number of blacks each year. Life expectancy for whites is 72 years while for blacks it is only 58 years.

South Africa: Serious Diseases, 1976 (number of cases per racial group)

Disease	White	African
Tuberculosis	759	47,592
Malaria	137	1,603
Typhoid	100	3,056

Source: *South African Statistics* [government], 1978



Mother with child suffering from malnutrition.

Photo: International Defense and Aid Fund

Lack of doctors is another serious problem affecting the health care of South African blacks. In some areas, there is only one doctor for every 174,000 blacks. Recent studies disclosed the need for 60,000 black doctors; in the last 25 years, only 300 had been trained.

Another problem is overcrowding in health care facilities. The black township of Soweto has only *one* hospital for an estimated 2 million blacks. This facility is so overcrowded and poorly equipped that people have to sleep in hallways and stairwells.

Doctor-Patient Ratios, 1982

Racial Group	Population per Doctor
White	330
African	91,000
Asian	730
Colored	12,000

Source: Survey of Race Relations, 1982

A question of genocide

There is also the danger of medical technologies being used to maintain apartheid. For example, although smallpox was eradicated worldwide in 1980, and the World Health Organizations had requested all stocks of live virus to be destroyed, South Africa ordered that its supply should **not** be destroyed. No reason was given for the order. Speculation raises fears the virus is being kept for future population control, or for biological warfare.

In view of all of the above, apartheid health care can only be described as genocidal. The deliberate policies, resulting in wide-scale death and illness of blacks, strengthen white oppression while weakening blacks' ability to resist.

EDUCATION

The South African education system is regulated by the racist laws of apartheid. It educates whites to be the masters and blacks to be their servants. From the first day that South African children begin formal education, they are given schooling according to their race.

Separate and unequal

Education under apartheid is both **racially segregated** and **racist** in orientation. It is designed to give blacks an inferior education to keep them powerless.

Education for whites is both free and compulsory. Blacks must pay for their education and it is not required. Because payment of school fees is a burden for underpaid blacks, many cannot afford to send their children to school. In addition, expenditures by the white government for black education are grossly inadequate and far below the level paid for white education. While the government pays for the salaries of white teachers, and the cost of books and fees, Africans must pay for these themselves. As a result there are few supplies or materials in the black schools.

Educational Expenditure by Race 1980/81

Racial Group	Per Capita Spending	% of Population
White	\$1115	16%
African	170	72%
Indian/Asian	625	3%
Colored	310	9%

Source: Survey of Race Relations in South Africa.



Students want to learn despite inferior facilities.

Photo: International Defense and Aid Fund

Because the educational system is so poor, many black teachers are underqualified, averaging only eighth to tenth-grade educations. Overcrowding is another serious problem. The student-teacher ratio is 20 to 1 for whites and 47 to 1 for Africans. In 1980, it was estimated that 2 million black children were not able to attend school because there simply was not enough classroom space for them. In some places there are no school buildings at all, and local communities must hold classes outside, if their children are to be educated. Because of these horrible conditions, in 1981, 54 percent of the African school children had left school without having completed the third grade. In 1979, university enrollment for whites was 80,000 out of their 4.5 million population, while only 7,000 Africans out of 21 million were enrolled.

Racist lessons

Science and math are not emphasized in black schools. Textbooks which are written by whites stress the superiority of whites and the inferiority of blacks.

The poor quality of apartheid education is meant to ensure that blacks will remain on the bottom of society, unable to get better jobs or become politically involved. The blacks in South Africa have tried repeatedly to obtain quality education. In 1976, students in the black township of Soweto boycotted schools and held protests because the government wanted to educate them only in Afrikaans, the language of white Afrikaners, excluding English. To know only Afrikaans would lead to a further elimination of employment opportunities for blacks. However, the police responded to the students' peaceful protests with violence, shooting and killing 600 unarmed black schoolchildren over the weeks of protest. In 1980 and again in 1984 thousands of students all over the country boycotted classes to protest apartheid education. These protests will continue until apartheid policies are ended.

THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE: repression & resistance

REPRESSION

In order to maintain their position of power and privilege, the whites in South Africa have deprived the blacks of all basic human rights, and they have instituted a massive set of repressive laws and practices. They ruthlessly crush any form of dissent. Since it came to power in 1948, the white National Party has passed hundreds of harsh laws which control every aspect of black South African's lives. For example:

- *Group Areas Act*—requires that the black population be assigned to live in separate areas and territories.
- *Pass Laws*—require all blacks over the age of 16 to carry a passbook at all times or be jailed and fined.
- *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act*—outlaws marriages between persons of different races.
- *Suppression of Communism Act*—labels any opposition to the injustice of apartheid as communist.
- *Terrorism Act*—gives the government a free hand to jail anyone it wishes.



