



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your list - Votre référence

Our list - Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

**IS THIS APARTHEID?
ABORIGINAL RESERVES AND SELF-GOVERNMENT IN CANADA
1960-1982**

by

Joan G. Fairweather

**Thesis submitted to
the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
M.A. degree in History.**

Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa

© 1993 Joan G. Fairweather



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

THE AUTHOR HAS GRANTED AN
IRREVOCABLE NON-EXCLUSIVE
LICENCE ALLOWING THE NATIONAL
LIBRARY OF CANADA TO
REPRODUCE, LOAN, DISTRIBUTE OR
SELL COPIES OF HIS/HER THESIS BY
ANY MEANS AND IN ANY FORM OR
FORMAT, MAKING THIS THESIS
AVAILABLE TO INTERESTED
PERSONS.

L'AUTEUR A ACCORDE UNE LICENCE
IRREVOCABLE ET NON EXCLUSIVE
PERMETTANT A LA BIBLIOTHEQUE
NATIONALE DU CANADA DE
REPRODUIRE, PRETER, DISTRIBUER
OU VENDRE DES COPIES DE SA
THESE DE QUELQUE MANIERE ET
SOUS QUELQUE FORME QUE CE SOIT
POUR METTRE DES EXEMPLAIRES DE
CETTE THESE A LA DISPOSITION DES
PERSONNE INTERESSEES.

THE AUTHOR RETAINS OWNERSHIP
OF THE COPYRIGHT IN HIS/HER
THESIS. NEITHER THE THESIS NOR
SUBSTANTIAL EXTRACTS FROM IT
MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE
REPRODUCED WITHOUT HIS/HER
PERMISSION.

L'AUTEUR CONSERVE LA PROPRIETE
DU DROIT D'AUTEUR QUI PROTEGE
SA THESE. NI LA THESE NI DES
EXTRAITS SUBSTANTIELS DE CELLE-
CI NE DOIVENT ETRE IMPRIMES OU
AUTREMENT REPRODUITS SANS SON
AUTORISATION.

ISBN 0-612-00458-9

Canada



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

ABSTRACT

IS THIS APARTHEID?

ABORIGINAL RESERVES AND SELF-GOVERNMENT IN CANADA

1960-1982

**Joan G. Fairweather
University of Ottawa, 1993**

**Supervisor:
Professor Cornelius Jaenen**

South Africa's notorious apartheid policy has become an easily identifiable analogy for countries where indigenous populations have been dispossessed of their land and their traditional social structures destroyed. The question "Is this apartheid?" challenges the historical validity of parallels drawn between Canada's native policies and apartheid.

The "civilizing" missions of European intruders on the shores of what were to become Canada and South Africa followed distinctive paths in their relationship with indigenous populations. While slavery and wars of conquest paved the way for racial conflict in Southern Africa, mutual cooperation epitomized aboriginal relations in colonial Canada. The discovery of diamonds and gold in the Boer republics in the late 1800s determined the course of native policy in South Africa. While reserves in Canada were designed to prepare indigenous people for assimilation into the dominant society, South African reserves became reservoirs of cheap African labour under the National Party's apartheid government which came to power in 1948.

The years 1960-1982 marked a critical period in the history of both Canada and South Africa. Canada's national preoccupation with a new Constitution and questions of unity profoundly affected new directions in native policy in the late 1960s. First Nations communities responded with a resurgence of organizational strength and renewed assertions of aboriginal land rights and self-government. Unlike native Canadians, who asserted their aboriginal and treaty rights within the democratic and constitutional structures of Canada, African resistance repudiated the legitimacy of the apartheid

government and fought for the fundamental right of all South Africans to democracy and for an integrated, non-racial state.

