

SOUTH AFRICA

Background Information

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PROFILE

People

POPULATION: 26.1 million (1976) (est.)

ANNUAL GROWTH RATE: 2.5%

DENSITY: 53 per square mile (20 per sq. km.)

ETHNIC GROUPS: Whites -- 4.3 million; Africans --
18.6 million; Coloreds -- 2.4
million; Asians -- 746,000.

RELIGIONS: Christian, traditional African.

LANGUAGES: English and Afrikaans (official),
Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, North and South
Sotho, and others.

LIFE EXPECTANCY: Whites: 64 (males), 72 (females);
Asians: 59 (males), 64 (females);
Africans: 51 (males), 58 (females);
Coloreds: 49 (males), 56 (females).

Geography

AREA: 472,359 sq. mi. (1,223,404 sq. km.), including
the enclave of Walvis Bay, 434 sq. mi. (1,124 sq. km.);
about twice the size of Texas.

CAPITALS: Administrative-- Pretoria (population
563,000), Legislative -- Cape Town (1,108,000),
Judicial -- Bloemfontein (182,000). OTHER CITIES:
Johannesburg (1,441,000), Durban (851,000).

Government

TYPE: Republic -- parliamentary in form with franchise
limited to white adults.

INDEPENDENCE: May 31, 1910 (Union of South Africa was
created); became a sovereign state within the British Empire
in 1934. On May 31, 1961, South Africa became a republic
and, in October 1961, left the British Commonwealth.

CONSTITUTION: May 31, 1961.

BRANCHES: Executive -- State President (Chief of State), elected to a 7-year term. Prime Minister (Head of Government). Legislative -- bicameral House of Assembly consisting of 171 Members (including 6 Representatives from Namibia), elected for maximum of 5 years, and Senate consisting of 55 Members--45 elected by Provincial electoral colleges, the remainder appointed--who serve for 5 years. Judicial-- Supreme Court, consisting of the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein and 4 provincial divisions.

MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES: National Party, United Party, Progressive Reform Party. SUFFRAGE: Whites over 18. FIRST LEVEL ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS: Provincial Governments of the Transvaal, Orange Free State, Cape of Good Hope, Natal, and separate "homelands" administered in areas set aside for Africans. FLAG: Three horizontal bands--orange, white, and blue--with the Union Jack and the flags of the two former Boer republics (the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic) reproduced in miniature and centered on the white band.

Economy

GDP: \$35.3 billion (1975 est.). AGRICULTURE: Products--corn, wool, dairy products, wheat, sugar cane, tobacco, citrus fruits (self-sufficient in foodstuffs). INDUSTRY: Products--mined products, automobiles, fabricated metal, machinery, textiles, chemicals, fertilizer, fish. NATURAL RESOURCES: Nearly all essential minerals, except oil. TRADE: Principal trading partners--UK, US, Japan, West Germany. Exports--\$5.3 billion (1975 est.): wool, diamonds, gold, corn, uranium, sugar, fruit, hides, skins, metals, and metallic ores, metal products, asbestos, and fish products. Imports \$7.6 billion (1975 est.): machinery, electrical equipment, transportation equipment, base metals, and metal products. OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATE: South African rand, R1=US\$1.15. MEMBERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: UN and many related agencies, Intelsat, and GATT. ECONOMIC AID RECEIVED: South Africa has received no economic assistance from any country. Export-Import Bank transactions with South Africa are limited essentially to insurance and guarantees for the US exporter.

History

Man has inhabited southern Africa for countless thousands of years, but of the present inhabitants the earliest are the people whom the European settlers called Bushmen and Hottentots (both members of the Khoisan language group, of whom only small numbers survive).

Members of the Bantu language group, to which most of the present-day Africans of South Africa belong, migrated slowly southward from central Africa and began to enter the Transvaal sometime before 1000 A.D. The Nguni ancestors of the Zulus and Xhosas had occupied most of the east coast by 1500.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to reach the Cape of Good Hope (in 1486). Permanent white settlement began to take place when the Dutch East India Company established a provisioning station there in 1652. In subsequent decades additional Dutch and Germans and Huguenot refugees from France settled in the Cape area to form the Afrikaner segment of today's population. By the end of the 18th century, European settlement had extended through the southern part of the cape westward to the vicinity of the Great Fish River, where the whites first came into serious conflict with the Xhosa branch of the Nguni.