Banned black leader Winnie Mandela is restricted to her house.
Photo: Peter Magubane

Imprisonment, detention, torture, and murder

Arrests for violation of these repressive laws has given South Africa the **highest prison population in the world**. South Africa jails 440 people for every

100,000 of the population. Forty percent of Africans are jailed for violating pass laws, offenses for which only Africans can be punished.

The Suppression of Communism Act and the Terrorism Act allow the police to arrest and hold anyone in detention for 3 months without even charging them with a crime. The detainees cannot contact family members or a lawyer.

Torture is frequently used on political prisoners. They are deprived of sleep, brutally beaten and forced to stand for days without food, water, or toilet facilities and kept in solitary confinement. Electric shocks are sometimes applied to detainees' arms, heads and genitals. Killings in detention are not uncommon. In 1976, 130 untried prisoners died in custody. Church and union leaders have been murdered in prison by the regime in recent years.

Silencing and massacres

Even for those who have not broken one of these repressive laws the government can impose a *banning order* whenever it wishes to restrict an individual's or an organization's freedom. Under this policy, the government can ban anyone it wishes to silence. Individuals who are banned are restricted to a particular area or placed under house arrest. They cannot be published



Some of the 69 people murdered by police at Sharpsville in 1960.

or quoted, and can meet with **only one person at a time**. They are prohibited from seeking employment and attending church or any other group activity. People such as Winnie Mandela, opponent of the regime and wife of political prisoner Nelson Mandela, and others both black and white, remain banned.

Blacks have bravely resisted apartheid, but the apartheid regime will stop at nothing to maintain "whites only" rule in South Africa. On March 21, 1960, in what became known as the *Sharpeville Massacre*, the South African police shot and killed 69 unarmed blacks who were *peacefully* protesting the pass laws. On June 6, 1976, the police gunned down school children in the township of Soweto who were peacefully protesting apartheid education. This began a series of protests and clashes with police around the country during which over 600 innocent schoolchildren were murdered by the police. Yet, even in the face of such brutalities, the blacks in South Africa continue to fight for freedom.

RESISTANCE

Black South Africans are fighting back against apartheid's brutal repression. They carry out this fight through their churches, unions, civic and student organizations, and through their national liberation movements.

Black churches have denounced the immorality of apartheid and led protests against unjust laws and detentions. They have also brought the world's attention to the evil of apartheid. Through the efforts of South African Christians, The World Alliance of Reformed



Woman singing freedom songs as part of a demonstration against passbooks, who were later arrested. Photo: Peter Magubane

Churches in 1982 declared apartheid to be a heresy. Although pastors and laypersons who protest apartheid have been detained, and some have been tortured and killed, the voice of the churches continues to be heard calling for justice and freedom for all South Africans.

Black trade unions have staged massive protests against apartheid laws and for justice on the job. More than 300 strikes and work stoppages in 1983 forced the South African government and companies to make some concessions. Growing union successes led to the detention of over 400 trade union members between 1981 and 1983. This resistance remains strong and increasingly successful; despite severe repression, more and more unions are forming, bargaining for their rights, and successfully winning concessions.

Liberation movements have been fighting for freedom since 1912—the year the *African National Congress* (ANC) was formed to promote peaceful change in South Africa. Former president of the ANC, Chief Albert J. Lutuli, won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960. For decades, the ANC, and the *Pan Africanist Congress* (PAC), formed in 1959, used peaceful means to fight apartheid. The government met these non-violent activities with brutal repression. Members of the ANC, the PAC and other liberation organizations were arrested, tortured and killed. In 1961, both the ANC and the PAC were banned.

However, the liberation movements have not given up their quest for freedom. Their nonviolent protests were crushed by the government. The ANC was forced to become an underground resistance movement and developed an armed wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation). It has attacked strategic South African government targets: military bases, police interrogation and torture centers, nuclear installations, fuel depots. The policy of the ANC has been specifically designed to avoid harming civilians. The members of the liberation movements—workers, church members, students and others—want majority rule and a future based on equality and economic and social justice for all.

South Africans are using all these and other forms of resistance in order to bring about the end of apartheid. Although they are meeting great amounts of repression, the liberation movements continue to grow in popularity. For example, according to polls, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, in prison since 1963, is the most popular leader among blacks, even though the ANC has been illegal since 1961.

Black South Africans will continue to struggle against apartheid until it is eliminated. They are prepared to sacrifice much, to stand up under the torture and violence of apartheid. Through it all they remain hopeful for a just society in the future. Because this struggle represents the will of the majority of South Africans, it will be victorious in the end. Many have adopted the cry of the Angolan freedom fighters who won independence in 1975: "The Struggle Continues... Victory is Certain."

