



Marching to South African Embassy, from left, Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, John Herzig, Randall Robinson and Amy Carter.

## Amy Carter Arrested at Embassy

Amy Carter, saying she was proud to be the daughter of a man who advocated human rights, was arrested with two other protesters outside the South African Embassy yesterday, while her brother, Chip, looked on with other supporters of the continuing antiapartheid demonstrations there.

"This is such a fundamental wrong being committed," said Amy Carter, 17, youngest child of former president Jimmy Carter.

Carter, now enrolled in high school in Atlanta, and her brother joined about 20 picketers in a legal demonstration a block south of the embassy.

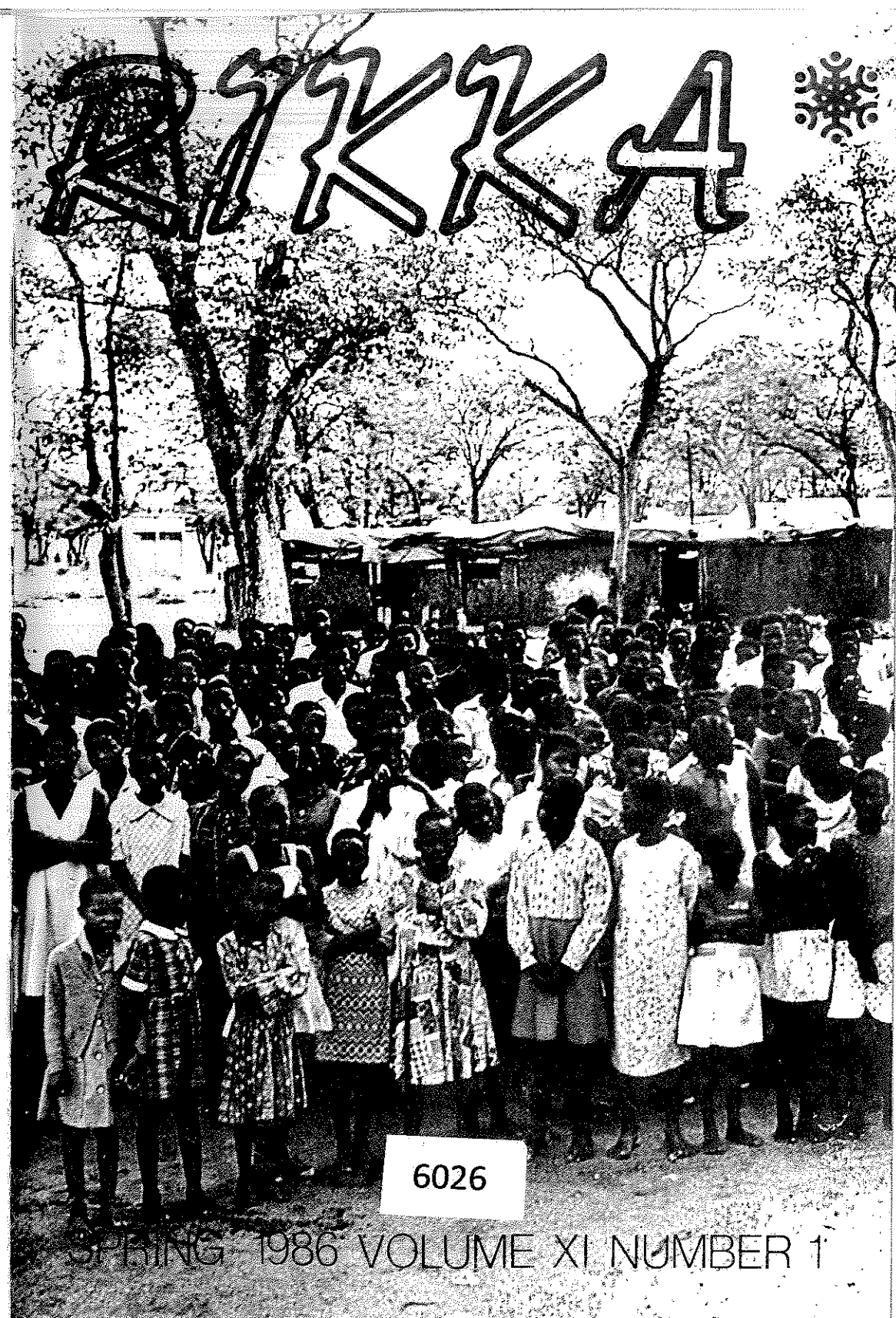
But when she and a married couple representing the National Council for Japanese-American Redress walked onto the embassy grounds and began singing a civil rights anthem, they were arrested.

"When I was here in the sixth grade, our model U.N. project was

apartheid," recalled Carter, who said she had called home to Plains, Ga., for permission to participate in the embassy demonstration.

Randall Robinson, coordinator of the embassy protests, praised the former president, saying his human rights program saved thousands of lives.

He said antiapartheid demonstrations, which began here Nov. 21, now are conducted in 28 cities on a regular basis, and have resulted in the arrests of about 2,800 persons.



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## Editorial Notes

**As** WE assembled this issue of RIKKA, Black South Africans were writing our editorial with their blood and their songs throughout the apartheid state. Inspired by the courage and the repeated martyrdom of young and old alike, Canadians have tried to aid and support the fight, led in South Africa by the banned African National Congress, for Black majority rule and an end to apartheid. The editors wish to add their voices to the call for the immediate release of the only legitimate leader of the South African people, Nelson Mandela.

In this issue we have tried to reflect some of the ways Canadians have responded to the challenge posed by both the popular movement in South Africa, and the violent brutality of the South African government. Most of our contributors are part of this growing solidarity movement in Canada. The articles reflect their involvement, calling for sport and cultural boycotts, divestment, sanctions, and finally the total international isolation of the racist state.

Unfortunately, in Canada and other Western nations, particularly the United States, Britain and Israel, South Africa has loyal allies in high places—in government and the corporate offices of Ford Motor Company of Canada, Bata Shoes, Massey-Ferguson etc. — ready to prop up the faltering, yet still ruthless and powerful, apartheid rulers. The husband of Canada's Governor General and members of our Federal government have openly supported the policies of Botha and his cronies, while institutions such as the University of Toronto continue to mask their collaboration behind the veneer of a defence of the right of a selected few to "free speech." While the Government of Canada mouths its "abhorrence" of apartheid at the United Nations, Canada votes over and over with a small clique of nations, led by the United States, Britain and Israel, against total sanctions that would cripple the Botha regime and lead quickly to its overthrow and the establishment of Black majority rule.

While verbally opposing apartheid, the government of Prime Minister Mulroney has served the interests of the racists often and well, especially at the Commonwealth Conference of heads of government held in the Bahamas in the Fall of 1985. There, a head-on collision between the non-white Commonwealth countries and British Prime Minister Thatcher was covered up by Mulroney's demagoguery. Presenting himself as a hero of the anti-apartheid struggle before the home press, Mulroney actually spent his time browbeating the Third World statesmen into watering down their resolutions and proposals for action so that the British could brag that they had not "yielded an inch." Without action from Great Britain, of course, any Commonwealth sanctions would be meaningless, as Great Britain is South Africa's premier trading partner. Ideologically, politically, culturally and economically in tune with the racists in Pretoria, Mrs. Thatcher was determined that nothing would happen at the Commonwealth Conference that would interfere with her relationship with apartheid. The role of the Prime Minister of Canada in guaranteeing that outcome was, at best, shameful.

The editors wish to thank all of our contributors, most of whom have had to make time in already overly crowded calendars, to write for this issue of Rikka. We hope that this issue will be widely circulated and read, because we feel that our contributors' voices will help to rally others to join the anti-apartheid movement in Canada. Finally, we salute and praise the leaders, such as Nelson and Winnie Mandela, Allan Boesak, Fatima Meer, the martyrs, the children, and the nameless thousands of Black South Africans especially, who have risked and devoted their own lives to preserve the basic right to dignity, justice and freedom from racial oppression that should be the birthright of every human being. We join with them in shouting **AMANDLA!** and **FREE NELSON MANDELA!**

## THE SPORTS BOYCOTT

ONE of the most significant achievements of the anti-apartheid movement has been the almost complete exclusion of sports-proud South Africa from international sport. Through the efforts of non-white South Africans victimized by apartheid, sports leaders from elsewhere in Africa, and their supporters around the globe, South Africans have been banned from the Olympic Games and most other major international events. Virtually every government in the world now undertakes to stop sporting contacts with South Africa. In 1985, the net was tightened even further when New Zealand and British rugby tours to South Africa were called off. Rugby is South Africa's favourite sport.

While the sports boycott cannot by itself bring apartheid to an end, it has brought home to millions of average South Africans and athletes and sports fans around the world, the implacable hostility so many bear to apartheid. Can you imagine the censure Canadians would feel if no one would play us in hockey, our best athletes were barred from the Olympics, and those few Canadians who did manage to sneak into international competitions were met with massive demonstrations? That's the message — and the pressure for change — the sports boycott has achieved.

This success has only come about through long, persistent and creative struggle. South African sport, like South African society, was always structured by racism, but with the 1948 election of the Nationalist Government, which created apartheid — the so-called separate development of the races — racism in sport was extended and strengthened. Apartheid meant that playing fields, spectator areas, parks and beaches were strictly segregated, non-whites were prohibited from representing South Africa in international competition, and the resources available to non-whites for sport were grossly inferior to those available to whites. At first, in the 1950s, the opponents of apartheid sport sought domestic change — to bring about the

integration of the all-white sports bodies, clubs, and schools and the conduct of sport without reference to pigmentation — but they were repeatedly rebuffed and their leaders imprisoned, tortured, and shot. Appeals to the international community went largely unanswered.

The boycott campaign was devised in the early 1960s when anti-apartheid leaders concluded that state repression made it futile to concentrate on integration within South African sport. Instead, they would bring pressure from outside and seek to exclude the all-white South Africans from international competition. The proponents of this strategy were the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SCSA), formed in 1967 by the sports ministers of the newly independent nations of Africa. The SCSA said that it not only wanted other countries to boycott competitions with South Africa, but it would itself boycott major competitions to which South Africa was invited. It soon demonstrated its resolve. In 1968, when the International Olympic Committee voted to accept South Africa's entry for the Games in Mexico, the SCSA announced that 32 African national Olympic committees would boycott any Games in which South Africa took part. How could the Olympic Movement which preached fair play and opposition to discrimination, it asked, extend the handshake of sport to people who denied it to others on the basis of race? How could the Olympic Games justify its claim to be a world championship when virtually a whole continent stayed away? Faced with these potential embarrassments and the resulting loss of revenue, the IOC quickly reversed itself and withdrew the invitation. In 1970, it expelled South Africa altogether.

Since that time, the boycott weapon has been used with great effect, particularly in the Commonwealth. In 1970, a South African cricket side was scheduled to tour Britain at the time of the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh. Thirteen African Commonwealth nations, supported by

India, Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana, and Barbados, announced that they would boycott the Games if the tour were to proceed. The British Government then intervened to stop the tour. In 1973, a South Africa rugby tour was planned for New Zealand, the site for the 1974 Commonwealth Games. Again, the African nations announced they would not compete if the tour took place and it was cancelled.

