

It is more than a decade since the events we are commemorating here tonight, & still the name of Sharpeville rings like a bell throughout the world. Wherever people have heard of South Africa, they have also heard the words Sharpeville & apartheid.

The shooting at Sharpeville, by its drama & its violence & particularly, I think, by its context in the Africa of 1960 expanding towards independence, ~~disturbed~~ people everywhere & has remained in human imagination, but today, 11 years later, White South Africa has restored itself to even greater power, & wants the world to forget

PEACE & ORDER.

SA never stops boasting of how peaceful a country it is, compared with the rest of the world & particularly with Black Africa.

Once again, Vorster recently: 'I do not know of a more peaceful country anywhere else in the world... But ~~at~~ apparently we are disturbing the peace of the world just because we are living here so peacefully.' He went on to say that fewer man-hours are lost in SA as a result of strikes than in any other comparable country in the world.

I want to take this concept of peace as the theme of what I have to say tonight, peace in relation to the violence of Sharpeville, in relation to the development ~~military~~ struggle in *South Africa*

Of course, such peace is not achieved without some cost.

COST OF PEACE - (1)

~~For~~ E.g., Prison population twice as large as UK which has nearly 4 times population of SA - 2,000 arrests of men, women, teenagers, every single day under pass laws alone; a peace which exists side by side with one of the world's most appalling crime rates - 1,000 murders in Johannesburg alone with 1 million population. In a 5-year period, one man hanged every 3 days, a job made easier by special gallows in Pretoria Central - it can hold a number of nooses &

on special occasions used for multiple hangings.

Many ^{countries} Brit politicians must envy Vorster's boast of industrial peace - this is not because SA works are some strange model that dislike strikes, but simply because all strikes by black workers are illegal - arrested & taken to jail - a cause for envy.

Another price of this peace is shown in small item - 68 Prisons report records number of breast-fed infants admitted to jail as being 4,222.

PRICE OF PEACE - 2

There is I suppose also a kind of peace about SA's detention laws - when someone disappears, there is nothing that anyone can do - even the papers cannot print the name. Under proclamation 400 in the Transkei (imposed 1960, never lifted), under the 90-day clause replaced by 180-clause, & under Terrorism Act, anyone can be detained indefinitely, held incommunicado, kept in solitary confinement with ~~no~~ access by anyone except his interrogators. No court can question validity, no wife, lawyer, Minister or Religion has any access.

We know of at least 15 people who have died in strange circumstances in such detention; some hanged themselves in their cells with belts they did not possess, or jumped from windows, or died as a result of falling while taking a shower. One slipped on a piece of soap & died, one died after falling down stairs - this was Imam Haroun.. the information they wanted from him was concerned with aid given to starving families.

I haven't time this evening to deal with the terrible evidence of physical torture, of prolonged questioning together with sleep deprivation, of prolonged solitary confinement. When people have to live like this and to die like this, it is just a part of the price that SA pays for its peace.

Outlawing of all protest organizations & political prisons are also part of the price of peace. Minister of Justice says no such category as political prisoners - all convicted

crimes under t law. Yet t crimes are political ones, like belongg to a banned org, & these prisoners may nvr receive any remission o sentence, no matter how they behave, while lifers are never released. They must die in jail.

Whn those who hve servd more restrictd terms - 3, 5, 12 years ARE releasd, t punishmnt does not cease. They are imm. subject to sever banning orders, house arrest & othr restrictions which make normal life or work virtually impossible.

If they are Africns, & particularly frm those areas like PE where ANC ws once a great force, they are sent into exile, to slow death, to lives o such emptiness & desolation tt they cn barely b described. Sibande's letter.

Those tried & found nt guilty are re-arrested, re-detained, & if eventually released, house arrested.

PRICE OF PEACE - 3

Such peace leads, inevitably, to a type of genocide.

I hve seen t faces of people, whn we speak of events in SA, changing frm looks of shock & anger, to a kind of polite disbelief which glazes their eyes - I hve felt myself losg contact wth people when our assertions begin to strain credibility.

Yes, people say, apartheid is wrong & evil, but now you're spoiling your case by exaggeration.

I don not believe it is exaggeration to accuse t SA Gvt, & t Whites who support it, of genocide, both in SWA & SA.

To understand t accusation, it is necessary to understand t purpose of apartheid & how it is enforced.

The Africn is an essential & integratd part o t econo o t country. Therefore mass murder is nt on t agenda, scarcely poss, certainly nt desirable, bcause t integration o Af labr demands live workers. But those who challenge the master race and those who are superfluous to its needs, are annihilated, not by

guns or by gas, but by a means just as terrible in cumulative fact if not so shocking at first encounter: by amputation from society, through imprisonment, through exile, through banning, through house arrest, and for more than a million non-politicals - just people - through re-settlement.