Britain seized the Cape of Good Hope at the end of the 18th century, and subsequent British settlement and rule marked the beginning of a long history of conflict between Afrikaner and English. Partly to escape British political rule and cultural hegemony, many Afrikaner farmers (Boers) undertook a northern migration (The Great Trek), beginning in 1836. This movement brought them into contact with several African groups. Their most formidable opponents were the Zulus. Under their powerful leader Shaka (1787-1828), the Zulus had brought most of the territory between the Drakensburg Mountains and the sea (present-day Natal and KwaZulu) under their control. The Zulus were decisively defeated by the whites and their power dealt a severe blow at the Battle of Blood River in 1838. The Zulus, however, remained a formidable force in northern Natal until 1879 when, following an initial Zulu victory, British troops destroyed the Zulu military force and occupied Zululand.

The independent Boer republics of the Transvaal (the South African Republic) and the Orange Free State were created in 1852 and 1854 respectively. Relations between these two independent republics and the British Government continued to be strained. The famous diamond strike at Kimberley in 1870 and, 16 years later, the discovery of extensive gold deposits in the Witwatersrand region of the Transvaal, resulted in an influx of European (mostly British) investment and immigrants. The Boer reaction to this "invasion" and to British political intrigues against the two republics led to the Anglo-Boer wars between the British and the two Boer republics (1880-81 and 1899-1902). After a bitter struggle, the British forces conquered the Boer republics and incorporated them into the British Empire. The two former republics and the two British colonies of the Cape and Natal were joined on May 31, 1910 to form the Union of South Africa, a Dominion of the British Empire, with control over most domestic matters in the hands of its white population. In 1934, under the Statute of Westminster, the Union achieved status as a sovereign state within the British Empire.

The conflict between the Afrikaners and the English-speaking groups continued to have a major impact on political developments. A strong resurgence of Afrikaner nationalism in the 'forties and 'fifties led to the decision, through a referendum in the white community in 1960, to give up Dominion status and establish a republic. This decision took effect on May 31, 1961. In October 1961, South Africa withdrew its application for continued membership in the British Commonwealth.

Government

When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910, the former Boer republics and the principal British colony had all wanted their capitals--Pretoria, Bloemfontein, and Cape Town, respectively--to be selected as the capital of the new Union. They compromised by making Pretoria the administrative capital, Cape Town the legislative capital, and Bloemfontein the judicial capital.

Present-day South Africa has retained a parliamentary system of government similar in form to that of Great Britain. Suffrage, membership in Parliament, and all key government positions are held by whites. A number of subordinate systems have been developed for Africans, coloreds, and Asians.

The legislature is supreme, under law, but in fact it is controlled by the all-powerful Executive Council (Cabinet) and a judiciary which, though generally independent, has no power to review parliamentary acts.

Also
any
Power?

~~Executive power~~ is vested in the chief of state, the State President, who is elected by an electoral college of both houses of parliament for a term of seven years. He is advised by a cabinet which consists of the Prime Minister and other Ministers of State. All Ministers and Deputy Ministers are Members of Parliament and are affiliated with the governing party.

The Senate side of Parliament has 55 members, 10 appointed or selected by the Executive and 45 elected by the House of Assembly and the Provincial Councils. The House of Assembly has 165 elected members.

Judicial authority is vested in the Supreme Court of South Africa, which consists of an Appellate Division at Bloemfontein and a number of provincial and regional divisions.

South Africa's four provinces have governments consisting of an Administrator appointed by the State President and a unicameral legislature elected on the same franchise as the House of Assembly.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Historical circumstances and the policies of the present government have led to the development of separate forms of political expression for the different racial groups.

The White Community. Three political parties are presently represented in the South African Parliament:

The National Party--led by Balthazar Johannes Vorster, this party has controlled Parliament and the government since 1948, receiving most of its support from the majority Afrikaners (people of Dutch/French/German descent). The National Party strongly supports the retention of political control in most of South Africa exclusively in white hands. Considerable legislation has been created by Parliament to achieve this end. A related aspect of the party's traditional political

philosophy is apartheid (apartness), a belief that each racial and cultural group should follow its own path of development. From this principle has come the present policy of "separate development" or of "multinational development," under which the various African ethnic groups have been allocated separate "homelands" which will be offered the possibility of eventual independence.

The United Party, the principal opposition party since 1948, proposes that all racial groups should be represented, on a racial basis, in a central federal Parliament, although it too stands essentially for white supremacy in the foreseeable future. It draws its main support from the English-speaking sector of the white population. The leader of the United Party and official leader of the opposition is Sir de Villiers Graaff.

The Progressive Reform Party was founded in July 1975 as a result of a merger between the Progressive Party and a number of former United Party representatives. This party has called for a "more equitable sharing of power" between white and other racial groups within the context of a federation of self-governing states and the extension of the franchise to the Asian, African, and colored communities. The leader of the party is Mr. Colin Eglin.