Three core characteristics of apartheid (the lack of labour rights, the lack of democratic rights and the lack of freedom of association) provide the criteria in addressing the question "Is this apartheid?" The conclusions are clear: while Canada's First Nations have been seriously disadvantaged by paternalism, assimilationist policies and injustice, they have not experienced apartheid. Government policies and aboriginal problems are not addressed by equating Canada with apartheid South Africa. They are Canadian problems with Canadian solutions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	i
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
 INTRODUCTION	 1
 <u>Part One</u>	
An Historical Overview	9
 <u>Part Two</u>	
CHAPTER ONE: RESERVES AS GHETTOS OF DESPAIR	
"From Dumping Grounds to Battlefronts"	38
 CHAPTER TWO: RESERVES AS TOOLS OF SOCIAL CONTROL	
"From Wardship to Self-Government"	69
 CHAPTER THREE: RESERVES AS ABORIGINAL HOMELANDS	
"Resistance and Rewards"	95
 CONCLUSION	119
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	123
1. Primary Sources	
a) Archival Sources	123
b) Government Publications	123
c) Newspapers, Pamphlets, etc.	124
2. Secondary Sources	
a) Books	125
b) Articles	132
c) Theses and Unpublished Sources	134

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude to Professor Cornelius Jaenen extends beyond his wise and helpful guidance as thesis supervisor. As my first teacher in aboriginal history he expanded my awareness of the effects of racism and brought new depth to my understanding of the aboriginal experience both in Canada and in South Africa.

The financial support of Departmental Teaching Assistantships and the granting of education leave by the National Archives of Canada are gratefully acknowledged.

INTRODUCTION

Canadian academics and aboriginal leaders have claimed that the historical treatment of Canada's First Nations¹ is analogous to apartheid.² They are not alone in drawing parallels with the well-publicised racist policies of South Africa.³ No longer confined to its country of origin, "apartheid" has taken on metaphorical proportions and the term is applied to a number of situations world-wide. South Africa has become an easily identifiable analogy for many countries where land dispossession of indigenous populations has led to state abuse of human and civil rights. Israel and Burma are two examples where historical parallels with South Africa have recently caught the eye of the media.⁴ Evoking the term "apartheid" has proved an effective strategy in alerting world attention to situations where censure is both justified and required in order to bring about necessary reforms.

¹ The term "First Nations" is used throughout the text in preference to "Indian." More generic terms such as "aboriginal," "indigenous," and "native" are used as adjectives when references to both South African and Canadian indigenous peoples are made.

² See for example Richard H. Bartlett, "Parallels in Aboriginal Land Policy in Canada and South Africa," Canadian Native Law Review 4 (1988) and Ron George, "Echoes of Apartheid," Native Council of Canada, September 1993.

³ The Republic of South Africa (or the Union of South Africa before 1961) is abbreviated throughout the text to "South Africa."

⁴ See for example Richard Cohen, "Israel and South Africa - the Parallels are Ominous" The Washington Post re-printed in The Manchester Guardian Weekly, 12 September 1993, 17. "Like South Africa, Israel constructed a national myth of an originally 'empty land' largely devoid of indigenous inhabitants and imbued it with a zealous religious conviction." Also see Desmond Tutu, "Burma as South Africa," Far Eastern Economic Review 16 September 1993, 23: Parallels with South Africa can be seen in Burma's illegal dictatorship which has imprisoned, tortured and murdered opponents of the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) regime and been universally condemned by human rights organizations and the United Nations for denying fundamental freedoms to its people.

By attracting public attention to similarities between the living conditions on Indian reserves and South Africa's bantustans⁵, Canada's indigenous peoples intended to expose the hypocrisy of the Canadian government (particularly during the Mulroney administration in the 1980s) in its promotion of economic sanctions against South Africa while continuing trade and investment practices in that country.⁶ The double standards which Canada applied with respect to native peoples has received international attention through the visits of South African dignitaries such as those of Ambassador Glenn Babb to the Peguis Reserve in Manitoba in 1987 and Archbishop Desmond Tutu to the Osnaburgh reserve in Northern Ontario in 1990.⁷ While the symbol of apartheid may have drawn attention to the struggle for the recognition of aboriginal rights in Canada, the distinctions between aboriginal-state relations in Canada and South Africa have not been clearly defined and understood.

The purpose of this comparative analysis of aboriginal reserves and self-government in Canada and South Africa is to critically examine the historical validity of parallels drawn between Canada's treatment of First Nations and apartheid. The thesis to be argued is that, while similarities exist between aboriginal conditions in Canada and South Africa, as they do in many other countries, the experience of economic deprivation and political dis-empowerment of Canada's First Nations differs in fundamental ways from that of Africans⁸ living under apartheid. Moreover, the goals and aspirations of indigenous peoples in Canada and South Africa testify to the uniqueness of their histories as dispossessed and

⁵ The terms "bantustan," "homeland" and "reserve" all refer to the areas that successive white governments have designated for occupation by the African people.

