

tinued to push people around with scant regard for the pain caused and with total disregard for what the actual people involved have to endure. The year 1979 saw no change in this respect.

The pass laws, the Group Areas Act and the Homelands Citizenship Act are essential elements of the Government's fundamental policy of separation, of Apartheid, and as yet there has been no indication of any intention to abolish such legislation or to cease its enforcement.

Unless positive steps are taken in 1980 to fulfil the promises of 1979 and to give them tangible effect, in a form acceptable to blacks, in order to establish the sincerity of all those statements which have issued so uncharacteristically from the lips of Government leaders, the frustrated expectations of 1979 might prove to be the beginning of the end rather than the end of the beginning — the final destruction of all hope for peaceful change rather than the beginning of a new era of trust and co-operation between all the people.

The Government must cease all removals forthwith, abolish the pass laws and the Group Areas Act, permit freehold property rights for all and provide an equitable educational system if it is to honour its promises in the eyes of black people.

Resettlement and Influx — The Grand Design

THE HIDDEN STORY OF APARTHEID

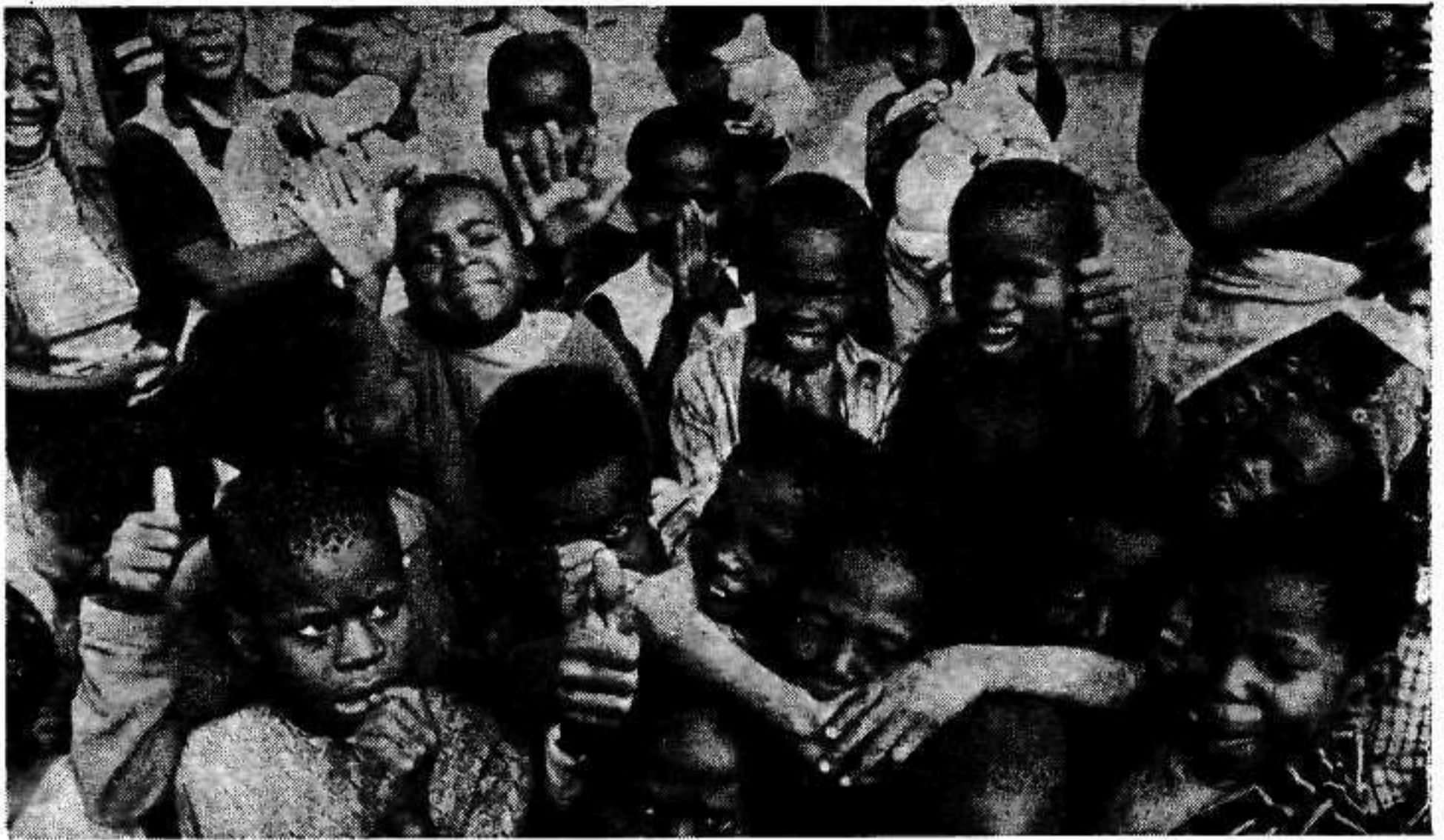
By John Kane-Berman

WITH the influx control and migratory labour systems, resettlement is the most destructive of all the policies which make up apartheid.