Principal Government Officials

State President - Nicholaas Diederichs

Prime Minister - Balthazar Johannes Vorster

Minister of Defense - Pieter Willem Botha

Minister of Finance - Owen Horwood

Minister of Foreign Affairs - Roelof Frederik Botha

Minister of Labor and Mines - Stephanus Petrus Botha

Minister of Information and Interior - C.P. Mulder

Minister of National Education, Sports, and Recreation -
Pieter Koornhof

Minister of Agriculture - Hendrik Schoeman

Minister of Economic Affairs - J. Chris Heunis

Minister of Justice, Police, and Prisons - James T. Kruger

Minister of Bantu Affairs - Michiel Coenraad Botha

Governmental Institutions for Coloreds and Asians

Following the elimination in 1969 of representation for the coloreds in the national Parliament, a Colored Persons Representative Council was created. Two thirds of its members are elected by the colored population, and one-third are appointed by the State President, who must approve any legislation proposed by the Council. A similar institution exists for Asians.

Political Institutions for Africans

Have independent?
The policy of separate development has led to the partial consolidation of the "native reserves" previously set aside for Africans in the colonial period into nine separate "homelands" (bantustans), whose constitutional development is designed to lead, through self-government, to independent status. On October 26, 1976, the Transkei, the first of the homelands to accept the South African offer of independence, was given this status. Seven others-- Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Lebowa, Venda, Gazankulu, Qwa Qwa, and KwaZulu--have been designated self-governing territories, while the Swazi homeland has achieved less autonomous "legislative assembly status." In 1970, fewer than half of the African inhabitants of South Africa were living in such areas, which constitute only 13 percent of the country's total land area. The South African Government anticipates that ultimately all Africans will become citizens of the homelands and will lose their South African citizenship. Most homeland leaders have rejected this approach to the future lot of urban Africans.

Modern-style political organizations promoting African interests were in existence in South Africa by the early part of the 20th century. The most important such organization in this century has been the African National Congress, founded in 1912. With the resurgence of African nationalism throughout the continent in the post-World War II period, African political activity in South Africa intensified. The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, which was formed in 1959, turned

Ad increasingly to the tactics of passive resistance in an effort to oppose the separate development policies of the government. In the course of a passive resistance campaign in March 1960 against the unpopular "pass laws," by means of which the movements of Africans outside the African homelands are tightly controlled, white police opened fire on an African crowd in the town of Sharpeville, near Johannesburg, killing 69 individuals. The two organizations were banned, and tightened security and other measures taken subsequently have severely restricted efforts at political organization on a national basis. In recent years, political parties have been established in the various homelands. These have been limited for the most part to individual ethnic groups. A major issue in the politics of the homelands is whether to agree to independence from the South African Government.

In the summer of 1976, severe rioting broke out in urban residence areas for Africans. The riots, which began in June in Soweto, an African suburb of Johannesburg, in protest against the use of Afrikaans as a language of instruction in African schools, presented the government with the most serious challenge yet to its racial policies. Several hundred Africans were killed in confrontations with police, and many more arrested. A number of whites, including some journalists and organizers of black trade unions, were also arrested or have been "banned." ("Banning" in South Africa means essentially prohibition against engaging in any social or political activities.) The disturbances have resulted in increased militancy and impatience for change among urban Africans, as well as some rethinking of racial questions by the white community, although government leaders have indicated that they contemplate no change in the basic principles of the government's separate development policies.

ECONOMY

Until well into the 19th century, most South Africans--black and white--lived primarily by herding or farming. However, the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886 ushered in South Africa's industrial age. Rapidly growing mineral industries promoted the development of cities, of which an important part were concentrations of African workers by the hundreds of thousands. Johannesburg grew rapidly out of uninhabited grasslands into the country's largest urban and industrial center.

South Africa's industrial activity was further stimulated by the import shortages caused by both world wars. Since World War II, the South African Government has strongly endorsed the concept of national self-sufficiency, to the maximum possible extent, in all key sectors of the economy, and as a result, manufacturing has become the largest contributor (22 percent) to the country's gross domestic product (GDP), which in 1975 had reached \$35.3 billion. The mineral industries and agriculture remain, however, the basic pillars of the South African economy, providing the country with most of its exports and with the raw materials for the bulk of its manufacturing activities. In 1975, the minerals industries accounted for 15 percent of the country's GDP, and agricultural activities contributed another 9 percent.

The surge in world oil prices in late 1973 and early 1974 was cushioned in South Africa by an almost equally sharp rise in the price of gold, of which South Africa is by far the world's largest producer. However, while oil prices continued to edge upwards in 1975 and 1976, gold prices peaked in January 1975 at almost \$200 an ounce and subsequently dropped sharply in mid-1975 and again in mid-1976 before rising again to slightly above \$150 per ounce in March 1977.