Racism must lead to such an end.
Apartheid is the most extreme form of racism ever devised

Apartheid is the conscious deliberate division of humanity into unassimilable categories. Under apartheid laws, blacks cease to be persons with needs & aspirations. They are reduced to the level of pieces of machinery to be used or discarded at will.

These are referred to as 'labour units', while their wives & children & parents are 'superfluous app.' ^{'foreign labour' or 'illegal aliens'}

'It is ~~not~~ our policy to recognise his position' (says de Wet Nel, M o Bantu Ad) 'as a labour unit and not as a resident of an urban area.'

& Deputy Minister of Justice, Froneman, 69, made famous speech in which declared,

White State has no actual duty to prepare the homelands for the superfluous Africans, because they are actually illegal aliens in the White homelands who have only to be repatriated.

There were single African women who could be employed usefully in the White areas; & while there were White families who could not do without domestic help, the moment a Bantu woman starts a family, then she belongs in her homeland . . .

Their removal, I repeat, is not dependent on the development of the homelands, because they are dependants & not workers.

He named conditions under which 'foreign labour' could be used without conflict with apartheid. Among them: no domicile or citizen rights in White homelands. 'This African labour force must not be burdened with superfluous appendages such as wives, children & dependants

who could not provide service.

To understand what this means you have to relieve yourself of mental decoys such as ~~the~~ homelands, *foreign* *whos, aliens.*

The W. homelands where no Af may have any domicile or other rights, & from which his wife must be instantly removed if she becomes pregnant, these W homelands where all Africans are permanently illegal aliens are simply the 87 per cent of SA that ~~by~~ Whites have declared belong to the W minority, & the Af homelands are less than 13 per cent, arid, undeveloped, deeply depressed reserves.

While Africans are what another minister described as 'economically active' in these so-called W areas, they may remain. After that - deportation, death.

And bit by bit, as the grand apartheid plan requires the removal of the superfluous ones, re-settlement, genocide.

PRICE OF PEACE - 4. RESETTLEMENT

People don't transplant any more easily than hearts. We have not found a way to overcome the problems of rejection; this is why doctors everywhere - even the terrifying Christian Barnard, have now stopped heart transplants. *gmesone*

But the transplanting of human beings, rooting up and 'throwing away', continues by the thousand, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands. More than a million

NOT because of holocaust of war, of natural disasters such as earthquakes, simply a matter of apartheid.

In Limehill & Stinkwater, in Paradise Valley and Sada and Seshengo and Loewfontein, it is not sudden death, but slow deterioration, in the food they eat, the work they can find & do, the family life that exists or dies.

In Buchenwald, Bettelheim writes, certain prisoners became what was nicknamed 'Muselmanner'

'They were people who were so deprived of affect, self esteem & every form of stimulation, so totally exhausted both physically & emotionally, that they had given the environment total power over them.'

Once they saw their own life & environment totally beyond their ability to influence them, they gave up, became walking shadows, then inevitably died.

This is the fate of SAs discarded for racial reasons - their kind of peace
If you do not believe this is happening in SA, then you must read some of the letters that have reached D & A from the camps

For help to send money to some of those people in the camps, Haroun was murdered. For trying to help the families of political prisoners, it appears, that Rev. French-Beytash has been detained & charged.

CONSCIENCE.

Told that liberals satisfy uneasy consciences by giving a donation to a good cause & that's that.

Personally, I'd rather we had the donation than mere expressions of sympathy or even of revolutionary ardour.

This conscience twice provided husband with legal defence, treason, Mandela & Others. Only two hundred of political trials that would have been undefended but for D & A. The money itself was an absolute necessity, but not only that - it was also a lifeline, an expression of understanding, of solidarity, of support, of love.

It serves this purpose, too, when sent to help support the families in the camps, the wives & children of political prisoners. Over & over again they write 'I thought the world had forgotten me until your money came.'

I should have devoted all my time tonight to tell you the various ways in which the D & A fund is used. But it is dangerous even to mention most of these things. It is a crime to give money to help these people; in what other country in the world is it illegal to send money to starving families? But this is helping people to resist apartheid, helping them to resist genocide, helping them to live!

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That is why I ask you now to give - to put your hands
in your pockets and make a substantial gesture;
to perform a positive act against apartheid.

PEACE.

I started by speaking about peace, the peace & order of SA.
But Fromm has said, peace is more than a condition of
no war, more than a mere momentary absence of
physical conflict, more than passivity.

Peace demands a harmony & union between men, it demands
that they overcome their separateness & alienation.
Stranger must cease to be stranger. There can be
no chosen people; There can be no white supremacy.
There can be no apartheid.

By your active support for this cause, far from
helping violence as the SA lobby would have you believe,
you will help to bring ~~us~~ true peace to SA, a
peace founded on the liberation of the human
spirit and on the need of men to be men.

Collection Number: A3299

Collection Name: Hilda and Rusty BERNSTEIN Papers, 1931-2006

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: **Historical Papers Research Archive**

Collection Funder: **Bernstein family**

Location: **Johannesburg**

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