⁶ See Trafficking in Apartheid: The Case for Canadian Sanctions Against South Africa. (Toronto: SACTU Solidarity Committee (Canada), 1985) and Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility, May 1987 Mailing.

⁷ Maclean's, 16 March 1987, 20.

⁸ The term "African" is generally used when referring to South Africa's indigenous population. The term "black" is usually used as an adjective.

oppressed peoples.

The first step in this analysis is to define "apartheid." The word means literally "apart-ness" and represents both an ideology and the political system formally adopted by the National Party government when it gained power in the Union of South Africa in 1948. The origins of the ideology of apartheid are linked to the "empty land" myth - shown to be fallacious by archaeological research - which promoted the belief that Europeans⁹ and Africans arrived in the country at roughly the same time.¹⁰ This myth has penetrated deeply into the historical consciousness of white South Africans and has been used as recently as the 1980s to defend the policy of "grand apartheid:" the transformation of reserves into African "national states" or bantustans.¹¹

The concept of apartheid grew out of the old Boer¹² tradition of "no equality in church or state," the bulwark of white supremacy in South Africa. The policy was given a variety of names over the years: "separate development," "multi-national development," and, in the mid-1980s, "co-operative co-existence."¹³ Under apartheid laws, which number in the hundreds, racial segregation was institutionalized. The key laws (the so-called

⁹ The terms "European," "colonist," "settler," and "white" are used interchangeably (as both nouns and adjectives) to refer to South Africa's non-indigenous population.

¹⁰ See T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, Third Edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987) 7: "Radiocarbon dating... has produced evidence of negroid iron age settlement in the trans-Vaal as early as the fifth century AD." See also Arthur Kepple-Jones, South Africa: A Short History (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1966 - originally published in 1949).

¹¹ Leonard Thompson, The Political Mythology of Apartheid (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1985) 70: "In 1981 [the 'empty land' myth] repeatedly confronted members of the American Study Commission on U.S. Policy towards Southern Africa, chaired by Franklin A. Thomas, president of the Ford Foundation."

¹² "Boers" (the Afrikaans word for "farmers") refers to the descendants of Dutch, German and French Huguenot settlers who took part in the "Great Trek" from the Cape Colony into the interior of Southern Africa beginning in 1836 and eventually formed the Afrikaner nation.

¹³ Roger Omond, The Apartheid Handbook: A Guide to South Africa's Everyday Racial Policies (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1986) 11.

"pillars of apartheid") were: the Population Registration Act of 1950¹⁴, which classified the South African population into four main groups (white, Coloured, Asian and African); the Group Areas Act of 1950, which regulated how and where they were allowed to live and work; and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 and the Immorality Amendment Act of 1957, which prohibited inter-racial sexual relations or marriage. Along with laws based on race (including the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959) came a mass of legislation that curtailed the civil liberties of all South Africans (notably the Terrorism Act, No 83 of 1967 and the Suppression of Communism Act, No 44 of 1950 and amendments) restricting political expression and affiliation. Under the notorious "security laws," the state was granted almost unlimited powers to punish offenders, including the legal power to detain without trial.¹⁵

While apartheid deprived all South Africans of basic human rights, the African majority, who were the life-line of the South African economy as the primary source of cheap labour, was both the target of apartheid laws and the most critically affected. In his biography of his brother, President F.W. de Klerk, Willem de Klerk reveals the outcome of the systematic and incremental process of apartheid legislation:

"Each opening address added yet another strand to a tapestry of apartheid legislation that would become, under Dr. Verwoerd, a finespun mesh from which no black could hope to escape."¹⁶

¹⁴ Coloureds were sub-divided by the Act into Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Indian, Chinese, "other Asiatic" and "other Coloured." There was certain ambiguity about how persons were to be classified. For example, a white person, according to the Act, is someone who: "a) In appearance obviously is a white person and is not in appearance obviously not a white person; or b) Is generally accepted as a white person and is not in appearance obviously not a white person." According to Roger Omond, although people cannot physically change race, they can do so in the eyes of the law: "In the year July 1981 to June 1982 a total of 997 "changed race." Among them were one Indian who became white, four Cape Coloureds to Chinese, fifteen white to Chinese, three "other Asian" to Cape Coloured, and three African to Griqua." See Omond, The Apartheid Handbook, 24-25.