In 1976, the New Zealand rugby team toured South Africa at the time of the Montreal Olympics. Although rugby is not an Olympic sport, and the tour had nothing to do with Canada, 29 African countries plus Guyana and Iraq left Montreal on the eve of the Games to protest the IOC's apparent indifference to the rugby tour and its refusal to bar the New Zealand Olympic Team from competition. Though widely criticized by the western media, the boycott achieved both immediate and long-term results. Within days, the international track and field and soccer federations expelled South Africa from membership. In the Commonwealth, the boycott led to the adoption of the 1977 Gleneagles Agreement, by which member states undertake to "take every practical step to discourage contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organizations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa." Canadian support for Gleneagles came in part from self-interest: without it, the majority of the Commonwealth would have stayed away from the 1978 Games in Edmonton, to which the federal government had committed \$18 million, and they would have been a bust.

When Gleneagles didn't prevent a South African rugby tour of New Zealand in 1981, the SCSA threatened another boycott — and obtained the 1982 Code of Conduct, which provides for the expulsion from the Commonwealth Games of countries which allow or condone sporting contacts with South Africa. The Code had much to do with the recent cancellation of the planned British Lions rugby tour of South Africa, for it created the very real possibility that British athletes might be barred from the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh this summer if the tour had gone ahead. It means that the effective basis of the Commonwealth Games is no longer the old British tie, but solidarity against apartheid sport.

While the leadership of the sports boycott has come from SANROC and the SCSA, the contributions of the anti-apartheid movements around the world have also been important. In Canada, the United States, Britain, France, and

many other countries large demonstrations against sporting events in which South Africans have been involved have dramatized the widespread opposition to apartheid when governments and sports bodies have been reluctant to deny South Africans entry. In rugby-mad New Zealand, the anti-apartheid movement has regularly mobilized thousands against the tours with South Africa — probably two countries' most prized sporting rivalry — and was instrumental in getting the 1985 tour stopped.

Despite these successes, the isolation of apartheid sport is not complete. Some South Africans, like the runner Zola Rudd, have managed to circumvent the boycott by obtaining the passport of another country. Some governments, while professing opposition to apartheid, have created other loopholes. The Canadian Government, in accordance with Gleneagles, will not issue a visa to any South African amateur athlete seeking to compete in Canada and it requires all sports bodies receiving public funds to respect the boycott or forfeit its financial support. Yet it exempts professional athletes from its prohibitions, although Gleneagles makes no such distinction, on the dubious grounds that professional athletes are really businesspersons and Canada still allows South African businesspersons to enter freely. The double standard means that South Africans still play tennis, golf and soccer in Canada and the Government turns a blind eye.

At the same time, the white-dominated South African sports organizations are making a desperate attempt to get back into international sport. The Government has relaxed some of the most repressive laws, so that blacks and whites can now play on the same field and sit in the same stands — provided they get a government permit! — and like other leading South Africans, the minority white sports leaders are beginning





to call for an end to apartheid. But despite the promise of change, sport is still organized on a racial basis, the per capita spending on sport for whites is still thirteen times what it is for blacks, and the leaders of those sports organizations who call for wholly non-racial sport still face police harassment and repression. Moreover, the society where South African sport is played is still fundamentally structured by apartheid.

The non-white leaders of non-racial sport within South Africa have a slogan: "No normal sport in an abnormal society." They ask the international community to continue and tighten the boycott, like the call by others in South Africa for divestment and economic sanctions, there is both moral imperative and compelling logic to this appeal.

We should answer it by pressuring the Canadian Government to bar all South African athletes, professional as well as amateur, from the country. — Bruce Kidd

**BRUCE KIDD**, twice selected Canada's Athlete of the Year, presently teaches in the School of Physical and Health Education, University of Toronto. A former Commonwealth track and field champion, he is also Chair, Olympic Academy of Canada.

#### Suggestions for further reading:

Robert Archer and Antoine Bouillon, *The South African Game* (London: Zed Press, 1982).  
Richard Lapchick, *The Politics of Race and International Sport* (Westport: Greenwood, 1975).  
Tom Newnham, *By Batons and Barbed Wire* (Auckland: Real Pictures, 1981).  
Sam Ramsamy, *Apartheid: The Real Hurdle* (London: International Defense and Aid Fund, 1982).

## CULTURAL BOYCOTT OF SOUTH AFRICA

**TO PERFORM** in South Africa or not to perform in South Africa is the most explosive issue in popular music.

Since the early Seventies a host of international luminaries have trekked to South Africa for lucrative sums of money. In 1981 Francis Albert Sinatra christened the controversial Sun City complex in Bophuthatswana, a so-called "independent" nation inside South Africa.

Many of these artists maintain that their appearances in the racially segregated republic have helped break down the system which the world knows as apartheid. Others claim they were ignorant of the conditions in South Africa and have vowed never to return. And still others say a dollar is a dollar.

The United Nations and South African organizations have repeatedly asked artists from outside South Africa not to play there until apartheid is uprooted. In fact, the UN passed Resolution 2396 in December 1968 which requested "all states and organizations to suspend cultural, educational, sporting, and other ex-

changes with the racist regime and with other organizations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid."

Organizations and individuals in the United States, Africa, the Caribbean and Canada have responded to the call for a cultural boycott of artists who have performed in South Africa. The cultural boycott movement began in Canada in February of 1983 when anti-apartheid groups picketed the Return to Forever concerts at Convocation Hall. Chick Corea, the pianist for the jazz-fusion group, had performed in South Africa.

Since 1983 the cultural boycott movement has been led by the Biko-Rodney-Malcolm Coalition (BRMC). The BRMC is a broad coalition of organizations and individuals in Toronto, united specifically to build the cultural boycott of South Africa. The BRMC's membership is drawn primarily from the black community, but all progressive forces have been welcomed to join them in the anti-apartheid struggle.

The BRMC takes its name from Steve Biko who was assassinated in South Africa on September 12, 1977, Walter Rodney who was murdered in Guyana on June 3, 1980, and El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz (Malcolm X) who was shot down in broad daylight in Harlem on February 21, 1965.

The BRMC was formed because the organizers felt the time was right to move organizationally against artists who have violated the UN's boycott of South Africa. The BRMC concentrated almost exclusively on the cultural boycott until December 1984. At that time the executive of the organization decided to broaden the scope of the group and do anti-apartheid work as well as continue to emphasize the cultural front.

The organization has initiated demonstrations against Chick Corea, Millie Jackson, Tina Turner, Ann Margaret, Helen Reddy, Susan Anton, Frank Sinatra, Pia Zadora and Air Supply. We have directly or indirectly assisted in gaining public pledges from Pia Zadora and Air Supply, Chick Corea, Tina Turner and the Temptations not to return to South Africa until apartheid is abolished.

The BRMC has also shown its appreciation for artists who have refused lucrative offers to entertain in South Africa. The idea to award artists was in-

spired by Roberta Flack who turned down an offer of \$2.5 million to perform in Sun City.

Since initiating the campaign, the BRMC has given awards to artists from five countries. Five recipients of the BRMC Award, Gil Scott-Heron, Linton Kwesi Johnson, Bobby Womack, David Ruffin and Eddie Kendricks performed on the Sun City album. Dan Hill, Ann Mortifee, Four the Moment, Phylliss Hyman, Melba Moore, Third World, The Mighty Sparrow, Eddie Grant, UB40, Steel Pulse, Holly Near, Sweet Honey in the Rock, Randy Weston, Roy Ayers, The Commodores, Kool and the Gang, and Gladys Knight and the Rips have been honoured by the BRMC.

Since broadening its scope, the BRMC has organized protests to commemorate the Sharpeville massacre, Soweto Day, South African Women's Day, Steve Biko's assassination and other relevant events in South Africa's history. The BRMC has also collected thousands of signatures from Canadians calling for the Canadian government to employ sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

For further information write BRMC: P.O. Box 6843, Station A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X6

— Norman (Otis) Richmond

## APARTHEID AND CANADIAN LABOUR

**CANADIAN** labour's solidarity with the oppressed black workers of South Africa has increased dramatically in recent years. Media accounts of the upheavals against apartheid within South Africa have made all Canadians aware of the campaign to free Nelson Mandela, the jailed legendary leader of the African National Congress (ANC), and of the persistent heroism of countless others, including Winnie Mandela, Alan Boesak and Desmond Tutu in the face of the day to day brutality and barbarism of the apartheid regime. This alone, however, can not account for the sudden upsurge in support for the South African liberation struggle among Canadian workers.

Over the past several years, the Canadian labour movement has gradually adopted a more independent and uniquely Canadian outlook on both national and world affairs. As this trend has developed, Canadian labour support for the entire South African anti-apartheid movement, led by the ANC, has steadily increased. The birth in 1985 of the Canadian UAW illustrates this point most clearly. Delegates to the founding convention heard Bob White, who is easily the most popular and respected labour leader in Canada today, declare that support for the liberation struggle in South Africa will be an important plank in the program of the new Canadian UAW.

Traditionally, Canadian workers have been hampered in their understanding and support for the struggle of their Third World counterparts, due in part to the influence and pro-American bias of the large U.S. sectors of the international unions to which many Canadian unions are affiliated. Increased support by Canadian unions for the struggles of working people in South Africa, Latin America, and on occasion, the Arab workers of the Middle East, has coincided with the rise in Canada of a new leadership which includes Bob White (UAW), Dave Patterson (USWA), Fred Pomeroy (CWC) and Jeff Rose (CUPE). These leaders, while they have not turned their backs on Canadian labour's long-standing international affiliations, are openly sympathetic to the growing desire for greater autonomy being expressed by Canadian workers in both private and public sector unions. At the same time, the voices of minority workers, many of whom have come to Canada from Third World nations where the labour movement has led the anti-colonial struggle, are becoming more prominent in Canadian unions.

The best barometer for these developments in relation to South Africa is the degree of support now given by Canadian unions to the underground South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). The Canadian UAW, CUPE, several provincial unions and federations, and numerous regional labour councils and local unions have come out clearly in support of SACTU and, in many cases, the ANC as well. Those unions such as the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), which remain under the umbrella of the predominantly American international unions, while not formally in support of SACTU, have generally backed the position of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), which also forcefully condemns apartheid and calls for "mandatory economic sanctions [to] be imposed against South Africa under United Nations auspices."

This is not to say that Canadian labour's record of opposition to apartheid could not be improved upon. It is evident that just as "reforms" will not bring about an end to the racist apartheid state, neither will largely symbolic resolutions of

support from Canadian workers bring significant and concrete aid to the African workers of South Africa who are, already, poised on the verge of a major armed struggle for a non-racial South Africa based on majority rule. The SACTU appeal to all workers and their trade union organizations to totally isolate the apartheid regime could be transformed, with a greater commitment from Canadian trade unionists, into a national campaign to boycott and refuse to handle all South African goods, to divest Canadian workers' pension funds from corporations that do business in racist South Africa, to mount demonstrations against South African representatives in Canada, and to increase financial and moral assistance to the African workers in South Africa. Such a campaign is currently being organized by the SACTU Solidarity Committee (SSC) in Canada.