APARTHEID'S WAR

South Africa is waging war in Southern Africa. It is a war that is largely ignored by the international community. The war in Southern Africa is deadly:

- Thousands have been killed, even more have been maimed and wounded;
- Many of the victims are civilians and refugees fleeing the fighting;
- Schools, hospitals, railways and bridges have been sabotaged, and whole villages burned to the ground.

The source of this war is apartheid, South Africa's racist system of oppression. Apartheid denies freedom to the black majority of South Africa and Namibia and maintains the white minority's economic and military domination over all of Southern Africa.

All of South Africa's neighbors have suffered from the



Map: COSAWR

regime's campaign of destruction and destabilization.

• **Namibia** (formerly called South West Africa) continues to suffer under South Africa's illegal military occupation. In 1920 South Africa was given a League of



South African troops with refugees wounded at Kassinga.

Photo: Southern Africa Information Program

Nations mandate to take control of the territory from German colonial rule. In 1966 the UN revoked this mandate because racist South Africa brutally exploited the Namibian people and their natural resources. In 1971, the International Court of Justice ruled South Africa's continuing occupation of Namibia illegal. Since 1966, the Namibian liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), has been struggling for Namibia's independence. The South Africans have responded with military attacks against the Namibian people and the Angolan people to the north. In 1978, a bombing raid on a Namibian refugee camp at Kassinga, Angola claimed the lives of over 600 innocent people. The South Africans continue to ignore the demands of the international community to free Namibia, choosing instead to rob Namibia of its mineral wealth.

• **Angola** has been the victim of countless South African invasions and attacks since its independence in 1975 from Portuguese colonial rule. South Africa first invaded Angola in September 1975. The new Angolan government fought back the South African aggressors. South Africa's continued attacks, invasions and occupations of Angolan territory have caused over \$10 bil-



South African soldier

Photo: Jason Laurre, Ground Level

lion in damage and claimed the lives of 10,000 people.

South Africa has also given financial and military support to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), which is working for South Africa to overthrow the Angolan government. UNITA has caused massive destruction in Angola, attacking towns and villages and sabotaging roads, bridges, factories, and rail lines.

- **Mozambique** has yet to have a year of peace since it won its independence from Portuguese colonial rule in 1975. Directly after independence, it suffered savage attacks from the white minority, which then ruled Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) with the help of South Africa, because Mozambique supported Zimbabwean liberation movements. The white Rhodesian regime and the South African regime created a terrorist group, the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), which is headquartered in South Africa, to destabilize Mozambique. The MNR has conducted a sabotage campaign and is infamous for terrorizing villagers by cutting off their ears, noses, and lips.

A combination of MNR sabotage, South African military attacks, economic destabilization, severe drought, and famine have crippled Mozambique. As a result, Mozambique was forced to sign a non-aggres-

sion pact with South Africa on March 16, 1984. South Africa agreed to stop supporting the MNR, but materials have continued to flow to the terrorists.

- **Zimbabwe** has been another victim of South Africa's destabilization campaign. Achieving majority rule in 1980 after a prolonged guerrilla struggle, Zimbabwe faced the difficult task of reconstruction after the war. This task has been made harder by South Africa's training and funding of terrorists attempting to topple the new government. South Africa has also used economic pressure to destabilize Zimbabwe. For example, in December 1982, South Africa sabotaged oil storage facilities and cut off Zimbabwe's outside supplies of oil. As a result, Zimbabwe's economy ground to a halt until international pressure forced the South Africans to relent.

- **Botswana, Zambia, Lesotho, and Swaziland** all have suffered from Pretoria's destabilization. Both Botswana and Zambia have been attacked by South Africa. Lesotho and Swaziland have been invaded and victimized by South Africa-supported sabotage.

The war in Southern Africa is one-sided. Pretoria's immense military might overpowers its neighboring states. The South African government spends billions of dollars each year on its military, its fastest growing budget item. The combined military budgets of the majority-ruled states cannot come close to this massive expenditure. In addition, since 1978, South Africa's military has increasingly dominated its civilian government. Political and military decisions have been merged into one power center increasingly desperate to retain control.

The South Africans have shown that they will stop at nothing to protect the apartheid system. Thus the fact that South Africa has nuclear weapons capabilities is extremely threatening to world peace. Robert McNamara, former US Secretary of Defense has stated that "South Africa . . . will become as great a threat to the peace of the world in the 1990's as the Middle East is today."

For the sake of the people of Southern Africa and the world, apartheid's war must be stopped. The longer it continues, the greater the threat to world peace. The people of Southern Africa will eventually win their struggle for freedom and justice, but in the meantime South Africa's war will continue at tremendous cost to the lives of millions of blacks in the region.



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