¹⁵ See Omond, The Apartheid Handbook, 184..

¹⁶ Willem de Klerk, F.W. de Klerk: The Man in his Time, trans. Henri Snyders (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1981) 4.

Speaking to a Canadian audience in May 1983, South African journalist Donald Woods (who was banned under the apartheid laws and living in exile in the United Kingdom¹⁷) revealed the essence of apartheid when he responded to the question "Is this apartheid in Canada?" by asking: can Canada's First Nations live and work anywhere in the country? Can they vote? And, finally, are they free to organize?¹⁸ These three core characteristics of apartheid (the lack of labour rights, the lack of democratic rights, and the lack of freedom of association) provide the litmus test to the question "Is this apartheid?" posed in each chapter.

The thesis is divided into two parts. Part One provides a brief, but essential historical overview of the development of aboriginal-state relations in Canada and South Africa from first contact to 1960. Part Two consists of three chapters, each dealing with a specific theme: socio-economic conditions, political and legal status, and the resistance movements of aboriginal peoples in Canada and South Africa between 1960 and 1982.¹⁹

The 1960s were watershed years for native peoples in Canada and in South Africa. In Canada, concerns about national unity in the wake of Quebec's "Quiet Revolution" in the 1960s pushed forward a movement for constitutional reform which was to have a powerful effect on Canada's First Nations. Threatened by the Liberal government's determination to deny "special status" to French-Canadians and First Nations alike, native organizations took on new life. A series of ground-breaking events in the 1960s and 1970s including the Hawthorn Commission, the 1969 White Paper on native policy reform, the Berger Inquiry,

¹⁷ Woods was editor of the East London Daily Dispatch until his arrest and subsequent banning in 1977 for accusing the South African government of responsibility for the prison death of black activist Steve Biko. See Donald Woods, South African Dispatches: Letters to my Countrymen (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1986) xiii.

¹⁸ Donald Woods, "Apartheid and its Victims." An address given at Glebe-St.James United Church, Ottawa, 8 May 1983 (Audio recording).

¹⁹ The chapter titles represent the general progression of Canadian native policy and experience. The introductory quotations to each chapter, on the other hand, reflect the counter direction of South African policy and experience.

and the James Bay Agreement all contributed to the assertion of aboriginal rights which culminated in the Constitution Act of 1982. With the recognition of "existing aboriginal rights" in the new Canadian Constitution, Canada's First Nations set out on a new journey in their struggle for the settlement of land claims and native self-government.

In South Africa 1960 was the year of the Sharpeville massacre when sixty-nine protesting Africans were killed by police bullets. The world-wide condemnation of this event began the period of South Africa's ostracism as what an Afrikaner newspaper editorial termed the "polecat of the world."²⁰ As independence and the "winds of change" swept through the rest of Africa, the apartheid regime resorted to new strategies of repression to secure white hegemony and maintain control of the African labour force. African resistance was almost eliminated with the banning of major organizations and the imprisonment of thousands of activists. Attempts to restore world opinion with the creation of so-called "independent African homelands" provoked renewed protests from the African majority now regarded as "foreigners" in their own land. The establishment of a tri-cameral Parliament in 1984, which created separate parliamentary chambers for whites, Coloureds and Asians but excluded the African majority, opened the floodgates on a period of renewed resistance and repression which was to escalate over the remainder of the decade.

This comparative study of the experiences of indigenous peoples of Canada and South Africa is based on a wide variety of sources. Personal contacts and visits to both Canadian and South African reserves (or bantustans) have provided an important background and basis for the discussion. Government reports, archival records of the Canadian Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (particularly RG 10, Volume 8588, File 1/10-4 relating to the Department's "Liaison with the Union of South Africa") and contemporary studies on the socio-economic conditions on Canadian reserves and on South

²⁰ Ommond, The Apartheid Handbook, 11.