There are other shortcomings in Canadian labour's opposition to apartheid. The Canadian Labour Congress does not yet have a policy of support for SACTU, though the matter is almost certain to be debated at the 1986 Convention in April. The recent formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), an above-ground federation fully supported by SACTU, may lead to broader CLC support for black workers in South Africa. On the other hand, the recent defeat of past USWA Ontario Director Dave Patterson, aided and applauded by the Steelworkers head office in Pittsburgh, indicates that the large international affiliates, already uncomfortable with the precedent set by the new Canadian UAW, intends to flex their muscles within the CLC. Patterson was an ardent proponent of Canadian autonomy within the USWA, and an outspoken supporter of SACTU and Canadian labour struggles. His defeat is likely to help foster an air of conservatism and caution in the new CLC leadership in dealing with these issues. This, combined with the recent defection of outgoing CLC President Dennis McDermott to the pro-Reagan Conservatives, does not bode well for increased CLC support for organizations such as SACTU.

On balance, Canadian workers are becoming increasingly supportive of the struggles of the mainly non-white workers in the Third World. SACTU leaders have toured Canada, meeting labour leaders and addressing enthusiastic gatherings of Canadian workers. The beneficiaries of these expressions of support for SACTU will not be found in South Africa alone. Minority workers in Canada, who still remain "last hired and first fired," are certain to be encouraged to participate more actively in their own unions when the concerns of non-white workers in Canada and South Africa are championed. Similarly, the huge numbers of as yet unorganized workers in Canada include a large proportion of non-white workers who will more

readily seek membership in unions which they see fighting for equality of all workers, regardless of race or national origin. Finally, and most importantly, the sisters and brothers of Canadian working people, who are courageously standing and dying for their rights in racist South Africa, have called upon us for our support. And, to rephrase the SACTU slogan which reminds us that "an injury to one is an injury to all," our own freedom will never be complete while others remain brutalized and enslaved. This, after all, is the first principle in the proud history of the international trade union movement, of which Canadian workers are both inheritors and an integral part.

—Rob Rolfe

#### CANADIAN VOICES IN SOLIDARITY

*MANY Canadian unionists have recorded taped solidarity messages to be broadcast to South African workers as part of the "Canadian Voices in Solidarity" campaign initiated by the SACTU Solidarity Committee (Canada). These taped messages are listened to illegally in South Africa on SACTU radio broadcasts from neighbouring African states and at meetings organized by SACTU activists working underground within South Africa.*

**SOLIDARITY MESSAGE from  
BOB WHITE  
President, UAW-Canada**

I welcome this opportunity to speak by radio to our millions of black brothers and sisters in South Africa and to bring you a message of support from the 135,000 United Auto Workers union members which I represent in Canada.

In the trade union movement in Canada we are very much aware of the struggle you are waging against the racist regime in your country. And we are also aware of the policies of that government which deny you the basic civil liberties and individual dignity that we in the labour movement cherish.

What has made workers in Canada more conscious of your struggle has been the first hand reports received from members of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, reports of the African National Congress and others who have visited us in recent years to tell us about the oppressive tactics of the South African government. While we have long been aware of and opposed to the

apartheid policies of the South African government, we find such vivid reports vital to our knowledge of what is really going on in your country.

As Canadian trade unionists we realize the responsibility thrust upon our shoulders to work closely with SACTU and other organizations in helping to bring an end to the bondage in which the workers of South Africa find themselves. And we shall continue to raise with the government of Canada at every opportunity our opposition to the crimes being committed against the black people of South Africa.

At the same time, we will continue to make known to multinational corporations — such as Ford — our opposition to the role they are playing in South Africa. These corporations must be made to realize that their role in your country is indefensible, unless they operate in a manner that promotes racial equality.

In our view, racial equality means an end to the infamous pass laws, the abolition of the bantustans and the holding of democratic elections in which all black South Africans have a right to vote, a vote which should put to death the continuing exploitation of black workers.

And, of course, the right to belong to a free trade union is fundamental to these freedoms.

As SACTU enters the 27th year of its struggle on behalf of the black South African workers, let me assure you that you are not alone in that struggle.

I pledge the continuing assistance of our union in the struggle ahead because working people in Canada realize that an injury to one is an injury to all.

# WOMEN IN APARTHEID SOCIETY

The Editors wish to thank the United Nations Center Against Apartheid for the opportunity to reprint this edited version of the original article by Fatima Meer first published in April 1985.

## INTRODUCTION

No significant change has occurred in South Africa in the last decade. *Apartheid* and racism continue their tyranny and the South African society is as far away from equality, peace and development as it was in 1975. In a society where the fundamental criterion for discrimination is race, it is unreal to consider the position of the one sex in isolation from the other. The enjoyment of the privileges of apartheid by white women differs only marginally from that of white men. Likewise, while black women suffer more than black men from the violations of their rights, the violations are gross in respect to both. It is this reality that accounts for the very peripheral impact of feminism on South Africa.

The International Year of Women opened in South Africa with new introspection on the part of black and white women in their relations with each other and in their commitment to society. Despite the fact that black politics of the time was heavily underlined by black consciousness, black and white women met and discussed prospects of working together on some community projects. In Natal, I.W.Y.N. came into existence; other similar groups emerged in other parts of the country. But the honeymoon was short-lived. The children of Soweto, straining against inferior education set a new

pace and black women were drawn into the tragedy that pursued their children. White women could not empathize with black women and most were openly hostile, blaming the violence that erupted on the children.

## WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS AND ORGANIZED WOMEN

Women are not organized along sexual lines in South Africa. Feminism is almost entirely absent from the social fabric, and this is primarily due to the race factor. White women share with white men in the exploitation of blacks. The wages and incomes brought in by their men and the social security provided by the state afford them comfortable to affluent lives. While sexual discrimination exists, it is offset by the fact that the status of whites is infinitely higher than that of the black men; and this not only invalidates an anti-male movement, but underlines the fact that to preserve their existing privileges white women must close their rank with white men as a class.

Black women, on the other hand, have an intuitive understanding of the exploitation and devaluing of their men which rebounds upon them. Their wages are too low to maintain them and their families. They are drawn into the cities where their families are often lost to them. In the final analysis, the Government, not their men, prevents them from joining their menfolk and seeking employment outside the homelands. Black women support and join black men, even when they appear to be attacking them, as when they raid the beerhalls. It is to shake them out of their "collaboration" with the system by spending their money in municipal outlets.

Women's organizations in South Africa must be viewed in terms of this dichotomy which inhibits sex or simple class fraternities and reacts against feminist coalitions. Even when women focus on disabilities peculiar to women, they interpret them as due to some malfunctioning of the social process rather than blame the men.

Women have a far lower propensity for organization than men and this is due to their subservience, both imposed and internalized. As a rule, black women need the permission and approval of fathers, husbands and other guardians to step outside the family for practically any reason, and may feel in themselves that it is against the nature of women to belong to groupings other than the kinship unit. In a sample survey of 1,000 black women (African, Coloured and Indian) in industrial employment in the Durban metropolitan area, approximately 80 per cent had to seek permission for doing practically anything apart from their domestic duties and their wage labour. Sixty-two per cent believed that this was right and proper — a further 17.5 per cent felt that it was right and proper for some things, not all. It can be safely assumed that that subservience of other women, those in domestic and agricultural labour and those confined to the house is even greater.

Only 32 per cent of the 1,000 black women belonged to any community or women's organizations, most (70 per cent)

belonging to religious organizations. While 52 per cent belonged to trade unions, only 13 per cent attended meetings. A small minority, 38 per cent, expressed a desire to join existing community organizations though 59 per cent, (the African response being the highest, 78 per cent) desired to join a women's organization, and 85 per cent believed that there was a need for women to organize.<sup>23</sup>

It is therefore hardly surprising that women are conspicuous by their absence from the executives of welfare, educational, political and labour organizations, that the South African parliament has never had more than four white women at any particular time, and there are no women on the recently "elected" Indian and Coloured chambers of the parliament; and when active in public life, they tend to support and follow progress and policies introduced and implemented by men.

In some sectors, such as the garment industry, employees have become overwhelmingly women, yet managerial and supervisory posts and the executive positions in trade unions are filled predominantly by men. Women undergird political campaigns and have often given them their most volatile expression, yet few hold executive positions. Their exclusion from the main power blocks and the sense of inadequacy this cultivates in male company has, in the final analysis, driven the more enterprising and relatively less repressed women to form women's organizations. Many of these are in fact subordinate wings of male dominated bodies, encouraged by the men to provide tea-making, fund-raising or some similar services.

While such organizations involve a minority of South Africa's women, the impact of some is considerable. They may be classified broadly as those serving the recreational needs and developing the skills of members, those focussed on welfare work, and those that are overtly or apparently political and engaged in protest activities. Middle class and white women's organizations are usually of the first two types, whereas the last are predominantly African.



Illustrations courtesy of Ato Seitu

## THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION

Religion, in particular Christianity, is an important factor in bringing women together. The more progressive denominations have in recent times succeeded in bringing about some racial integration.

The Christian Women's Movement formed in 1982 under the auspices of the South African Council of Churches is overtly anti-apartheid and faintly feminist in outlook. It has stated:

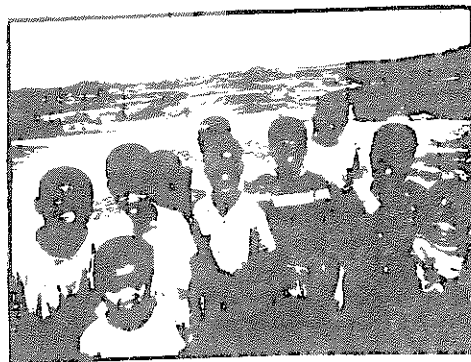
"Our vision and our dream is to work for the realization of a new community of women and men in the church and for the total liberation of all people in South Africa. We have made a commitment to work for the eradication of apartheid and all structural inequalities in the church and society... Our struggle for equality therefore cannot be separated from the political liberation of all people."

On the feminist level it assents:

"We are concerned about the church's reluctance to allow women to participate fully in the life of the church. We are recognized as fund-raisers and tea-makers but the gifts and skills we can bring to policy-making bodies of the church are seldom recognized."

This "Movement" however has yet to make an impact on South Africa's women.

The older church organizations go back to the beginning of the century. They include upper class white church groupings helping the poor, at first the white poor, but later including blacks. The church has also cradled the most prolific African women's organization, the Manyano. The Manyano bonds African women in the urban areas drawn from a diversity of tribes giving them an identity manifested in the distinctive uniforms of members, self-confidence and security. In the depressed townships where men as the main bread-winners often have neither the means nor the will to respond to needs defined by women, and the State turns its back on them, the Manyano serves as a welfare pool. It organizes stokvels, or savings clubs, rotating among members the benefit of the capital accumulated each month to help with such emergencies as payment of school and university fees, down payments and demands from creditors.



Non-political on the face of it, the Manyano has a potential for quick politicization inherent in a non-tribal, Christian, but intrinsically African grouping. It funnels grievances which though unintellectualized are expressed "intuitively" as rooted in racism. "White people do these things to blacks"; "They happen because whites make them happen."

Manyanos have converted temporarily into protest groups against apartheid. They defended women's right to brew beer in the 1940s, resisted the extension of passes to women in 1913 and in the 1950s, and agitated against the expropriation of African-owned property and forced removals in 1954, as well as against statutory inferiorization of African education in 1955. The Manyano remains the most authentic African women's organization and it undergirds women's activities in the overtly political organizations. The African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL), for instance, appears not only to have been modeled on the Manyano, but to a considerable extent to have been supported by it. The success of the 1956 Pretoria pass demonstration likewise was largely due to Manyano networks.