The sharp 1975 gold price decline was probably the single most important cause of the 18 percent devaluation of the South African rand in September 1975. The devaluation exacerbated the double-digit inflation which had plagued South Africa for the previous three years; inflation registered 13.5 percent in 1975.

The drop in the price of gold and the persistence of high inflation, combined with the effects on South Africa of worldwide recession, have at least temporarily slowed the country's economic growth. After impressive real growth which averaged about 5 percent annually for the decade 1965-75 (reaching 7 percent in 1974), the country suffered a plunge in the growth rate to 2 percent in 1975 and around zero in 1976. However, major infrastructure, mining, and manufacturing undertakings, which are expected to be completed in the near future, should aid the country's economic recovery. Nevertheless, the unsettled political situation in southern Africa has had and may continue to have a dampening effect on economic prospects.

Investment

Foreign private investment continues to play a significant role in South Africa's economic development, currently accounting for about 20 percent of the total value of all private investment in the country. Approximately 17 percent of the total direct foreign private investment in the country is from the Sterling area (mostly from the United Kingdom), while the U.S. share is about 17 percent. Approximately 350 American companies have direct investments, with a book value of more than \$1.5 billion, which is equivalent to about 40 percent of all American investment in Africa and to 1.2 percent of the total American private investments abroad.

The U.S. Government neither encourages nor discourages private U.S. investment in South Africa. The prospective investor is informed about investment conditions in South Africa, including the economic and political considerations resulting from that country's apartheid policies. The U.S. Government does encourage those American firms with investments in South Africa to adopt enlightened employment practices toward their workers of all races and to improve channels of communications with their black South African work force, including contacts with representatives of black labor organizations.

We have maintained the same posture, neither encouraging nor discouraging, toward investment in the Transkei. Americans considering investment there should be aware, however, that the United States can offer no diplomatic or consular facilities there.

To foster economic growth and to offset a large negative trade and services deficit, South African officials estimate their country will need approximately \$1 billion annually in foreign private direct investment. Foreign investment continues to be concentrated in mining, manufacturing, and petroleum processing and distribution.

Trade

Despite the development of a diversified manufacturing sector, South Africa retains its historic foreign trade pattern of importing manufactured goods and exporting raw and semiprocessed mineral and agricultural products.

Recent merchandise figures (excluding exports of gold bullion and imports of arms and petroleum) are shown in the following table.

South African Foreign Trade
(in billions of U.S. Dollars)

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1975</u>
Total Exports*	2.1	2.3	3.2	3.7	4.9	5.3
Exports to the U.S.	.3	.3	.3	.4	.6	.8
Total Imports*	4.0	4.3	4.1	5.1	7.1	7.6
Imports from the U.S.	.6	.7	.6	.7	1.2	1.3

The principal customers for South African exports in 1975 were the United Kingdom (23.1 percent), the United States (15.9 percent), Japan (12.5 percent), and the Federal Republic of Germany (10.9 percent). Various African countries purchased a total of 11 percent of South Africa's exports.

Major suppliers in 1975 were the United Kingdom (19.7 percent), the Federal Republic of Germany (18.6 percent), the United States (17.7 percent), and Japan (11.0 percent). Various African countries provided 4.6 percent of South African imports.

The U.S. share of the South African market has remained remarkably stable over the past 5 years (16-18 percent of total imports).

*These figures include the customs area embracing Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia (South West Africa), and Swaziland as well as South Africa, but South Africa alone accounts for at least 90 percent of the total. The figures for imports exclude arms and petroleum and petroleum products, which the government does not reveal.

Minerals

South Africa, one of the ten major minerals-producing countries in the world, is the world's leading producer of antimony, gold, gem diamonds, and vanadium, and one of the three leading producers of asbestos, chromite, industrial diamonds, manganese, platinum-group metals, uranium, and vermiculite. South Africa is likely to remain a major minerals-producer for the foreseeable future. South African reserves of gold and chromite alone constitute about two-thirds of the world's known supplies of these commodities, and the country also has extensive deposits of coal, copper, fluorspar, lead, nickel, titanium sands, and zinc.

The lack of any known petroleum deposits is a cause of considerable concern to this otherwise mineral-rich country. Despite continuing extensive exploration efforts, no commercial petroleum deposits have been uncovered in South Africa or in the adjacent off-shore areas. South African officials have long been aware of the potential vulnerability of their country to a petroleum boycott and have consequently stressed the necessity of using coal for energy. Domestic coal already provides over 70 percent of the country's energy needs and will provide even more in the future. South Africa has developed a coal gasification/liquefaction plant which converts coal into petroleum products. While only 4 or 5 percent of South Africa's total petroleum needs are currently being met by this process, the construction of a second, much larger, facility is under way, which when completed, will provide an additional 25 percent of the country's petroleum requirements.