African bantustans were among the major primary sources consulted. The growing body of secondary literature on the history of Native peoples and on aboriginal-state relations in both Canada and South Africa provided important supplementary information. In addition, a number of comparative studies, written by legal historians, sociologists and political analysts, gave rewarding insights into patterns of aboriginal protest and government policy in various parts of the English-speaking world where indigenous or "fourth world" populations form a socially and economically disadvantaged group. An important factor with respect to South African sources is the political reality of censorship under apartheid laws. Studies (such as the research studies on forced removals undertaken by Father Cosmas Desmond and the Surplus Peoples Project), which were critical of government policy, were conducted under considerable restraints. Harassment and imprisonment were not unusual experiences for academic researchers and writers whose findings deviated from the "official version" of African experience under apartheid.²¹

The purpose of this comparison is not to catalogue levels of oppression suffered by the indigenous peoples of Canada and South Africa, but to illustrate and explain the causes and consequences of native policy and resistance in these two countries. The comparative approach serves to illuminate the histories of both societies by revealing racial discrimination and segregation, not as a static phenomenon, but as a dynamic tool of social control with many different applications and many different results. As Raymond Grew observes, the unique advantage of "comparing histories" is that it enables us to "look at

²¹ Laurine Platzky, and Cherryl Walker for the Surplus Peoples Project, The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985) xxiii: "The state intervened at various stages. Guy Berger, an early participant [of the Surplus Peoples Project], was jailed (under the Terrorism Act of 1967) for other activity. Cedric de Beer and Aurret van Heerden were detained for over ten months and were released without being charged. A number of other participants were detained for shorter periods in connection with other alleged activities. Field workers were harassed at various times."

other cases in order to see other outcomes."²²

While the principal focus of this thesis is Canadian aboriginal relations, addressing the question "Is this apartheid" has also demanded a careful examination of the main characteristics of apartheid. The stories of both the First Nations of Canada and the African peoples of South Africa have thus been told primarily through the narrow prism of apartheid.

²² Raymond Grew, "The Case for Comparing Histories" American Historical Review, 85 (4 & 5) 1980, 467.

Part One

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Prior to World War Two, the histories of Canada and South Africa bore certain similarities. Both countries established land bases for their newly-forged "white" nations by subjugating the peoples who were there before them. Under British administration, the indigenous populations of North America and Southern Africa were administered as separate entities and small portions of land were set aside as "reserves" for the sole use and "protection" of native peoples. Canada's Confederation, founded in 1867, formed a new nation of British and French North Americans; the Union of South Africa, established in 1910, blended British and Boer settler communities.

Until 1960, links between these former British colonies had, in the words of a Canadian cabinet minister, been "long-standing and intimate."¹ Canadians went to South Africa to fight in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, Canadian and South African troops fought on the side of Great Britain in both World Wars and important investment and trade links were forged between the two countries as fellow members of the British Commonwealth.² Diplomatic ties, including an exchange of information on the

¹ W.J. Browne, U.N. Records Proceedings of the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly, (1956), 34 quoted in Joann Naiman, Joan Bhabha and Guy Wright, "Relations Between Canada and South Africa, 1948-1983," North American Regional Conference for Action Against Apartheid, United Nations Headquarters, New York, 18-24 June 1984, 1.

² see Joanne Naiman, Joan Bhabha and Guy Wright, "Relations Between Canada and South Africa, 1948-1983," North American Regional Conference for Action Against Apartheid, United Nations Headquarters, New York (18-21 June 1984) and Trafficking In Apartheid: The Case for Canadian Sanctions Against South Africa, (Toronto: SACTU Solidarity Committee (Canada)), 1985.

administration of native reserves reinforced the spirit of collegiality between the two countries.³

After 1960, however, the paths of these British Dominions took separate directions. Unwilling to translate the new spirit of liberalism, which affected many western countries in the post-war period, into political equality for its disfranchised black majority, South Africa withdrew from the Commonwealth in 1961. Under the banner of its ultra segregationist apartheid policy, the newly-constituted Republic of South Africa began a lonely journey against the currents of popular world opinion. Canada, on the other hand, maintained its close affiliation with Britain and the Commonwealth, and joined the mainstream of western democracies by openly denouncing apartheid and later championing Commonwealth sanctions against South Africa.