The Young Women's Christian Association is the other side of the coin of the African churchwomen. Where the Manyano represents the relatively uneducated, unskilled worker, largely in domestic employment, the Young women's Christian Association represents the relatively educated and economically better-off African churchwomen.

Beginning as a body of white women concerned primarily with the problems of white girls entering industrial employment, the Young Women's Christian Association began incorporating black chapters towards the middle of the present century. By the 1940s, the African component was the largest, composed almost entirely by the Zengele clubs. Their president, Mrs. Xuma,<sup>24</sup> who was simultaneously president of the National Council of African Women and the African National Congress Women's League, encouraged this incorporation. The large black membership provoked tension and eventually split the body into two: white and non-racial. The latter, largely African-dominated, is affiliated to the world body and is by far the more important.

The Young Women's Catholic Association has never taken a direct political stance because its members prefer to use other organizations for such purpose; its main contribution lies in the educational and welfare service it provides in the townships. It is a well organized national body with regional and local committees throughout the country.

There are numerous groups related to the white, Coloured and Indian churches, most of which are consciously ethnic. Some groups extend services to other communities. Some are self-centered, attending to their own needs, raising funds for new amenities, etc.

Other religions inspiring women's groups are Hinduism and Islam. The first involves Indian women, the second Indian and Malay women. The groups are small and their interests range from the purely ritualistic and theological (studying of the Scriptures), to education and welfare. Women are largely responsible for running extra school classes in language and religion. The Women's Cultural Group, primarily Indian and Muslim in membership, organizes lectures, it has published a best-seller cookbook, raises funds for welfare services for all races, and established an educational foundation which provides bursaries for young black women. Radical forces within Islam are also challenging the Muslim women to take political positions.

## SOCIAL GROUPS

The better known, non-church linked, white dominated women's bodies in South Africa are the National Council of Women, the Housewives League, the Business and Professional Women, and Women's Institute and the Toast Mistress. Most of these groups are affiliates of international organizations. Apart from the National Council of Women, all other organizations until very recently excluded blacks from membership. Today, most organizations allow for separate black affiliates. Their interests are centered around improving the competence of members in housewifery, gardening, crafts and public speaking.

The National Council of Women in South Africa, established in 1913, is an affiliate of the International Council of Women. In recent years, it has adopted a clear stance against apartheid. Its 47th conference in 1981 affirmed that "South Africa is one country and one people" and rejected racial discrimination as "morally unsound and a dangerous obstacle to the peaceful development of our country."

Though racially integrated today, this was not the position of this organization in earlier years. In 1936, African women founded their own National Council of African Women. By 1953, this organization had four branches on the Reef and one each in Pietermaritzburg and Durban respectively. The National Council of African Women like the Young Women's Christian Association differed markedly from the Manyano both in its Western orientation and in its upper class membership. Considering itself as a parallel to the white "Council," it emulated white women and tended to see African problems as due to ignorance and illiteracy. It was up to the African women and to the African people to liberate them-





## A thousand workers began the epic march, led by Gandhi, across the Natal border into the Transvaal . . . .

selves from tribalism and take their position alongside the whites.

The Daughters of Africa and the Zengele (Home Makers) Clubs were similar in approach. The Zengele Clubs became integrated into the Young Women's Christian Association.

The oldest Indian organization is the Indian Women's Association, operative since the time of Gandhi in the early part of the century. Clearly political at the time of its founding in Durban and Johannesburg, and supportive of Gandhi's passive resistance campaign, it toned down into a small group of middle class Indian women in Durban, with educational and welfare interests.

### POLITICAL GRUPS AND THE MASS PROTESTS

It is the political arena that has drawn the most volatile response from South Africa's women. White women, English and Afrikaner, have joined their menfolk in their conflicts with each other and against indigenous blacks, and some have been enshrined as heroines in white annals. Generally speaking, white women defend the apartheid system and resist change. The Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union established soon after the Union of South Africa came into existence in 1910, finally won the franchise for white women in 1930, but it did so mainly to store up the white franchise against the blacks and gain in this way the necessary two-thirds majority to abolish the Cape native vote.

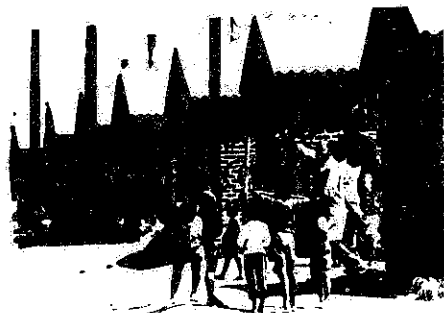
The most impressive white political group is the Black Sash, founded soon after the Nationalist Party took power in 1949, specifically to protest against the excesses of the system against human rights. The organization has grown in stature and work and it now runs valuable advice bureaus to assist black women.

The most spectacular records are those of the mass resistance of black women: African, Indian, and Coloured. In 1912, all

campaigned against passes: Africans and Coloureds as a single body in the Orange Free State against residential passes Indians in Natal and in the Transvaal against provincial barriers and poll taxes.

The resistance in the Orange Free State was provoked by an 1893 law which required all African and Coloured women to produce work permits on the request by the police in order to establish their "right" to be in the area. The women, supported by menfolk, pleaded for years with the authorities to abolish the law which humiliated them, and obliged young girls to leave school and seek employment or be removed to other areas. Their pleas ignored, they finally formed the Native and Coloured Women's Association and openly defied the law, marching on the local administration offices, dumping their passes and facing arrest. Over a thousand were arrested. In 1918, the movement spread to the Transvaal: in 1923, the passes were finally withdrawn.

At the beginning of the century, Indian Transvaal virtually made Gandhi, and proved the efficacy of the new liberation dialectic of *satyagraha* that he introduced. The South African Indian resistance movement remained by and large as elitist protest, until the women *satyagrahis* from the two ashrams in Natal and the Transvaal, Phoenix and Tolstoy respectively, communicated it into a mass movement. In 1912, they defied the anti-Asiatic law, crossed the provincial border from both ends and provoked the miners of Newcastle to lay down their picks and strike. A thousand workers thereafter began the epic march, led by Gandhi, across the Natal border into the Transvaal and the entire Indian labour force of Natal went on strike, bringing industry to a



standstill. Arrests and imprisonment followed, and the Government was forced to modify some of the hardships against the Indians. The great figure of that struggle was not Gandhi, but the emaciated young Valiamma, who refused to surrender despite her fatal illness that developed as a result of repeated imprisonment. She died in the struggle.

In 1946, the Indian women again took the lead in launching the second passive resistance campaign against the anti-Indian Land Act. At the end of that campaign, almost 2,000 Indians had been imprisoned for defying segregatory laws.

### PERSECUTION OF AFRICAN WOMEN

The militancy of the African women has moved in a continuous stream throughout the century. This is hardly surprising since they have been the hardest hit by the system. Their movement, however, has been severely restricted by two elements: traditional patriarchy and State's influx control legislation, since they are the last component of the South African population to be considered for jobs even of the most menial type. Yet, at least a third are the sole supporters of their families because of the high incidence of children born out of wedlock (about 50 per cent of all African births) and because of the system of migrant labour and wages that ignore the needs of worker's families. The vast volume of racist laws that have accumulated since the Nationalist Party came into power finally attack the family and its welfare for which women find themselves personally responsible.

Educational laws condemned their children to servitude; laws that reduced African land-holdings took away land traditionally allotted to women; laws against urban "squatting" resulted in women being arrested because they attempted to join their husbands, or to seek employment in the towns.

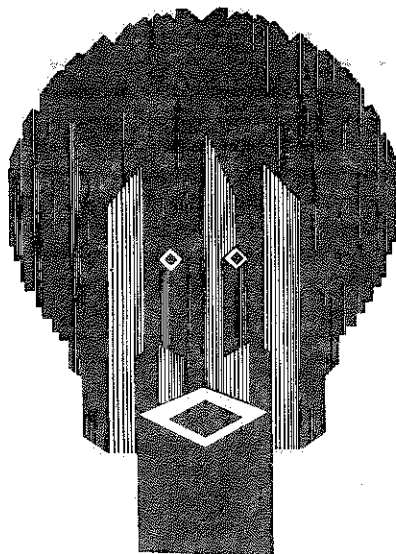
In the face of such persecution, African women have taken desperate measures to force the authorities to concede to them the basic right to protect their children. Sample surveys conducted by the Institute for Black Research in Butterworth and Durban reveal that a third of the African women in industrial employment are the sole supporters of their families.

African women in urban areas began constituting a problem for the white system in the late 1940s and 1950s. The reserves ceased to be productive about this time. They no longer provided an economic base due to the declining fertility of the land, and due to increased density aggravated by government legislation.

Economic recession and mechanization on the other hand, increased unemployment and piled even a greater burden on the homeslands and on women living there. Women therefore began moving in greater numbers to the cities in search of work in order to relieve rural distress. When they moved to the cities, however, as they congregated on rented plots, restructuring family life in urban slums, the authorities clamped down upon them, declaring such settlements illegal and subjecting the women and their families to constant police raids and heavy fines. And, being "illegal," civic authorities ignored them and provided no amenities. Night soil and refuse accumulated, rodents scavenged the gulleys between the houses, and the people became exposed to disease and death. The situation continues today. In the 1940s on the Reef, the anger of the women burst bounds as they organized resistance and marches and clashed with police in numerous townships. They demanded houses and better living facilities.

A 1908 law prohibiting the domestic brewing of beer, a traditional right of African women, was another issue which enraged the women. In the urban townships, brewing and selling of beer





provided the women with a source of income and the family savings, since beer bought at the municipal beerhalls was so much more expensive. Women boycotted the beerhalls and picketted the men. They also demanded that the municipalities use the profit from the sale of beer for housing and developing other amenities in the townships. Attacks on beerhalls and demands for reinstating the right of women to brew beer broke out fairly consistently throughout the country during the 1940s and 1950s and only subsided after 1960, when the liquor laws were somewhat relaxed.

Transport was another major issue. Poor and costly transport promoted boycotts in which women played a prominent part.

All the issues were basic, the response spontaneous, and it was left to the affected people, as continues to be the case today, to do whatever they could to protest this situation. When outsiders assisted, the gesture was in the final analysis symbolic. The Manyanos and the African National Congress Women's League were the important inspirational elements.

In 1952, passes were extended to African women throughout the country. Up to 1918, when they had been withdrawn in the face of stringent resistance, they had been applied to African and Coloured women in the Orange Free State alone.

The intention was to contain the women in the reserves, to leave them there to starve with their dependents, the unemployable young, sick and the old. There was spontaneous resistance to the imposition of passes throughout the country and the resistance continued for eight years. Thousands of women were repeatedly imprisoned. In 1954, 2,000 were arrested in Johannesburg, 4,000 in Pretoria, 1,200 in Germiston, and 350 in Bethlehem. In 1955, 2,000 women marched to the Native Commission's office in Vereeniging.

The African National Congress Women's League founded in 1943 played the most important role among women's organizations in consolidating these issues and in giving them national prominence. The League set up branches throughout the country and identified its membership through its own distinctive uniform.

