

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	xiii
Acknowledgments	xvii
CHAPTER 1 — Vignettes	1
CHAPTER 2 — The South African Landscape	13
Brave New World	13
The Unhappy Country	14
Racial Divisions	17
The Disintegration of Apartheid	19
The Rationale of Apartheid	22
1) The traditionalist argument	22
2) The historical argument	23
3) The theological argument	23
4) The separationist argument	23
5) The argument of pluriformity	23
6) The argument of incompatibility	24
7) The racial purity argument	24
8) The paternalistic argument	24
9) The homelands argument	25
10) The development argument	25
11) The domino argument	25
12) The argument of self-preservation	26
13) The argument of despair	26
14) The argument of superiority	26
15) The argument of compatibility	27
16) The economic argument	27
17) The elimination-of-friction argument	27
18) The misgovernment argument	28
19) The white nationalistic argument	28
20) The argument of sub-humanness	28
The Cost of Apartheid	29
Obstacles to Black Equality	33
The Lack of an Effective Opposition	35
The Breakdown of Communication	37
Education	39
Resources	41
Foreign Investment	42
The Importance to the West of Peaceful Change in South Africa	43
Some Home Truths Concerning South Africa	44

CHAPTER 3 — The Building of the Edifice	49
The Beginnings	49
The Great Trek	51
Cecil Rhodes	53
The Boer War	55
From Boer War to Afrikaner Supremacy	57
The Consolidation of Afrikaner Supremacy	60
The Terrorism Act and After	63
 CHAPTER 4 — White South Africa	 68
The Gilded Cocoon	68
The Blunting of the White South African Conscience	70
City Life	71
Attitudes of Superciliousness	73
<i>Verligte</i> and <i>Verkrampte</i>	75
British and Afrikaner	76
The Broederbond	80
Calvinism	83
The Church in South Africa	85
The Dutch Reformed Church	87
The Church and Western Culture	91
White Indoctrination	93
Sport	95
Overseas Business	97
Codes of Conduct	100
The Border War	102
Conscientious Objection	103
Civil Disobedience in the Light of Theology	104
The Yeast in the Dough	106
The Black Sash Movement	108
Dependants' Conference	109
The Erasmus Commission Report	113
The Resilience of the Afrikaner	115
A Change of Heart — Is it possible?	117
 CHAPTER 5 — Black South Africa	 122
Soweto	122
Crossroads	124
Robben Island	129
The Wife of the Political Prisoner	130
The Black Homelands	131
Objections to the Homelands Policy	136
The Future of the Urban Blacks	137

The Loss of South African Citizenship	138
Unemployment	139
The Pass Laws and Employment	140
The Labour Bureaux	142
Black Education	145
The Black Parents' Association	147
Black Universities	148
The Black Professional Man	150
African Nationalism	152
The Influence of Mahatma Gandhi	155
Chief Buthelezi	157
Black Consciousness	158
Black Attitudes and Strategy	160
CHAPTER 6 —Blots Upon the Statute Book	166
a) The Pass Laws	166
b) The Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act	169
c) The Bantu (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act	171
d) The Group Areas Act	172
e) The Population Registration Act	173
f) The Marriage Laws	175
g) Preventive Detention	176
h) Banning Orders	178
i) Capital Offences	180
j) The Unlawful Organisations Act	181
k) Censorship	182
l) Separate Facilities	184
m) Migrant Labour	185
n) Trade Unions	186
o) Foreign Assistance	187
The Uniqueness of South Africa's Statute Book	187
The Concept of the Rule of Law in South Africa	188
The Universal Declaration of Human Rights	190
The Role of the Judiciary	192
The Legal Profession	195
CHAPTER 7 — Signs of Change	201
Attitudinal Change	201
The Present Prime Minister	202
Some Practical Considerations	203
Current Initiatives and Trends	204

1)	Labour	204
2)	Sports Policy	205
3)	Constitutional Reform	205
4)	The President's Council	206
5)	Urban Blacks	206
6)	Petty Apartheid	207
7)	Prosecutions for Illegal Employment	207
8)	International Hotels	208
9)	Security Legislation	208
10)	Land in Urban Areas	208
11)	Crossroads	208
12)	The Quality of Life	209
13)	Education	210
14)	Judicial Attitudes	210
15)	The Relaxation of Tension	211
16)	Namibia	212
17)	The Army	212
	Some Qualifications and Reservations	212
	The Human Rights Conference	213
	The South African Church Leadership Association (SACLA) Conference	217
	The Urban Foundation	218
	The World Heavyweight Fight	219
	The Centre of Inter-Group Studies	220
	Workers for Change	222
CHAPTER 8 — What Can Be Done?		225
	The Attack on Apartheid	225
A.	Trade Unionism	227
1)	Dockworkers' Sanctions	227
2)	Fact-Finding Tours	228
3)	Support of Specific Boycotts	228
4)	Education of Trade Union Membership	229
5)	Solidarity Strikes	229
6)	Pressure on Diplomatic Representation	230
7)	The Formulation and Implementation of Codes of Conduct for Industry and Trade Unionism	230
8)	Anti-apartheid Campaigns	231
9)	Lobbying Activities	231
10)	Training of African Trade Unionists	232
B.	Investment and Loans	232
1)	Disinvestment	232
2)	An Information Service to Foreign Shareholders	234

3)	Limiting Loans	235
4)	Publicising the Extent of Bank Loans to South Africa	236
5)	Imposing Conditions on Patent Rights	237
6)	Norm Creation regarding Investment in South Africa	238
C.	Church Sanctions	239
1)	Refusal to Support Apartheid Laws	239
2)	Equal Stipends for White and Black Ministers	240
3)	Sharing Power within the Church	240
4)	The Deliberate Integration of Congregation	241
5)	Concern with Social Problems	241
6)	Solemnisation of Marriages	242
7)	Conscientious Objection to Military Service	243
8)	Army Chaplaincy	243
9)	Legislation Interfering with Sanctity of Marriage	244
10)	Leadership in Norm Formation	245
D.	Boycotts	246
1)	General and Particular Boycotts	246
2)	The Black Reaction to Boycotts	247
3)	Boycotts of Government Trade	248
4)	Cultural Boycotts	249
5)	Tourist Boycotts	250
6)	Sports Boycotts	251
7)	Other Selective Boycotts	251
E.	Individual Action	252
1)	Moulding opinion	252
2)	Letter writing	256
3)	Formulating Action Projects	256
4)	Education	257
5)	Fact-Finding Travel	258
6)	Liaising with Local Organisations	258
7)	Investment Research	258
8)	Stockholders' Questions and Votes	259
9)	The Formulation of New Ideas	260
F.	Foreign Policy	261
1)	A Rethinking of Western Foreign Policy	261
2)	The Clark Proposals	263
3)	Nuclear Technology	263

G.	Miscellaneous Heads of Action	265
	1) The Bar	265
	2) Use of Foreign Legal Systems to Counter Apartheid	266
	3) Scholarship Schemes	267
	4) Coalitions between Blacks and Whites	268
	5) Preparing the Ground for Constitutional Change	268
	6) Touching the Afrikaner conscience	269
	Epilogue	274
	Appendices	
	Appendix A. — Farewell Lecture to the Stellenbosch Law Faculty	276
	Appendix B. — Table of Statutes on Coloured Persons	287
	Appendix C. — Extracts from the Immorality Act	289
	Appendix D. — A Race Classification Judgment	290
	Appendix E. — Further extracts from 1974 Synod Report of the N.G.K.	292
	Glossary	293
	Index	296