The brief chronological overview which follows traces the development of aboriginal-state relations in Canada and South Africa from first contact to 1960 and explores the historical forces which drove these two colonial nations into diametrically opposing policies. The analysis focuses on the key players in both countries (indigenous peoples, colonial authorities, settlers, and missionaries) whose ideologies and actions determined the diverging directions their societies were to follow.

1) From First Contact to 1867

From their first encounters in the 15th and 16th centuries, European intruders and indigenous peoples on the southern tip of Africa and on the eastern shores of Canada were in competition - for land, for religious beliefs, for political power and for physical and

³ See RG 10, Volume 8588, File 1/1-10-4. See also Peter Carstens, "Coercion and Change" in Richard J. Ossenberrg, ed., Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change, and Conflict (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd, 1971) 132: "The parallels between the South African Coloured Reserves and the Canadian Indian Reserves seem too similar to have been independent inventions. Whether the same official placed the imprimatur of the British Empire on the various acts of Parliament, which made them possible or not, is irrelevant. What is significant is that institutionalized segregation became a reality through similar governmental channels."

cultural survival. Neither group encountered a homogeneous society. The newcomers from Europe spoke various languages, practised a variety of religious faiths and offered different sets of relationships to the indigenous populations they encountered. These already-established peoples themselves differed widely in the languages they spoke and in their customs. Politics and nations had evolved over the years and were still being formed through wars and alliances when the strangers arrived in their huge ships from distant lands.⁴

The seeds of apartheid were sown early in South Africa's history. In 1660, Jan Van Riebeeck, leader of the first Dutch settlers to land at the Cape of Good Hope planted a hedge of bitter-almonds to seal off his little community of Dutch East India Company employees from the indigenous Khoikhoi cattle herders (or "Hottentots" as the Dutch named them) and San (or "Bushmen")⁵. From the time Van Riebeeck arrived to establish a victualling station for Company ships en route to the Orient, the newcomers and indigenous peoples regarded each other as adversaries.⁶ No prior consultation had taken place with the Cape inhabitants and when their grazing and hunting grounds were appropriated by Company servants - and, even more crucially, their cattle seized - open conflict ensued.⁷ Thus began three centuries of hostilities between indigenous and incoming peoples (broken by the occasional strategic alliance) which was to culminate in

⁴ The term "polity" is used by Peter Delius for groups which were both geographically fluid and not ethnically homogeneous. See Peter Delius, The Land Belongs to Us (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983) xi.

⁵ Allister Sparks, The Mind of South Africa (New York: Ballantine Books, 1990) xv.

⁶ Jordan K. Ngubane, An African Explains Apartheid (London: Pall Mall Press, 1963) 5 & 6.

⁷ William Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton: The Making of the South African Native Problem (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) 25: Macmillan notes that the first recorded conflict between indigenous and white communities was in 1702 when a cattle "bartering" expedition had a serious skirmish "three or four days" west of the Gamtoos River. The first "Kaffir War" occurred seventy years later when the Fish River was made the dividing line between advancing colonists and the African tribes. The "last" war in 1878 made it in truth a Hundred Years War.

the dispossession and subjugation of the African people first by the Dutch, then by the British and the Boers, and finally by the National Party (apartheid) government in 1948.⁸

From the beginning, however, boundaries like the bitter-almond hedge and other forms of segregation were ambiguous. The Company depended on native herds for meat to provision its ships and Khoisan men and women as a labour force.⁹ Moreover, the scarcity of marriageable women made physical contact between Dutch and indigenous people inevitable. By the time the British took over the Cape colony in 1806¹⁰ the "ambiguities" were compounded by the presence of, and intermingling with, East African and Malay slaves imported to serve the needs of the growing number of white settlers.

According to South African historian Edward Roux, slavery brought manual labour into contempt in the Cape Colony, and the result was that the colonists came to regard the black man as properly the hewer of wood and the drawer of water: "This idea, once started has become, with the passage of time, long after the abolition of slavery, a deep-rooted characteristic of the South African people."¹¹ The fact that slavery formed such an essential feature of Cape society (between 1795 and 1810 slaves formed the largest sector of the population) accounts for both its impact on South Africa's subsequent history and also the extent to which coercion was deemed necessary in order to control this essentially

⁸ Ibid., 296: As in Canada, "loyalists" were rewarded by British colonial authorities. During the "Hundred Years of War" "Fingos, Hottentots and friendly Kaffirs" were rewarded with land taken from the conquered Xhosa and given "frontier locations" which formed buffer states between colonists and Africans.