#### CO-ORDINATION OF CONGRESS

Women from the Natal Indian Congress and the African National Congress joined their forces and established the Durban and District Women's League in 1952. In doing so, they went ahead of their parent bodies, the African National Congress and the Natal Indian Congress which operated in consultation but not as a single body. The League had taken stock of the manipulation of Africans against Indians in 1949, and saw its prime object as that of restoring mutual confidence. It therefore concentrated its activities in Cato Manor, the area worst hit during the disturbance. A creche and milk distribution centre was established in a church hall and League members were bussed out daily to administer and to teach. The League was actively engaged in the 1952 Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws. When passes were introduced for African women, it organized a vigorous protest movement culminating in a mass march on the Department of Native Affairs in Pietermaritzburg and the arrest of 600 women, mainly African, but including a significant number of Indian women and a few white members of the Liberal Party.

League representatives were among the founding members of the Federation of South African Women in 1954, and Natal sent a deputation of its members to the historic march of 20,000 women on

Pretoria in 1956, organized by the Federation of South African Women.

In 1960, the League organized a protest march of the women and children of those detained in Durban during the emergency. Some 60 women with their children were arrested and charged, the charges being withdrawn after a short spell in prison and an appearance in court. The League organized a weekly vigil outside the prison to keep the public mind focused on the inequity of detention without trial. This was the last of the League's activities. The banning of its secretary in 1954 and the detention of its chairperson in 1960 had weakened the organizing committee, but it was the banning of the African National Congress and of key members of the Natal Indian Congress that spelt its demise.

#### FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN

The Federation of South African Women was founded in 1954 in Johannesburg in an environment of seething discontent and country-wide protests against passes, inadequate housing, high transport costs, and inferior education. A number of regionally based African women's organizations had emerged and the African National Congress Women's League, considerably strengthened by the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign, provided a national unitary base. There was a need, however, to draw in women of all races throughout the country and the Federation was conceived for this purpose.

According to records, the initiative for the establishment of the Federation of South African Women came from the white women of the Congress of Democrats. It was inspired by the Women's International Democratic Federation established at about the same time. Its success was indisputably due to the activities of the African National Congress Women's League. If there were ideological differences, they never touched the rank and file. Even the fact that most members of the organizing committee were white and that there was no general white membership did not produce any tension that was not contained within the structure of the Organization. With the African National Congress as its mainstay, with support

from the women of the Coloured, Indian and white Congresses and from the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Federation focussed above all on the current issue of passes. Its activities, unlike those of the more local and spontaneous groups, was strictly within the framework of the law. In 1955, it led a protest of 2,000 women to Pretoria, and in 1956 another one with the participation of 20,000 women. Apart from these two momentous events, and the constitution of women's charter identifying the fundamental demands of South African women for complete equality in colour and sex, the activities of the Federation were relatively low key, supportive of the Congress Alliance and protesting against high rents and poor amenities.

The pass issue was particularly an African issue, concerning both men and women. In 1958 the African National Congress questioned the advisability of protests organized by women only and grew alarmed at the increased victimization of African women suffering imprisonment and payment of fines. In 1980, both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania took up passes as a national issue. The massacre of Sharpeville followed, emergency was proclaimed, and the two African organizations, as well as the Congress of Democrats were banned. This development led to the end of the Federation.

The arrest of five members of the Federation on a charge of treason in 1956, following the Federation's participation in the organization of the Congress of the People had already dealt a blow. It held its third and last conference in Port Elizabeth in 1961.

The weakness of both the Natal League and the Federation was that



organizationally, they were much too centralized and did not develop sufficient grass-root responsibility. More serious, however, was the fact that neither were independent women's organizations. Both relied on the African National Congress Women's League, which in turn was a unit of the African National Congress. Apart from other implications this had on their activities, it was inevitable that both would collapse with the banning of the African National Congress unless they organized in the underground, which neither did.

In 1972, Natal began organizing the women anew on a non-racial political basis with the founding of the Women's Federation, Natal. There were, however, strong feelings against the inclusion of white women and when the Federation became national in 1975, it did so as the Federation of Black Women. The national three-day conference in Durban focussing on the black family drew 300 delegates representing over 100 women's organizations and groups. Ministries were organized into such key areas as education, franchise, housing, women's disabilities etc. Branches began to be set up in rural areas, and a blueprint for a black women's magazine was mapped out. The Federation became actively involved when violence erupted in Soweto in 1976.

An open air mass-rally planned in Durban was stopped by the Government by placing a blanket ban on all outdoor meetings, a ban which continues to be operative to this day. The President of the Federation was banned within six months of its founding and then imprisoned without trial, together with five executive members. The Federation itself was banned following its second conference, and its monies were confiscated.



## SHIN IMAI

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United Women's Organization in the western Cape and the Natal Organization of Women in Natal have been inspired by and trace their roots to the Federation of South African Women. They have been in existence for the last two or three years and are growing in organization and membership. As their goals, they identify the elimination of race and sex discrimination, as well as the organization of a joint general campaign for full and equal democratic rights for all in South Africa. United Women's Organization significantly includes a "consumer committee", "workers' support committee" and "9 August committee." The Federation which was never actually banned has been revived and if the Government does not come down heavily on the present black organizations as it is threatening to do, new developments on the women's front can be expected.

Whereas past political organizations drew membership from older married women, the new initiative is coming in the main from younger women. Though the focus remains broadly liberalistic, there is consciousness of ideological issues of feminism, class and race. While these have as yet not been significantly articulated, the chances are that they will give to the new movement the intellectual dimension that the organizations lacked in the past.

Exploitation is unbridled in a racist society because oppressors can isolate themselves from those they oppress. In a class society isolation can never be complete. The lines of class distinction are forever mixing and mingling, and the up-

per class can never hope to remain uncontaminated by the lower. Moreover, where the classes share common political rights, the demands of the lower classes for redress and a more equitable share in the accumulated goods and services cannot be ignored. Consequently, capitalism is modified by socialism as is the case in the United Kingdom and other European countries.

In South Africa, those in power as a white class have effectively quarantined the blacks into homelands and group areas. They can therefore tolerate to a very high extent the social aberration wreaked by economic deprivation. The fact that blacks have no power whatsoever to influence legislative procedures and obtain redress for their condition secures that quarantine.

But no quarantine lasts forever. The ghettos today seethe with discontent, resistance is high, and revolution is a mat-

ter of time. The women are a fundamental part of it, because they suffer the consequences of *apartheid* in a way men never can. They are trained to care, to bear responsibility and guilt, and when they cannot care, and cannot be responsible, then the guilt is too overwhelming to be looked within themselves. That guilt explodes, it is externalized, and placed where it rightly belongs, in the system that suppresses and oppresses. The liberated women become the driving force for societal liberation.

As long as racism continued and a people, not a particular sex, is the object of oppression, the women will continue to overlook their own discrimination and dedicate themselves to the liberation of their people.

— Fatima Meer

FATIMA MEER, Professor of Sociology, University of Natal, Durban, South Africa, is widely known for her role as a leader in the United Democratic Front (UDF) of South Africa. She is associated with the Institute for Black Research, Durban, SA.

## NCJAR JOINS ANTI-APARTHEID

THE National Council for Japanese American Redress (NCJAR) was represented in a Free Africa Anti-apartheid demonstration in Washington, D.C. on April 8, 1985 by Aiko and Jack Herzig, who were arrested along with Amy Carter, daughter of former President Jimmie Carter, and Randall Robinson, coordinator of the protest. (See back cover)

In a statement to the press and supporters of the Free Africa Anti-apartheid movement, Aiko Herzig recalled the forced expulsion from her California home by the U.S. government during World War II based solely upon her racial ancestry, followed by her subsequent detention for three years in a U.S. concentration camp. She related her personal experience to that of South African Blacks who face similar forced migration, in addition to deprivation of civil and human rights under present tyrannical white rule, and stressed the urgency for unity in the struggle against racism and apartheid.

A class action lawsuit against the government on behalf of 120,000 victims

for violations of their constitutional rights was filed in 1983 by NCJAR and has reached the Supreme Court in the course of the appeals process.

WE have just returned from an extended trip to California and find your letter inviting me and or Jack to submit a piece for *Rikka*. As it is, we are unable to meet your schedule, but hurriedly enclose some news items that did appear when we were arrested at the South African Embassy, and a long story in the *Washington Post* that came out on the first anniversary of the demonstrations... We were informed by TransAfrica, the organization that mounted the nationwide anti-apartheid movement, that I was the first Asian American in the D.C. area to be so active as to be arrested. One week following our arrest, Sharon Maeda, Executive Director of Radio Pacifica FM Network, from Los Angeles, was arrested also. Jack and I had marched several times before and after our arrest... We wish you good luck on your issue... Hastily, but with all good wishes,

— Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga

See *Rikka*, (Winter 1985) pp. 4-7, for a profile of Sharon Maeda.

# YOUTH AGAINST APARTHEID

**W**E WILL WIN... because we know the struggle is everywhere," said a 17-year-old high school student who introduced herself as Comrade Memory in Soweto today. — *New York Times*, 18 Sept., 1985

**A**NYONE familiar with the struggle against apartheid in South Africa knows that many of the most militant fighters are young, very young. If you watch the television coverage you will see school children who are boycotting schools, leading marches and fighting with sticks and stones against the brutal police and soldiers of apartheid. These youth are the surest sign of the depth and seriousness of the issue.

Around the world there has been a steady growing response to the pain and suffering of the black people of South Africa. We have seen it here in Canada. Church organizations, trade unions, university students, artists and politicians have all begun to take a part in opposing Botha and his bullies. And now, we think it is important to point out, there is an increase in the number of young Canadians who are taking their place in the fight. Hopefully we will be successful in building Youth Against Apartheid organizations so as to spread the defeat of racism, and at the same time to make our young friends in South Africa know that they are not alone; that we admire and support them.

There are many points of view on how to tackle the subject. But the best of the groups and individuals make the effort to acquaint themselves with the strategy and needs of the African National Congress, the political leadership of the people of South Africa. Most of us call for divestment by all Canadian businesses or institutions that have dealing with South

Africa. Also we demand that the Canadian government impose effective sanctions against the Botha regime. The most popular and symbolically important demand we make is, FREE NELSON MANDELA. Many of us wear medallions or T-shirts supporting Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the ANC.

Most encouraging for the activists, there has been a steady increase in organized efforts by the youth. There have been some good projects where we are given a chance to demonstrate and have some effect on our communities. For example, a member of Youth Against Apartheid in Hamilton who attends Westdale Secondary School, participated in an action at a Loblaws No-Frills store. As part of a city-wide committee, led by students at McMaster University, he went into the store with approximately 70 others. They divided into groups and went into various parts of the store where they picked out South African products and placed on them the stickers which read, "Hands Off Products of Apartheid." They placed these products in shopping carts and took them to the check-out area where they rendezvoused to chant slogans against apartheid. It was very effective and had the effect of making others want to take part. And the Westdale student, who is 14, said they learned not only the value of actions such as this, but the importance of following up. They intend to do more.

In Toronto there is the example of young activists at Oakwood Collegiate Institute. There is a solid Youth Against Apartheid group, as well as an Afro-Canadian Club at the School. We also have participated in pickets against apartheid products at various Loblaws stores in Toronto. The Youth Against Apartheid usually join in with larger committees that include religious groups and unions.

The greatest attendance occurs when there are special occasions such as the naming of a street in the Fall of 1985 for Bishop Tutu. Hundreds of young people turned out for the march on that occasion. They were addressed by a leading member of the African National Congress.

There is no limit to the potential of youth involvement. It only requires initiative. Parents and teachers are almost entirely supportive.