Note

Manufacturing

South Africa has the most extensive and diversified manufacturing sector in all of Africa. Most of the goods produced by South African factories are destined for the domestic market; however, modest but growing quantities of South African manufactured products are entering into international trade.

The industrial sector provides jobs for over 1.2 million persons, of whom half are Africans, a quarter are coloreds and Asians, and the remaining quarter are whites. Manufacturing accounts for 22 percent of the country's GDP.

Racial Problems and the Economy

The question of race relations pervades every aspect of South African life and has a considerable impact on the country's economic activities. The South African economy will unquestionably continue to be heavily dependent upon African, colored, and Asian workers.

According to recent estimates, South Africa will need about 4 million skilled workers in the early 1980s, of whom substantially less than half will be white.

In order to curb the influx of African workers into the urban areas, the South African Government offers substantial incentives to companies to locate plants in the black homelands or in the industrial "growth points" adjacent to the homelands. However, only a small number of firms, most of which are South African, have as yet taken advantage of these incentives. Most firms continue to prefer to establish operations in or near the large urban centers where major markets are close at hand.

The government apparently believes that even if the African homelands do achieve independence or some form of autonomy, African workers from these areas will still be available to the South African labor market on a contractual basis.

Even if most of the Africans could be accommodated in the homelands, which is a most doubtful assumption, the question of the status of the more than 4 million increasingly detribalized and politically conscious Africans who have lived in urban areas remains unsettled. The impact of the apartheid policy falls most heavily on this group. The large urban riots in the summer of 1976 originated in and were concentrated in these African townships. The South African Government and a number of municipal administrations, notably in Johannesburg, have made some efforts to improve housing and general living conditions in the townships, but many of the township inhabitants feel the improvements are insufficient.

Asians and coloreds receive higher wages than Africans and are generally better off economically. Like the Africans, they are segregated by law and are subject to discriminatory treatment in employment, housing, and education. Unlike Africans, however, they may participate in registered trade unions with white workers.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

South African forces fought in World War I on the side of the Allies, and its diplomats were active at the 1919 Versailles Peace Conference. South Africa was a founding member of the League of Nations and was given a League mandate to govern South West Africa (Namibia), which prior to the war had been a German colony. South Africa created a Department of External Affairs in 1927 and later that year established diplomatic missions in the main Western European countries and in Washington. South African forces also fought on the side of the Allies in World War II and took part in the Berlin Airlift and later participated in the postwar UN force in Korea. A desire to cooperate with the West in combatting communism remains an important part of South African foreign policy.

The foreign relations of South Africa have been affected to an ever-increasing extent in the period since World War II by growing international criticism of the country's apartheid policies, particularly at the United Nations. International concern over South Africa's administration of the mandated territory of Namibia has also been a particular cause of friction with most of the rest of the world.

South Africa ignored an advisory judgment of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 1950 that any change in the status of the territory would have to receive the assent of the United Nations as successor to the League. A proceeding later brought in the ICJ by Ethiopia and Liberia charging South Africa with violating its mandate was dismissed on technical grounds in 1966, but the United Nations later the same year declared, with U.S. support, that the mandate was terminated and that responsibility for the territory had passed to the United Nations. This position was upheld in an advisory opinion of the ICJ in 1971.

*Is this
still
true?*

UN insistence that South Africa give up the territory continued to grow. In 1974, the 29th General Assembly voted to deprive South Africa of its seat in that Assembly (although South Africa was not expelled from the organization as such), in reaction to its refusal to comply with UN and Court rulings on Namibia. In January 1976, the Security Council voted unanimously to demand that elections leading to independence be held in Namibia under UN supervision.

Partly as an effort to counter this hostility, South Africa attempted in the 'sixties to improve relations with the rest of Africa, emphasizing the role that its economic and technological resources might play in the future of African development efforts. Exchanges of visits between South African leaders and those of other African states began in the late 'sixties, and relationships were established with a number of countries, although diplomatic relations were established only with Malawi.

The end of Portuguese rule in the neighboring territories of Angola and Mozambique deprived South Africa of the support of their white-ruled colonial governments. South Africa took a flexible approach in responding to this new situation; its leaders stressed their wish to maintain friendly relations with the militant African nationalist government newly in power in Mozambique.

