Apartheid — cont.

comprised only 13% of South African territory, while the six times smaller white population was given 87% of the land. All South African blacks were proclaimed members of the homelands and thereby denied citizenship rights within the *white areas*. With this official change of the status of the *native reserves* into Bantustans the stage was set for the forced removal of tens of thousands of Africans from *black spots* (areas in which blacks live and own land but which the regime allocates to another group, usually white) and their banishment to *homelands*. It is estimated that from 1948 to 1979 over 400,000 people were forcefully relocated in this manner. This process reminds one of the American solution to the "Indian problem" in the 19th Century when thousands of "troublesome" Native Americans were herded into tiny reservations of rural obscurity to make way for capitalist development.

The apartheid regime's moves to establish "independent" Bantu homelands were denounced inside and outside the republic as fraudulent. Apologists of apartheid claimed that the policy was based upon the fact that South Africa was in reality composed of several distinct national groups set on separate pathways to separate destinies. Thus there was the White Nation, the Coloured Nation, the Indian Nation, and the various Bantu nations of the Zulu, Xhosa, Tswanas, Suthos, Shagans, and so on. By dividing the African population into smaller (and more manageable) units it then became possible to maintain that the White Nation was a numerical majority and that the issue of "minority rule" was a false one. This latter argument does not stand up very long, however, when one considers the fact that the government refuses to apply the same ethnic criteria to whites—including Portuguese, Polish emigres, White Rhodesians, Afrikaners, and British descendants—who are lumped together as one "nation" on the basis of race.

It is estimated that since 1960 the South African government has forcibly removed and resettled some 3.5 million Africans from "White South Africa" to the Bantustans. The nearest historical precedent for the Bantustan Laws were the anti-Semitic Nuremberg Laws on Citizenship and Race (1935) which layed the legal groundwork for the 1941 Nazi Law denationalizing German Jews. This is more than a coicidence since the Nationalist Party hoped for a Nazi victory in World War II and was particularly supportive of their racial policies and practices.

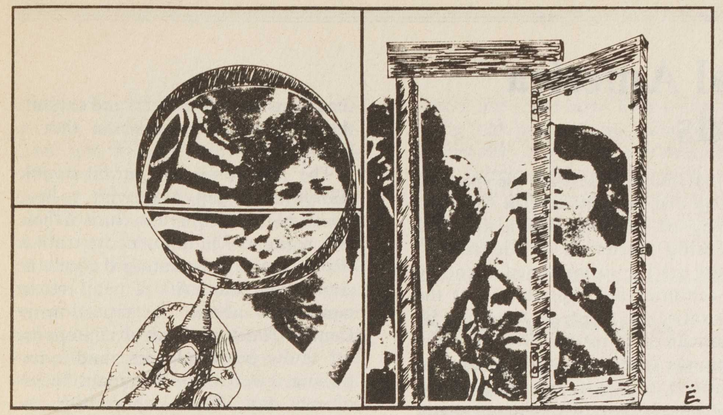
Influx Control and Pass Laws

The stated aim of the Bantu Laws was to move blacks increasingly out of the "white areas" and confine them more and more to the 13% of the land area allocated to them on the "homelands". Yet these homelands were incapable of supporting the black population's basic material needs for food, shelter, and clothing. Here, poverty, starvation, malnutrition and disease were common phenomena and over half of the children died before reaching six years of age. Furthermore, scarce jobs and resources combined with the small amount of space, exacerbated already existing inter-ethnic rivalries and bitterness among the various sectors of the black population. Millions of blacks have over the years rejected the horrid conditions of these labor reserves by "voting with their feet" to escape to the cities.

The economic forces pulling the blacks into the cities proved stronger than the legislation designed to keep them away. This created a dilemma for the Nationalist regime: the flow of blacks into the cities needed to be controlled without creating the conditions of social integration. Their answer to this dilemma was the creation of a system of influx control based upon pass laws and the national system of labor bureaus. The influx control system restricted the movement of Africans to the urban areas by insisting that only those with qualifications essential to the functioning of the economy could be legally present. The national system of labor bureaus functioned to register blacks within certain occupational categories and to send them where they were needed.

Butressing this whole system were the *pass laws* which required that all Africans (including women) over the age of 16 possess a *pass* or reference book containing pertinent information about its bearer. This *pass* must be carried at all times and produced on demand for any policeman or authorized official. An individual stopped without it faces arrest or deportation to a Bantustan. An African cannot even obtain a job in a *white area* without first having his pass book signed by a white employer. Over a thousand Africans are daily prosecuted under these laws.