— Lenora Taylor  
and Jeff Leibovitch

# FREE SPEECH AND RACIST THEORIES

**S**HOULD anyone be permitted to publicly promote or justify a policy of racial superiority? This issue arose when the University of Toronto invited the South African ambassador to defend his government's policy of *apartheid*.

Judging from media editorials and the remarks of the University president one may conclude that the right of free speech was absolute and unlimited — at least at universities.

In 1974 I represented students who disrupted a lecture of Edward Banfield, a U.S. sociologist professing racial theories. At present I act for professors who have applied to the courts for an injunction barring the South African ambassador from using University facilities to promote policies of apartheid. I should like to give my view of the issue from this perspective.

All rights have limits and corresponding duties. My right to freedom of movement does not permit me to run over you. The right of freedom of expression is balanced by the duty of observing other people's right to equal liberty. If we are to be fair minded, we must always consider the corresponding duty whenever we seek to assert a right.

Universities must operate on a principle of freedom of expression in pursuit of knowledge. But freedom of expression is not broader in scope in universities than elsewhere. On the other hand, humankind has journeyed through a centuries old epic struggle for self-determination and equal rights.

Equal liberty is the most important fundamental right. Each person must be free to the fullest extent humanly possible. Such freedom of course must be compatible with similar rights for others. This ideal of equal liberty is the foundation of peace and fairness in the affairs of

humankind. Societies that do not respect the right of equal liberty are doomed to civil strife and warfare.

The idea of equal rights among human beings does not mean that all individuals in society should have equal power, but it does mean that all persons should have equal access to means of developing and securing themselves to the fullest extent of their abilities. It means no one can be denied opportunities because of race, sex, religion and ethnic origin. It also extends to the idea of self-determination for nations and peoples. Indeed, unless a people have self-determination, no member of the group can fully enjoy the right of equal liberty.

I would argue that all other rights are subordinate to the right of equal liberty. Thus, freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of assembly are not fully realizable in the absence of circumstances where equal liberty prevails. These other fundamental freedoms must serve to support and protect the right of equal liberty. No one has the right to use any fundamental freedom to undermine somebody else's fundamental freedom. Some argue that we should be able to debate, advocate or promote any theory. If a theory is absurd, then listeners can dismiss it. Those who hold this view say that discussion and statements cannot undermine anybody else's fundamental rights because discussion is not action. The fact is, however, that all rights, including freedom of speech can be abused. It would be immoral to debate certain ideas, such as that Jews be exterminated or that Blacks be enslaved. Not only are these propositions not rationally justifiable but they undermine the rights of others to equal dignity and they pose threats to peace and civilization. Opposing sides



**For more than 40 years peaceful overtures have been made towards the South African regime and that regime remains immune to persuasion. Apartheid survives because of the support of North America and Europe.**

must necessarily agree upon some facts before they can engage in debate. There must be a point of departure. In the field of morality all human beings can agree that murdering innocent people is evil and must be suppressed by law. It follows that promoting or speaking in support of a system designed to murder innocent people is evil and must be suppressed by law. Of course human beings cannot act collectively without communicating either verbally or in other forms.

In some cases what is right or wrong is debatable, but like the issue of murder of innocent people, there is no argument that persons should be denied equal rights on the basis of race and colour. The idea of equality of human beings is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and subscribed to by all member states. Several of the conventions of the General Assembly affirm the equal rights of men and women without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms as well as the various human rights codes federally and in the provinces, set out **very clearly** this right to equality **irrespective of race**. The Canadian Criminal Code contains certain sections designed to **suppress and punish** the communication of **statements** that promote hatred against **any group identified by colour, race, religion or ethnic origin**. Recently in Canada **there have been successful prosecutions of persons who circulated statements inciting hatred against Jews**. In the light of **all of this it is chilling to Black Canadians that their government should allow propagandists of apartheid to traverse this country promoting the racist policy of South Africa**.

Great human struggles such as the French Revolution, the U.S. Civil War, the Russian Revolution, World War II and the wars of independence in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean — wars in which millions and millions of lives were laid down — were all wars fought for the advancement of the ideal of self-determination of peoples and equal liberty of the individual. In spite of all this tragic human experience, we still have those who would permit the likes of Hitler and Goebbels to lecture at the Universities.

Now if there were some doubt as to whether a person was in fact advocating racial supremacy, it would be understandable to argue in favour of allowing the individual to express himself. However, all parties agree that South Africa practises the racial supremacist policy of *apartheid*. Even those who advocate free speech are always careful to say they find *apartheid* reprehensible and indefensible. Why then would they like to have an agent of the system of *apartheid* to be an honorary visitor at a prestigious institution such as the University? Or anywhere else for that matter?

It should be noted that almost all of the countries in the world, save the Western industrial countries with investments in South Africa, have subscribed to the U.N. convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid* that declares *apartheid* a crime against humanity and gives signatory states jurisdiction of arrest and try any active agent of the present South African government for war crimes and crimes against humanity. Only in Canada, the United States and the former European colonialist powers are South African agents of racial supremacy given the lofty status of ambassadorship. South Africa has a long time ago been kicked out of the Commonwealth community of nations and denied representation in the United Nations. For more than 40 years peaceful overtures have been made towards the South African regime and that regime remains immune to persuasion. *Apartheid survives because of the support of North America and Europe*.

In the light of all of this, I can only say that those who insist on giving a platform to agents of *apartheid* do so without

caring for the rights of Black people. It is very clear that the government of Canada should revoke all privileges to South African agents, barring them from promoting their system of *apartheid* in Canada. Such a move will end the inconsistency between stated government policy on promotion of racial superiority theories and the practice of allowing diplomatic status privileges to the South African regime.

Remember the nursery rhyme that goes "Sticks and stones may break my bones but words can never harm me." Black

people know much better; after all, it was the persuasive words of a pious priest — Bartolome de las Casas — that persuaded European adventurers to kidnap Black people from Africa and bring them as slaves to the Americas. Centuries later Blacks are still struggling to overcome that legacy. It was the words of Adolf Hitler that eventually led to the plan of genocide that decimated the Jewish people. For some it's still a matter of free speech, for us it's a matter of survival.

— Charles Roach

## books

### CANADIAN APARTHEID

**APRIL RAINTREE**, by Beatrice Culleton  
Pemmican: Winnipeg, 1985

**SLASH**, by Jeannette Armstrong  
Theytus: Penticton, B.C., 1985

**ANYONE** reading the full text of the article on women under apartheid by Fatima Meer (an edited version of which appears in this issue of Rikka) will be struck by how closely the effects of apartheid on Black South Africans — violence, poverty, family breakdown, alcoholism, guilt — correspond to the humiliations imposed on Canada's aboriginal peoples in the name — in Canada as in South Africa — of Western democracy, progress and civilization. Indeed, only a few years ago Dan Mackenzie, a then and still Progressive Conservative Member of Parliament from Winnipeg (the Canadian city with the largest Native population), returned from a visit to South Africa with not only glowing praise for the enlightened racial policies of that country, but also a suggestion that further lessons might be learned from the apartheid state to be applied to Canada's Native peoples.

Two books published in 1985, *Slash* by Jeannette Armstrong, an Okanagan Indian from British Columbia, and *April Raintree* (a revised version of *In Search of April Raintree*, first published in 1983) by Beatrice Culleton, a Metis writer from Manitoba, dare to look unflinchingly at the ravages imposed upon Native people in

Canada by white racism, and both rise above the heartbreak and humiliation to end on a note of affirmation. Both books take as their theme the struggles waged by their protagonists against the personal shame and physical degradation inflicted on an entire people, and both writers avoid the dangers inherent in this approach by clearly locating the source of racial humiliation and guilt where it really belongs, in the white Canadian society and power structure.

While their themes are similar, the stories are not. Jeannette Armstrong follows her character, Slash, from a rural British Columbia reserve, through many of the most important events and demonstrations in the reawakening of Native pride in Canada and the United States. Slash participates in the Trail of Broken Treaties March on Washington D.C., travels to the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation in South Dakota, and is active in similar events across Canada and in the Okanagan region especially. The author pays tribute to the Black civil rights movement and Afro-American leaders such as Malcolm X, while at the same time showing the uniqueness and gradual changes which have taken place within



the Native rights movement over the past two decades. Slash is a veteran of the American Indian Movement (AIM), but his personal struggle also takes him back to his own people and the wisdom and leadership of the traditional people. What is most remarkable in Jeannette Armstrong's book is her acceptance of the role and contributions of AIM and the movement at that time, even as she charts the further development of the struggle in a somewhat different direction today.

Beatrice Culleton's book follows the lonely struggle of two young Metis girls, taken from their parents and raised apart in white foster homes, as they try to "make it" out of an environment which has torn down and defeated so many Native children. April Raintree, the narrator of the story, and the older and fairer in complexion of the two, seeks to escape her Metis past and the guilt she associates with being Metis. While her sister Cheryl identifies with her Indian ancestry, April tries to pass for white: "What have the Metis people got? Nothing . . . And if you inherit brown skin like Cheryl did, you identify with the Indian people more. In today's society there isn't anything positive about them that I've seen." April's slow self-awakening and identification with her people occurs only after years of painful searching, and heartbreaking loss. But the reader is left with a sense of not only empathy, but also hope.

It is interesting to contrast these books with the treatment of related themes in *The Color Purple*. The book, by Alice Walker, and film, directed by Steven Spielberg, portrays the frustration and rage of the Black male — resulting in brutal violence against black women — in the rural U.S. south during the Jim Crow era. Ironically, both the book and the film have been embraced by White America, even as the discredited racist theories from the likes of Daniel Moynihan, decrying the moral deterioration and breakdown of the Afro-American family, are undergoing a major revival. Why? Because Walker and Spielberg have both chosen to parade before White America cruel scenes of violence and degradation within Black America, without identifying the real source of that humiliation: white racism. Yet writers have a duty, in

speaking of the effects of colonialism and racism upon an oppressed people or nation, to protect the oppressed against any further assaults upon either their dignity or their nationhood. Otherwise, as the rave reviews from White America for *The Color Purple* all too plainly show, good intentions can quickly be turned into their opposite, and become another weapon in the hands of the racist colonial power. Neither Jeannette Armstrong nor Beatrice Culleton makes this mistake, though their stories are equally frank and just as harrowing as *The Color Purple*.

*Slash* and *April Raintree* should be on the curriculum of every high school in Canada, to be read by Native and non-Native students alike. As we express our outrage against South African apartheid, let us also recognize how far we have yet to go in this country. Apartheid seeks to keep the fact of racial oppression and colonialism physically hidden from view, the better to manipulate and control the oppressed, confining them to misery and silence. In these two books, the silence has been broken, and the dream of a reawakening and justice for Native peoples has been spoken with clarity, and in a proud and affirming voice.

— Rob Rolfe

Jeannette Armstrong, *Slash* (Penticton, B.C.: Theytus, 1985)

Beatrice Culleton, *April Raintree* (Winnipeg: Pemmican, 1985)

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## MAURICE SAUVÉ: OFF TOO EASY

**W**HEN Governor General Jeanne Sauvé's husband, Maurice, resigned from the Canadian-South African Society in August 1985, he stated "I must disassociate myself from the statement of the president of the association and I have sent him my resignation."

Society president James McAvity, a retired Toronto businessman, declared in July last year that power-sharing would not occur "until they can get that black mob under control." He also claimed that the Canadian-South Africa Society could "deal with South Africa more competently than the Canadian Government. Why should the South African government be influenced by what that pip-squeak Mulroney says?"