South Africa's efforts to win acceptance by a significant number of African states were set back by its intervention in the Angolan civil war in late 1975 and by the serious riots which erupted in South Africa's urban areas beginning in June 1976. South Africa has contended that it entered Angola only to counter Soviet and Cuban influence and to protect hydroelectric and irrigation projects inside the Angolan border. Many African countries agreed with the need to oppose communist involvement, but few could accept that as a justification for South Africa's armed intervention.

The riots in South Africa, with their heavy death toll and high number of arrests, have led to greatly increased pressure on South Africa from other African

states and the international community generally to effect fundamental changes in its racial policies. Moreover, the opposition in the world to South Africa's "homelands" policy was starkly demonstrated when no other nation recognized the independent status granted to the Transkei in October 1976.

Department of State

April 1977



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BRIEFING PAPER

THE WHITE POPULATION

The Afrikaner Community

The history of the two and one-half million South Africans who rule over that country's 25 million people has been a remarkable saga of conflict, stubbornness, frequent defeat, and eventual triumph against great odds. The early experiences of the Dutch and Huguenot settlers who first arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in 1662 paralleled in many respects those of the Europeans who settled in North America in the same period. Indeed, many observers believe the two groups shared similar traits of pioneer individualism and puritan fundamentalism.

The challenges which history held in store for the Afrikaners proved to be quite different, however, from those faced by their American counterparts, and their perception of their difficult history as a nation is an important influence on their response to the present, and greatest of all, challenges to their national existence. The underlying ethos in Afrikaner history has been to preserve their own group identity by rejecting foreign elements, rather than following the American pattern of integrating other peoples and customs into the overall culture. From the Afrikaner perspective, their history has been one of continuing struggle, primarily against two groups of persistent ethnic adversaries: the British and the Africans.

British Adversaries

From the end of the eighteenth century, the British Empire tried to control the territory that is present-day South Africa, and in the eyes of Afrikaners, sought to supplant Afrikaner with English culture. The country's mineral resources have been developed largely by, and to the immediate benefit of, Englishmen and English-speaking South Africans. Afrikaner defeat at the hands of the British in the Anglo-Boer Wars (1899-1902) represented the greatest national trauma faced by the Afrikaners.

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4 million?
Afrikaner?

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It was difficult for them to abandon their efforts to create independent ethnic republics to the north of the British-controlled Cape Colony. After a bitter internal quarrel, those leaders who favored acknowledging defeat and cooperating with the English-speaking community prevailed, and a reconciliation with Britain permitted the creation, in 1910, of a unified South Africa. In the decades that followed, London exercised less and less control over South Africa, but a major legacy of the colonial period, hostility between the Afrikaans and English-speaking segments of South Africa's population, remained strong.

Afrikaners have always constituted a majority of the white population, and from the founding of a unified South Africa in 1910 the principal national leaders have been Afrikaners, but most governments before 1948 were based on cooperation with Britain and alliance with English-speaking South Africans. The depression of the 1930's, which was particularly severe on the largely rural and working class Afrikaners, and South African participation in the Second World War on the side of Britain despite widespread Afrikaner opposition (Prime Minister Vorster was interned by the government because of his opposition to the war), led to a revival of Afrikaner nationalism. The principal beneficiary of this upsurge of national solidarity was the National Party, a purely Afrikaner ethnic party, which assumed power in 1948. After nearly 30 years, the party retains the overwhelming support of the Afrikaner community. Moreover, in recent years, as pressures on the white population have begun to build, increasing numbers of English-speaking whites have also become supporters, openly or surreptitiously, of the NP.

African Adversaries

The Africans have been the other major adversaries of the Afrikaners. From the early eighteenth until late in the nineteenth century, these two largely agricultural peoples were engaged in frequent, often bloody, conflict over control of the land. The Afrikaners moved northward from the Cape of Good Hope as the Africans were migrating

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southward from central Africa. The British colonial regime sought to minimize the conflict and even though it sided most often with the Afrikaners, its efforts to restrain the conflict were viewed by many of the latter with unrelieved hostility. Even as they won this struggle, reducing the areas of African control mostly to the less productive and less accessible parts of the country, the Afrikaners faced a new African challenge arising from industrialization. The Africans, whose traditional social and economic life had been badly disrupted by more than a century of confrontation with the technologically superior whites, and by fierce intertribal conflict, proved ready to adapt to the requirements of an urban, industrializing economy at the end of the nineteenth century. Again, the Afrikaners saw their adversaries combining, as British industrialists and politicians appeared ready to build a new economy, using African labor, in which the Afrikaners had a minor role and little bargaining power.