⁹ "Khoisan" is the term adopted by some historians when referring to the Khoikhoi and San in this period. See Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, eds., The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840 (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1979) 4 and T.R.H. Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History Third Edition (Toronto & Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1987) 6.

¹⁰ Ibid., 591: The second British Occupation began in 1806; the first British Occupation of the Cape (1795-1803) was interrupted by the Batavian regime (1803-1806).

¹¹ Edward Roux, Time Longer than Rope: A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964) 18. Roux quotes from the South African Census for 1963: "Generally speaking, in many, if not all walks of life, there has been a pronounced tendency to regard it as beneath the dignity of a white person to perform menial tasks."

dissident population.

Contrary to the image portrayed by contemporary and later historians of Cape slavery as "benign" in nature, James Armstrong and Nigel Worden, in their writings on slavery in South Africa between 1652 and 1834, depict an overall picture of unremitting brutality.¹² After the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, leaders of the British antislavery movement were more concerned about upholding the property rights of slave-owners than with emancipation. Although there was only one serious slave uprising (in 1808) the British gave priority to white solidarity, even in those early days, instead of eliminating the grave racial inequities to which slavery had contributed.¹³

As in South Africa, the European settlement of Canada began with open hostility towards the first aboriginal peoples with whom it came into contact. In 1829, a little over three hundred years after John Cabot first encountered the Beothuk of Newfoundland, the last known survivor of this ill-fated people died in captivity in St. John. A 1837 Report of the Select Committee of the Parliament of the United Kingdom on Aborigines admitted the culpability of the imperial authorities in the extinction of the Beothuk:

"We occupied the stations where [Beothuk] used to hunt and fish, thus reducing them to want, while we took no trouble to indemnify them, so that doubtless many of them perished by famine; we also treated them with hostility and cruelty..."¹⁴

In his analysis of reserves as aboriginal homelands, law professor Richard Bartlett traces the genesis of the imperial policy of reserves as a protective measure to this early

¹² a) Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 28-28: The author explains the commonly-held view of Cape slavery as "essentially benign" as resting on the assumption that slaves were known personally to their owners and often were brought within the intimacies of the family circle, often acting as wet nurses. He goes on to mention, however, that "slavery was controlled under a tough penal system... to diminish the frequency of crimes." Cape records, he states, give evidence of "the murder or rape of a white person by a black" being commonly punished by "breaking on the wheel and the amputation of a limb."; b) James C. Armstrong and Nigel A Worden "The Slaves, 1652-1834" cited in Elphick and Giliomee, eds., The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840, 143-168.

¹³ Elphick and Giliomee, The Shaping of South African Society, 339.

¹⁴ Richard H. Bartlett, Indian Reserves and Aboriginal Lands in Canada: A Homeland (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre, 1990) 7.

experience of aboriginal extermination.¹⁵

Hostility between European intruders and aboriginal peoples was not the general rule in North America, however. Robert Surtees points out that Donnacona's Iroquois people probably saved Jacques Cartier's party from complete extinction during the winter of 1535-36 by teaching the Frenchmen a cure for scurvy.¹⁶ They also taught the Europeans how to hunt, to travel, to farm, and generally how to survive in the harsh Canadian environment. Later the indigenous peoples themselves were to succumb to the unfamiliar diseases introduced by the Europeans to their continent.

The French explorers and traders in their first encounters with indigenous inhabitants of North America called them "les sauvages" and the Indians, in turn, looked with disdain on these overdressed white strangers, who knew nothing about survival in the long harsh northern winters.¹⁷ Contrary to the unmitigated denigration of Africans by Europeans, the contemporary view of North American Indians revealed a reluctant admiration. Epithets such as "noble savage" and "bronzed stalwart" countered the more negative imagery of Indians as "cruel, treacherous and blood-thirsty."¹⁸ Canadian native historian L.F.S. Upton claims that climatic factors influenced the more positive, even romantic, attitude of Europeans towards North American Indians over the "languid natives of the tropics who had only to reach out an arm to pluck food provided by an overabundant

¹⁵ Ibid., 8.