It appears then that until McAvity made these statements, Sauvé felt completely at ease as a director and vice-chairman of the group, which sees itself as "an arm of South African business interests who are attempting to stop capital from flowing out of the country."

The Canadian-South African Society gets most of its money from the South Africa Foundation. Last year the Foundation provided \$42,000 of the Canadian Society's \$47,000 of revenues.

"His Excellency," to use Sauvé's correct title as the Governor General's husband, was re-elected vice-chairman of the society on October 23, 1984 at a dinner held at an exclusive Montreal club. The dinner was held during a society sponsored cross-Canada tour by John Chettle, South Africa Foundation director for North and South America.

Chettle described the South Africa Foundation as a private-sector organization created to influence "good friends and reliable supporters in key

positions in power structures of the world." So much therefore for Sauvé's and others' claims that the society has nothing to do with Canadian politics.

Sauvé's wife just happens to be the legal representative of Canada's head of state. He knowingly took on a directorship position of an organization that openly opposes federal trade sanctions against South Africa as well as Canada's condemnation of South Africa's state of emergency.

Unfortunately, however, the South African regime's intimate relationship with Canada's legal head of state (in Her Majesty's absence) is only a small but highly public part of a pro-South African conspiracy that reaches deep into the Canadian political and economic power structure. A look at some of the society's directors will give us a glimpse of the scope of influence. Sauvé, for instance, is a director of Renault Canada Ltd., Benson & Hedges (Canada) Ltd., Canadian Occidental Petroleum Ltd., The Commercial Life Assurance Co. of Canada, and several others including Barclays Bank of Canada. Interestingly enough, Canadian Society president McAvity also boasted of the society's "private plans" to use its "influence and connections with Barclay's Bank, and others, to round up business on our own for our people in South Africa."

Other Canadian-South Africa Society directors revealed last summer included:

Paul Leman, director of Bell Canada Enterprises Ltd., CIP Inc., and Alcan Aluminum. He is former vice-chairman and former president of Alcan Aluminum Ltd. and former president of Alcan Aluminum Co. of Canada Ltd. Leman told a Toronto paper that he would not resign despite McAvity's remarks. Alcan has a 24-percent

share in Hulett's Aluminum Ltd. of South Africa.

**David Beatty**, president of Beatinvest Ltd. and a director of Goldcorp Investments Ltd., Gold Fund Ltd., Gold Trust and Spar Aerospace.

**Stanley D. Clarke**, a director of the Continental Bank of Canada, Marine Industries Ltd., Quebecair and Texaco Canada, and former president of Clarke Transport Canada Inc. and associated companies.

**Justice Kenneth Mackay** of Quebec Superior Court (resigned because of Mulroney's statements about Mulroney).

Sauve's participation in the Canadian-South African Society is a disgrace. The Governor General's and Prime Minister Mulroney's practice of playing the ostrich about it is equally disgraceful. If in fact the Canadian government's commitment to putting an end to apartheid were more than just words, such an incident would never have taken place.

— Robin Philpott

## CANADIAN RECORD IN INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM

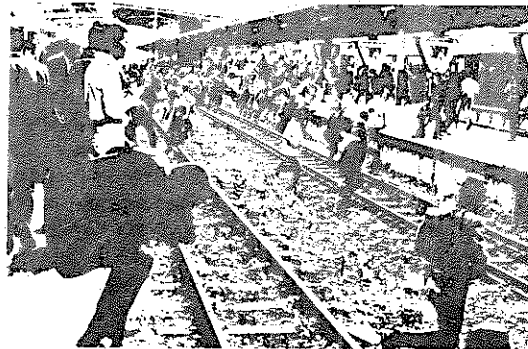
**F**ROM its very inception the United Nations has had as its primary concern the self-determination of peoples and the observance of the fundamental human rights of equality of men and women, regardless of race, sex, language, and religion.

These principles were perceived to be the foundation for the maintenance of international peace and security and the economic and social advancement of all peoples. The United Nations has therefore devoted a great deal of its time to the struggle against racial discrimination and for human rights. Of 18 conventions arising from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, Canada has ratified 12 as opposed to 3 by the United States of America, so there is no doubt that the Canadian government has gone much further than its U.S. ally in supporting the United Nations mandate to struggle against racism and for human rights.

The United Nations General Assembly has adopted several resolutions unanimously, or by overwhelming majorities, on the subject of *apartheid*. By close examination of Canada's voting record on these General Assembly resolutions, a pattern emerges which suggests that Canada condemns *apartheid* in words, but supports it in deeds. Whenever the economic interests of Canadian corporations are affected by a

given resolution Canada is likely to vote against such a resolution. Otherwise, Canada tends to vote for a resolution or to abstain.

Let us look at some specific resolutions of the General Assembly since 1976. When the racist regime of South Africa declared the sham "independence" of the Transkei, Canada supported (as did all the world's nations except the United States, which abstained) a resolution declaring the independence of the Transkei invalid. On resolutions calling for an arms embargo against South Africa, Canada has abstained. Canada has opposed resolutions condemning the collaboration by Israel with the racist regime. Canada has supported resolutions condemning *apartheid*



in sports. Canada opposed a proclamation that the racist regime of South Africa is illegitimate and has no right to represent the people of South Africa. (There were 108 nations in favour and 22 abstentions.)

There have been several resolutions with respect to humanitarian aid for victims of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, and Canada tends to support these resolutions. Many resolutions in the nature of tributes to the memory of leaders who have made significant contributions to the struggle against *apartheid* and racial discrimination have been put forward in recent years. Canada, and even the United States and Israel, South Africa's staunch allies, have supported this type of resolution. However, Canada abstained on several resolutions with respect to nuclear collaboration with South Africa in which the General Assembly called upon all states, and in particular France, West Germany, surrogates of West Germany, Israel and the United States of America, to cease collaboration with the racist regime in the nuclear field.

Canada voted against a recent resolution on economic collaboration with South Africa in which the General Assembly adopted a measure to prevent transnational corporations, banks and other institutions from collaborating with the *apartheid* regime, and also prohibited the sale of Krugerrands and denied facilities to airlines and ships travelling to and from South Africa. On the other hand, a resolution dealing with the dissemination of information on *apartheid* was unanimously adopted with Canada's support.

Observing the conduct of Canada's representatives to the United Nations on the question of racial discrimination is quite instructive. For example, in 1973 the U.N. General Assembly decreed the ensuing 10 years as a decade to combat racism. The second World Conference to combat racism and racial discrimination was held in the summer of 1983 to assess the progress made in the decade. This conference was attended by more than 126 countries and Canada played a leading role in the deliberations. Canada's role was leading because the United States boycotted the conference, and in their absence Canada (who had for a long period generally voted in tandem with the



U.S.) voiced U.S. positions. Most of the world's nations wanted to pass a resolution that mandatory comprehensive economic sanctions be imposed on South Africa. Led by Canada, the western nations would have none of that. Instead they wanted to deal with racism on a **global basis, avoiding** accusations and **recriminations against** any particular nation. Canada and the other western nations wanted to recognize racism as a wicked idea, existing in all countries because of historical, cultural, economic and sociological reasons. The western nations proposed programs for using the mass media and educational institutions to change bigoted attitudes, racial stereotypes and racial prejudice. In response, most other nations saw racism as a political process with an important economic component.

In 1978, during the First World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, nations were more direct and outspoken with respect to issues such as Palestinian Human Rights and the complicity of Western States in maintaining the systems of *apartheid* and Zionism. The western nations, including Canada, walked out of that conference and virtually withdrew from U.N. activities during the second half of the decade to combat racism.

— Charles Roach

# FREE SPEECH: SMOKESCREEN FOR COLLABORATION

**T**HE recent announcement by Botha, the Apartheid prime minister, to release Nelson Mandela in exchange for Sakharov and Scharansky, imprisoned in the U.S.S.R., shows regard for neither set of prisoners. After all, it is not Black South Africans who have jailed the dissidents. A more apt prisoner exchange might be had between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.; the latter releasing Black and Native political prisoners like "Hurricane" Carter and Leonard Peltier. That Botha expects this public relations gambit to be seriously considered shows his confident reliance on, among other things, the intellectual character of Western society. They are characteristics, generally, of being either intellectually compromised or intellectually dowdy.

These intellectual realities are also at the root of the University of Toronto's position in support of the right of Glen Babb, the apartheid representative, to come on campus to defend his government's policies. By piously adopting a spirited defense of the right, ostensibly, of free speech to all, University representatives attempted, aided and abetted by the class media, to squirrel the debate away from the moral dimensions of apartheid. Their position, much better publicized than that of the other side, had as much to do with the defense of free speech as scientific creationism has to do with the advance of scientific inquiry. Babb's visitation was not intended to be an intellectual encounter — apartheid is universally condemned as odious — but was instead to be continued collaboration, much like the University's non-divestment divestment policy. Would the same lengths to which U. of T.'s representatives went to guarantee a platform to Glen Babb, a Fourth Reich ambassador, also be ex-

tended to ensure a Mengele, Third Reich scientist, a laboratory?

Willingly or otherwise, the supporters of "free speech" adopted attitudes similar to that of the British Columbia Supreme Court judge who charged with contempt, not the pulp and paper magnates who are destroying B.C.'s forests, but rather, the opposing Haida elders who are trying to preserve the meagre remnants of their once bounteous ancestral lands. Similarly, Black South Africans, living under a regime whose constitutional right is to kill them — and theirs to die — are charged and imprisoned for terrorism when they are not accommodating. Common to all three examples is the fact that on the one side are those for whom, by and large, morality is its own best reward; on the other, are those for whom it is negotiable. In choosing between morality and Glen Babb, the University of Toronto was making the type of choice not unfamiliar to that often taken by Western society. The University also chose with brazen ambiguity; ambiguity that would gag a maggot.

What is not ambiguous is the fact that the Dominion of Canada was not founded on principles akin to those of free speech and respect for the property of other peoples. The now eternal silence of the Beothuk people, civilized into extinction, is in this regard as eloquent as it is tragic. What is also clear is that the corporate U. of T. luxuriates in a network of cross-directorships between itself, industry, the military and the politicians.

The representatives of these interests not only hunker down on the legitimate freedoms of universities, but also squat on communities that are considered a threat to the status quo. In the Black community, freedom of speech is more often than not replaced by blasts of silence from black "leaders" on issues like apartheid. It appears that for us, the choice is between being either functionally illiterate or functionally silent.

To loud applause we now await Botha's next announcement: that "one man, one vote" will come to Black South Africans when the U.S.S.R. adopts Western-style democracy.

— Lennox Farrell

## The Contributors

**LILLIAN ALLEN**, who hails from Jamaica, introduced "DUB" poetry to Canada and continues to be its foremost exponent here. A multi-talented performer who has enthralled audiences across Canada and abroad, she expects to release a record album of her work in the near future. Her first book, *Rhythm an' Hardtimes*, was published by Domestic Bliss in 1982.

**COMMITTEE AGAINST RACISM** (Calgary) conducted a highly successful campaign opposing South African Ambassador Glen Babb's visit to promote apartheid in southern Alberta. The Committee Against Racism was formed in 1974 and has chapters in several Canadian cities. The newest chapter was established in Lethbridge, Alberta in 1986 during the campaign opposing Babb's visit.