Political Dynamics and the National Experience

Upon its accession to power, the National Party proceeded to enact racial legislation to protect Afrikaners from the threat of African encroachment and against the moderately liberalized racial policies of English-speaking whites which they regarded as anti-thetical to their interests. Not surprisingly for an essentially ethnic party, the primary lesson South Africa's leaders have drawn from their national experience is the vital importance of maintaining Afrikaner solidarity. Indeed, this solidarity is impressive. Since the National Party came to power in 1948, many changes have taken place in the Afrikaner community. Today, a majority of the once rural Afrikaners are urban dwellers, and their perspective has changed somewhat. Moreover, an Afrikaner elite has developed, including businessmen and an intelligentsia based on the universities and press, which has gained self-confidence and shed some of its earlier provincialism. This new elite remains a minority, however, and even its members share the strong belief that the one factor which prevents Afrikanerdom from being overwhelmed by black nationalism is their unity.

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The National Party orthodoxy contains other elements as well. One is a strong sense of cultural identity, based on the Afrikaans language and the conservative Dutch Reformed Church. Another is an instinctive opposition to liberalism. The present efforts of the United States and other Western countries to persuade South Africa to adopt a more pragmatic approach toward racial questions are not new to Afrikaner leaders. They have devoted their careers to combatting such views, which have been the stock in trade of the English-speaking business and political leadership.

Divergent views

Despite the emphasis on solidarity, however, there are divergent tendencies within the Afrikaner community which compete to influence policy. They might best be described as resulting from a tension between those who believe that pressures for change in the government's racial policies have become so great that total resistance is not feasible, and those who continue to hold that compromise with the numerically superior Africans, in the face of a hostile world would be the first step down the road to disaster. The defection from the National Party of a far right faction, which subsequently created the Herstigte (Reconstituted) National Party in 1969, has served to strengthen the influence of the conservatives. Although this splinter party has not subsequently been able to win any seats in Parliament, the threat it poses to Afrikaner unity is taken very seriously by the National Party. They fear that if government policy were seen to diverge too greatly from traditional Afrikaner principles, the Herstigte (Reconstituted) National Party might be able to shed its present image as an irresponsible fringe group and come to be regarded as the bearer of traditional Afrikaner values, much as the

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This defection on the far right did not end differences within the ruling party. In South Africa, the "conservative" and "liberal" supporters within the party (--within their spectrum, not ours--) are referred to, respectively, as the verkramptes (narrow ones) and verligtes (enlightened ones). Generally speaking, the more conservative tendency has been represented in the National Party Government by the party stalwarts and those with political bases in the relatively independent provincial party organizations. They include the head of the National Party organization in the Transvaal, Minister of Information and the Interior, Connie Mulder, who is frequently mentioned as a possible successor to Prime Minister Vorster. The leader of the Cape provincial party and Minister of Defense, Mr. P.W. Botha, is another prominent conservative. Those favoring more flexible positions are frequently to be found among the "experts," whose political bases are often limited or non-existent but whose expertise, particularly with regard to the outside world, is important to the government. These include the Chief of the Bureau of State Security, General van Den Bergh, and the new Foreign Minister, R.F. (Pik) Botha, previously Ambassador to the U.S. There are some leading politicians who also favor greater flexibility, most notably the Minister of Sport and National Education, Dr. P.J. Koornhof, but most political supporters of the verligte persuasion are outside of the Cabinet.

For reasons of party discipline, and perhaps because the outlook of most leaders contains elements of both ways of thinking, the issues involved have not been debated by politicians. A key role in the airing of these problems has been played instead by certain Afrikaner academics, university professors and newspaper editors, most notably Willem de Klerk of the influential Johannesburg daily, die Transvaaler, who has spoken out strongly on the need to liberalize present and planned arrangements for other racial groups under separate development, in order to win more support among them for overall

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policy.

The opinion of the Prime Minister in this Verkrampste-Verligte dispute is an important but unanswered question. His political pre-eminence within the party is well established and his influence apparently decisive in settling contentious issues. Whatever his personal preferences, most observers agree that he is motivated above all by a determination to take no step which would threaten the unity of the Afrikaner community and the National Party. Whether from preference, or this concern for unity, the Prime Minister has not exerted his leadership to move the government toward the adjustments in separate development policies which the more liberal faction has urged. Indeed, the major theme of government in recent months has been a reassertion of support for the existing arrangements.

The Issues

The principal issues between the supporters of the "narrow" and the "enlightened" factions of the party do not involve the fundamental principles of apartheid and separate development; the party is united on that question and on the impossibility of sharing power with the Africans. Rather, the differences concern the need for making adjustments in response to what the "enlightened" group would characterize as new circumstances of greater white vulnerability. In general, the proponents of some degree of accommodation focus on several key aspects of government policy:

More Viable Homelands. Recognizing that the present homelands are unjust and unacceptable to most Africans, enlightened Afrikaners would enlarge them, even if this meant including white-owned land in the African homelands. Present policy is that the total territory available for the Africans will not be expanded beyond the 13% of the total area of the Republic provided for by a 1936 act. The government is consolidating the territories somewhat, but has insisted that any

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consolidation will be achieved by buying out white land owners, farm by farm.