It is also the great hidden story of apartheid: from time to time reports of removals

reach the Press, but we really have no idea of what has happened to the great majority of the people removed.

By their very nature, removals generally entail shifting families from homes too close for white comfort and resettling them



Resettlement creates villages of old people, women and children.

Picture by GRAHAM HAYMAN

in remoter parts of the country. It goes without saying that this process of tidying the apartheid map and driving the races apart means that it is the blacks who don't believe in the policy who have to do the moving, not the whites who do. We are sometimes told that such-and-such a removal is taking place at the request of the people who are to be moved: such claims bring to mind the Russians' claim that they were invited to Afghanistan.

Removals are also the quintessence of apartheid. Just as the real story of Nazi Germany is the death-camps, not the boycotts of Jewish shops, so the real story of apartheid South Africa is the pass-migrancy-resettlement constellation, not segregated lavatories.

It is against the backdrop of big apartheid, not petty apartheid, that change should be judged. There have seldom been such high hopes of change in South Africa as there are now. A recent opinion poll showed that even many black people think the Prime Minister is doing a good job.

At the same time, there is no sign that the resettlement programme will stop before 'white' South Africa has been wiped clean of 'superfluous' blacks. And, following the widely-misunderstood Riekert Report, the pass laws are being enforced more brutally than ever before.

There are many constructive proposals in the Riekert Report, and their implementation will better the position of many blacks. But there are also many damnable ideas, whose implementation is already worsening the situation of many black people.

The Press has a lot to answer for in having engendered in the public such an uncritical, almost euphoric, acceptance of the Riekert Report. When the pros and cons of the report are weighed up, a strong case could be made out for concluding that the latter out-balance the former.

One of the most important implications of resettlement is that the policy is promoting 'financial apartheid'. This policy is

already at work in the 'white' urban areas, in the sense that the thinking in Pretoria — endorsed by Dr Riekert — is that the black townships must be financially self-sufficient.

With the best will in the world, the West Rand Administration Board could do little to wipe out housing and other backlogs in its townships because it could get no grants from the State.

Under resettlement programmes, a similar policy of financial apartheid is in the making. Removing black communities from 'white' areas to the bantustans means that the responsibility for their welfare — for housing, pensions, hospitals, schools, parks, sports facilities, and even jobs — is being taken off the shoulders of the central government and foisted upon bantustan governments.

Pretoria already characterises the grants it gives these governments as foreign aid. General Sales Tax — it is quite clear what

is happening: the haves are gradually being divested of their financial responsibilities to the have-nots.

Resettlement, along with the laagers which tougher influx control is erecting round the 'white' industrial areas to keep out the unemployed, is putting those responsibilities on to the bantustans instead.

In other words, Pretoria is exporting problems like unemployment, the housing and schools shortages, and inadequate social and health services.

We are told, in defence of this, that blacks already get back from the State more than they put into it because Pretoria's grants to the bantustan governments are larger than the income tax it receives from blacks. But this argument appears to leave out of account the money Pretoria gets from blacks through GST and customs and excise duties. It also seems to make the assumption that company tax is somehow 'white'.

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The Transkei is already bankrupt. A Kwa-Zulu minister has already complained that resettled children are putting extra pressure on education facilities. Who is going to provide for the 18 000 people from Crossroads who are to be deported to their putative 'homelands'?

Given the direction in which fiscal policy in South Africa is now rapidly moving — holding down the growth of government expenditure, cutting down the income tax rates of the (predominantly white) middle-class, and shifting a disproportionate share

of the tax burden on to the poor through

From tax on gold-mine profits alone, Senator Horwood will rake in about R1 500 million in the financial year just ending (1979-80). Anyone arguing that the tax money is 'white' will have to prove that gold-mine profits are generated without the assistance of 450 000 black miners who dig out the gold.

Such an exercise would be as absurd as believing that the two or three million resettled people might not one day fight to get back the land — and the country — that has been taken away from them.