**PHIL CONLON** is a freelance writer involved in solidarity activities in support of a number of progressive causes, including the Irish Prisoner of War Committee. He is a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC). Phil is co-editor of this issue of *Rikka*.

**TINA CONLON**, a trained United Church minister, holds a Master of Divinity degree from Emmanuel College, University of Toronto. Born in the Philippines, she is an active member of the Philippine Human Rights Congress Toronto.

**LENNOX FARRELL** is a teacher who helped to spearhead a movement by Black community activists and educators in North York, Toronto, Ontario, to counteract the streaming of Black students in Ontario schools. Lennox was recently charged by the RCMP for allegedly assaulting the South African Ambassador, Glen Babb, who was speaking as an "Honorary Visitor" at the University of Toronto. The community has rallied to support Lennox through the Lennox Farrell Anti-Apartheid Defence Committee, which can be contacted c/o Roach-Smith, 688 St. Clair Ave. W., Toronto M6C 1B1; tel. (416) 657-1655 (days), 486-5081 (evenings).

**AIKO HERZIG-YOSHINAGA**, one of over 120,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry expelled from their homes and imprisoned in U.S. concentration camps during World War II, is a prominent member of the National Council for Japanese American Redress. Aiko and her husband, Jack Herzig, were both arrested on April 8, 1985, while participating in a picket protest outside the South African Embassy in Washington, D.C., coordinated by the Washington-based National Coalition Against Apartheid.

**BRUCE KIDD**, former Commonwealth champion, track and field, was twice selected as Canada's Athlete of the Year. Presently on the faculty of the School of Physical and Health Education, University of Toronto, Kidd is also presently Chair, Olympic Academy of Canada.

**JEFF LEIBOVITCH** is a Grade 9 student at Westdale Secondary School, Hamilton, Ontario and a member of Youth Against Apartheid. Last year Jeff spoke as a representative of youth at a March for Peace Rally organized on Mother's Day by the Hamilton Disarmament Coalition.

**FATIMA MEER** is widely known as one of the prominent voices of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in South Africa, is Professor of Sociology, University of Natal, Durban, South Africa and associated with the Institute for Black Research, Durban.

**ROBIN PHILPOTT** lived for 3 years in Burkina Faso, West Africa. Currently residing in Montreal where he has served as past-president of the Quebec-Palestine Association, Robin has been actively involved in the defence committee for Paul Rose and other political prisoners in Quebec.

**NORMAN (OTIS) RICHMOND** was vice-president of the United Nations sponsored North American Regional Conference for Action Against Apartheid, 1984, has been instrumental in initiating the cultural boycott movement of Apartheid South Africa in Canada. President of the Toronto Chapter, Black Music Association (BMA), Otis has written widely for *Billboard*, *Globe & Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *Maclean's*, and produces a regular radio show over CKLN-FM, Toronto.

**CHARLES ROACH** is best known as one of Canada's leading civil rights lawyers. He has devoted his life to the struggle against racism, helping to found such organizations as the Committee Against Racism (CAR) and the Movement of Minority Electors (MOME). In 1977 he published a book of poems, *Root for the Ravens: Poems for Drum and Freedom*.

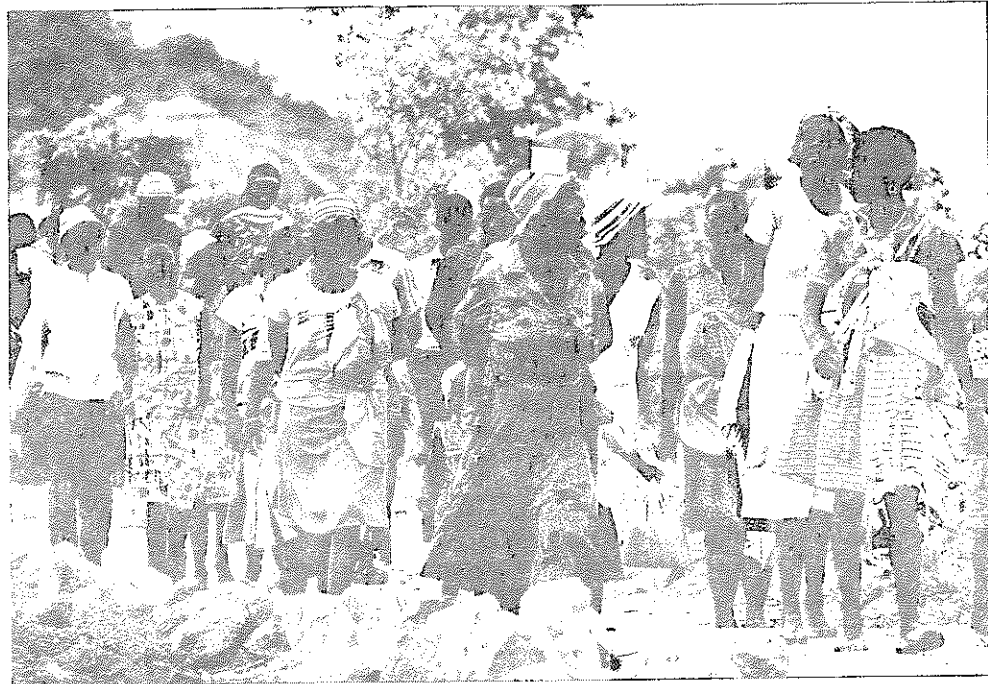
**ROB ROLFE** is vice-president of Local 771 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE). He works as a librarian in North York, with a special interest in the development of local and provincial public library services for Native People and the Black and Caribbean communities. A past contributor to *RIKKA*, Rob is a co-editor of this issue.

**SACTU SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE** (Canada) contributed the text of the recorded messages to South African workers from Bob White (UAW-Canada) and Dave Patterson (USWA). The editors wish to thank Ken Traynor especially for his assistance. SACTU Solidarity Committee can be contacted at P.O. Box 490, Postal Station J, Toronto M4J 4Z2; tel. (416) 465-7386.

**LENORA TAYLOR** is a Grade 9 student at Oakwood Collegiate Institute in Toronto. Lenora is a member of Youth Against Apartheid, and she is also active in the movement for Peace and solidarity with Third World peoples.

## REFUGEES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

In spite of the climate of insecurity in the region, the Southern African countries have received more than 300,000 refugees. Many have been integrated into their host countries.



**SOME** 300 South African blacks have been granted, or are seeking, asylum in Zimbabwe. For John M., a refugee from South Africa exiled in neighbouring Zimbabwe since 1983, estrangement from family and friends has made life exceedingly lonely at times. A soft-spoken young man in his twenties, he has tried, since fleeing his home near Johannesburg more than three years ago, to continue his studies and build a future for himself. But like many of the 300 or so of his fellow South Africans exiled in Zimbabwe, being an urban refugee in one of southern Africa's so-called front-line states can be an uneasy existence.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Botswana spokesman said:

"I don't think that the Botswana Government would refuse asylum to South African refugees for fear of an attack, because their policy is founded on their moral perception of the situation in South Africa, and the problem of apartheid. It is also based on their international obligations under the UN Refugee Convention. The Botswana authorities take their international obligations very seriously: no rejections at the border. So, they are going to continue to receive refugees. I have no doubt at all about that. But of course it will also be incumbent on the refugees to abide by the rules and regulations of this Government which has made it known very strongly that it does not and would not permit refugees to use their status to mount attacks against their

## REFUGEES (Continued)

country of origin. . . . We know for certain that on many occasions the South Africans have talked about Dukwe as a terrorist base, but there is nothing there. There is no form of training, there is no base. We do not allow this, and we will never allow it. We have always relied on the fact that Dukwe is far away from the border, but the South Africans could bomb it with a jet plane. . . ."

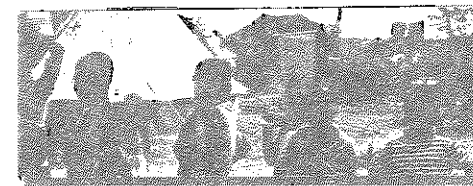
The Zambian Commissioner for Refugees responded to the South African air attack on their Makemi refugee transit centre:

"The attack was denounced by everybody here in the strongest terms. As you know, Makemi is not a camp as such, but a transit centre where we receive people of all nationalities. At the time of the attack, there were no South Africans at the centre. Even if there had been, they would have been refugees and not combatants, with no affiliation to any political party or movement. The South Africans who are received here are only civilians."

The distribution of refugees among the black southern African countries, according to figures from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees include:

Botswana	5,500	Angola	92,299
Swaziland	10,000	Zambia	106,000
Mozambique	700	Zimbabwe	67,500

SOURCE: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees



## LETTERS

Editors, RIKKA:

**THE SOH BROTHERS**, Koreans normally resident in Japan, were arrested in April, 1971, while the elder brother, Soh Sung, now 41, was studying as a postgraduate in sociology, and the younger, Soh Joon-Shik, in the school of law, both at Seoul National University, Seoul, South Korea. Charged with espionage on behalf of North Korea and incitement to anti-government student demonstrations, then widespread against the reelection of the late President Park Chung-Hee, they were convicted and sentenced to life and seven years, respectively. Both have since been imprisoned for over 15 years.

Amnesty International cites both brothers as two among twenty-five "cases of prisoners of conscience submitted with Amnesty International's memorandum to the government of South Korea on 14 August, 1985." As Amnesty International reports, their convictions were grounded only on their confessions extracted under torture. The chief reason for their continued imprisonment is their faithfulness to conscience, especially in the case of Soh Joon-Shik who has persistently refused to sign a declaration of conversion to "anti-communism," a blatant infringement of fundamental human rights: freedom of conscience and thought (cf. p. 28f.).

The younger Soh Joon-Shik, now 38, served his original seven year sentence on May, 1978, yet since has been imprisoned in the Cheongju Preventive Custody Centre. On the 27th of May, the fourth two years' term of his preventive custody expired, then renewed for a further two years, reportedly on April 17, a month prior to the expiry of the fourth term.

Lawyers for Soh Joon-Shik, Lee Dong-Myong and Kim Sang-Chol, lodged a written complaint against the Minister of Justice on June 20 current, followed by their third suit on behalf of Soh Joon-Shik in the Seoul Appellate Court. Both previous appeals were over-ruled by the Supreme Court. The first appeal, filed June 1982, was followed by a second appeal of June 1984.

President Chun Doo-Hwan's term of office will expire in 1988, simultaneously with the Seoul Olympic Games. This could mean increased tension in the South Korean political and social context as well as opportunity for political prisoners, including the Soh brothers.

On 30 April, 1986, eleven U.S. Congresspersons, including Norman Y. Mineta, Stephen J. Solarz and Jim Leach, sent a letter to President Chun urging him to "review the case of Soh Sung and Soh Joon-Shik and to give serious consideration to releasing them from prison." During this April, a three-person delegation was sent to Seoul to collect information about human rights violations in South Korea "with special emphasis on the case of the Soh brothers." The delegation represented the Salvation Army, the National Lawyers Guild and the American Friends Service Committee.

Thanking you deeply for your continued work on behalf of the Soh brothers, we, the Save the Soh Brothers Society, ask you again to cooperate with us in our movement on behalf of Soh Sung and Soh Joon-Shik. Please send letters in support of the immediate release of the Soh brothers to President Chun Doo-Hwan, Blue House, 1 Sejongro, Jongro-ku, Seoul, Republic of Korea.

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