✓ A Political Voice for Urban Africans. Supporters of greater flexibility argue ~~the necessity~~ of recognizing that a large proportion of the more than four million Africans in urban areas no longer have any ties with the ethnic homelands and that ways should be found to giving them means for political participation, perhaps through the creation of "city states" or some extra-territorial status linked with the homelands. Present policies speak of better representation for Africans, or political participation through the various homelands, but do not appear to envision giving Africans in urban areas any real power. (Both groups reject African participation in the political institutions of white South Africa.)

Full Political Rights for "Colored" and Asians. Proponents of accommodation argue that the interests of the "colored" and Asian populations, who have no homelands, and therefore no prospects of independence, are not dissimilar from those of whites. They contend that equal political rights should be granted to these groups, either through their admission to the presently all white Parliament (a more radical view) or through the creation of other institutions which have equal power and standing with the all white Parliament. A government-appointed body, the Theron Commission, after several years of studying the future of the colored population, argued for direct political representation for coloreds. The government has rejected this proposal, however.

Greater Economic Advantages for Africans. Many proponents of increased flexibility, particularly in the Afrikaner business community, contend that urban blacks should be given a greater stake in the system. This would require additional opportunities for economic advancement, including greater scope for the development of an African commercial sector. Wages and living conditions need to be improved greatly.

Many of the supporters of these changes hoped that after the violent defiance of the young African

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students was suppressed, the government would begin to move toward "enlightened" positions. So far, it has shown few signs of doing so. Some hints have been dropped about creating more representative mechanisms to speak for blacks in townships, but there is no prospect of their exercising real power in any form. Likewise, the government hints about changing the basic parliamentary structure of the country and steps have been taken to create an "inter-cabinet council" involving joint Cabinet meetings with leaders of the Asian and Indian groups. So far, this innovation seems to be of more appearance than substance, and has not generated any significant interest by these communities. Nonetheless, the calls from within the Afrikaner community for change appear to be increasing.

English-Speaking Whites

Although always a minority among South African whites (presently about 40%) and excluded from political power since 1948, the English community remains dominant in business life. English-speaking South Africans have never developed the sense of solidarity that characterizes the Afrikaners, and until the past two decades have retained strong emotional ties with the British homeland. Although the vast majority of English-speaking South Africans would not be considered "liberal" by contemporary world standards, most of them have found it difficult to comprehend what they regard as rigid and counter-productive Afrikaner racial policies. Reasonably secure in their economic status and their "membership" in the privileged international community of white Anglo-Saxons, English-speaking South Africans have inclined to a more open approach to racial relations which could encompass acceptance of political and other rights for an African elite. However, there are significant divisions within the English-speaking South African community, and these have been intensified as domestic and international pressures have eroded the traditional white sense of security.

The interests of English-speaking whites are

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represented by two political parties which reflect these divisions. The United Party has been the principal opposition party since 1948. For most of that time, it was regarded as the party of English-speaking South Africans, although its leader, Sir de Villiers Graaff, is of Afrikaner descent. Although traditionally opposed to apartheid, the United Party has never been able to come forward with any alternative policies which would satisfy the demands of its constituents for assurance of continued white control, while granting political rights to Africans. Its present program calls for a confederal structure with separate representation of the various ethnic groups (dividing the Africans along ethnic lines, but not the whites).

In recent years, more liberal elements in the English-speaking community, particularly those associated with business and professional groups, have broken away from the United Party. They are now represented by the Progressive Reform Party. It is backed by such men as industrialist Harry Oppenheimer, and enjoys the support of English-speaking intellectuals and most of the important Jewish community. The present leader is Colin Eglin, and one of its best-known members of Parliament is Mrs. Helen Suzman, who has been the most persistent and effective Parliamentary critic of the government. The Progressive Reform Party supports a federal structure for South Africa. White interests would be protected for some time through a qualified franchise and by means of the dilution of authority inherent in a federal system, but the Party's approach would ultimately lead to black rule. With this sort of platform, even PRP leaders do not pretend that they have any real prospect of capturing the government. However, they endeavor to retain contacts with South African blacks and maintain some semblance of white opposition to apartheid policies. In recent years, party leaders such as Colin Eglin have worked closely with moderate blacks to prepare the groundwork for alternative governmental structures in South Africa. However, PRP leaders are increasingly concerned at the radicalization of Africans previously considered to be moderates, and they are uncertain

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