The ever growing structure of the apartheid laws represented an attempt to preserve the privileges of the white *Laager* while making the Africans and other non-whites disenfranchised and impoverished exiles in their own country. In 87 percent of the country the Africans were officially reduced to the status of temporary migrants who could be forcefully removed to the Bantustans on the mere whim of the authorities. Their lives were similar to other colonized peoples in the Third World who suffered from extreme poverty, ill health, bad housing, chronic hunger, and political tyranny. While the white settler community languished in the Laager with one of the highest standards of living in the world, the blacks barely survived in the barren homelands, the crowded mining compounds, the segregated townships, or the horrible makeshift shanty towns. The compulsory and involuntary nature of these conditions could only be maintained by the organized violence of the South African state and its ever expanding coercive police and military apparatus. The clergy of the Dutch Reformed Church who believe that apartheid is "God's will" recognize this in their prayers with the words "God bless our guns." ■



Bringing South Africa Home

New Currents in the Campus Communities

by Tamar Murachver

The wave of student anti-apartheid protests last spring is commonly attributed to the Free South Africa Movement (FSM). While the FSM-coordinated mass arrests at the South African consulate in Washington, D.C. certainly influenced the style of student protests later that spring, the FSM and campus actions probably share causal factors rather than one causing the other directly.

The FSM began only weeks after Reagan's re-election. It began as the American right was gloating in its new victory. Many students last fall were numbed by feelings of helplessness. They spoke of the "new fascism" gaining hold in America. The thought of another four years of increased militarization, greater nuclear threat, deterioration of social programs, and attacks on anti-racist and anti-sexist legislation left many progressive students feeling overwhelmed, depressed, and isolated. Even students who had not been politically active in the past could not ignore the right-ward trends in the U.S. However, once the initial defeat was overcome, students were ready for the confrontation.

If this argument has validity—if the revived student movement is in part a consequence of increased attacks from the American right—then the student movement shall be with us for a long time. Progressive forces will continue to strengthen as long as the threat from the right persists.

Campus activity this fall has yet to reach the levels seen last spring. Does this mean the movement is dying down? Contrary to what mainstream media would like to portray, students have not suddenly dropped their protest signs and picked up their books. Rarely is the fervor built up by the end of the academic year sustained over the summer and continued into the following school year. True of the anti-war protests in the '60s and still true today, Fall is typically a quieter political period on campuses.

> *"While Spring '85 was a time for action, it left little time to deal with the many internal questions and struggles that surfaced."*

A closer examination of student activists will reveal both changes in tactics and in internal needs since the spring—changes felt on many campuses. But the determination and overall goals of students in the forefront remain strong and unchanged.

Internal Strengths and Conflicts

While Spring '85 was a time for action, it left little time to deal with the many internal questions and struggles that surfaced. Once the academic year was over, students turned to focus on the neglected areas of their base-building. On some campuses, these neglected issues created tensions that could be dealt with; on other campuses they resulted in severe rifts and factionalization. The period from the summer to the present has been a time of mending, of strengthening, of self-criticism.

Less concerned with large turnouts at events and the media, student activists have sought to define common ideology and goals amongst themselves. This trend continues with study groups ranging from the history of SDS and feminism, to topics in South Africa, and Marxist theory. Drafts of manifestos and position papers are still being rewritten and debated. Through this all, an internal cohesiveness—a stronger ideological foundation—is forming.

There are still questions and contradictions confronting student activists. One question, common to students in the '60s as well, is whether a movement should be built solely for a student population. While there are no easy answers, UCSD students have attempted to branch out more into the San Diego community. Over the summer they formed the October 11 Anti-Apartheid Coalition with the community-based groups Campaign Against Apartheid and Transafrica as they grappled with the isolationist-exclusionary stance so often seen in college students.

A second area of internal conflict stems from the sexism and racism that run throughout American culture. While almost any progressive student will immediately condemn sexism and racism when they are aware of it, often they are blind to subtle versions of the same ailment. Most anti-apartheid campus groups can point to women or people of color in leadership roles. This in no way overcomes or nullifies the need to deal with the racist and sexist comments and actions—often unknowingly—that arise in progressive student groups. Men are still listened to more seriously. Women are often given more attention if their appearance conforms to certain standards rather than if their arguments are valid. People of color often find it difficult to be considered part of the group, and have been treated as outsiders by white students unaware of their own privileges.

As a response to the evident sexism, most UC campuses now have active women's caucuses for progressive women. These groups have also found it easier to deal with racism in the supportive environment of the women's caucus rather than in the larger, more competitive arena of the mixed-gender group. Most of these women's caucuses have had to listen to men complain that women were excluding them. Some have even resorted to throwing men out of their meetings when the

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