¹⁶ Robert J. Surtees, The Original People (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Limited, 1971) ix.

¹⁷ The Europeans saw themselves as apostles of civilization, bringing light to the darkness of ignorance and savagery of the North American and African continents. See George F.G. Stanley, "As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: An Historical Comment," in Ian A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier, eds., As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1983) 2.

¹⁸ James W. St. G. Walker, "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing, 1972-1982" in Ian A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier, eds., As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983) 495.

nature." By contrast, the isolation of the Indian and the harsh conditioning of the hunting life dictated his perceived virtues of bravery and independence.¹⁹

Historians in the early twentieth century portrayed the encounters between European and Indian as the conflict between "civilized" and "primitive" worlds but recent scholarship shows that mutual interests lay behind many of the alliances that were formed resulting in the development of interdependence (both military and economic) through the years of fur-trading, wars and social upheaval which followed.²⁰ In recognition of the links which had been forged between France and certain Indian tribes and nations, the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which formalized the British take-over of New France in 1760 ensured the protection of "Indians and lands reserved for Indians" from any form of interference or alienation. The Royal Proclamation designated the area outside the colony of Quebec and the Hudson's Bay Company territory to be the exclusive "hunting grounds" of indigenous tribes.²¹ Responsibility for Canada's indigenous peoples passed from the British imperial government to the "provinces" (colonies) in 1860, and then to the federal government of the new Dominion of Canada in 1867. The provisions of the 1763 Proclamation assuring Crown protection for Indian lands were re-stated in the British North America (BNA) Act of 1867.²² The special rights which were to set indigenous people

¹⁹ L.F.S. Upton, "The Origins of Canadian Indian Policy," Journal of Canadian Studies 8 (4) November 1973, 52.

²⁰ a) See J.R. Miller Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989); b) Jeanne Guillemin, "The Politics of National Integration: A Comparison of United States and Canadian Indian Administrations," Social Problems 25 (3) 1978, 320: "This is not to say the result of European intrusion - epidemics, diseases and increased warfare - were not felt in New France. But there was no concerted military action on the part of the French to displace or destroy Indians. The westward expansion of the fur trade in fact relied on the cooperation of woodland tribes."

²¹ Guillemin, "The Politics of National Integration," 320.

²² An important note, relevant to current land claims, is that the Royal Proclamation recognized aboriginal rights to land, it did not create them. See Nin.Da.Waab.Jig, Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory (Walpole Island, Ontario, Canada, 1987) 15.

apart from the rest of the Canadian population derive from the BNA Act (Section 91 (24)) and a series of Indian acts (beginning with the Indian Act of 1869) and also from treaties entered into with certain Indian tribes and bands of which more will be said later.

The history of the Iroquois, or the Six Nations Confederacy illustrates the nature of early British-Indian alliances.²³ As Ronald Wright explains it, the basic strategy of the Iroquois was to play the foreign powers against each other, extract the maximum in trade goods and arms, yield the minimum territory and keep the encroachers at bay as long as possible.²⁴ Heavily outnumbered by the indigenous peoples, at constant war with France and vulnerable to the hostile and unfamiliar terrain and climate of North America, the British were forced to learn the intricacies of making and presenting wampum and other symbolic gifts, reciprocity being the key to all discourse. A number of factors conspired against the proud and independent Iroquois - disease and war took their toll and, by the time of Confederation the original territories granted to the Mohawk Nation and other Six Nations loyalists in the American War of Independence were reduced to about fifteen scattered islands in a rising tide of white settlers.²⁵

Robin Winks in his seminal work on race prejudice in Canada comments that when slavery was introduced in New France in the early 17th century, slaves were not only imported from Africa but were also taken from local Indian populations.²⁶ Research conducted by Marcel Trudel reveals that of the 3,604 separate slaves in New France in 1759, only 1,132 were Negroes, the rest were Indians, or "panis" (so named because most

²³ Wright, Stolen Continents, 126.

²⁴ Wright, 126.

²⁵ Ibid., 314: The largest of these was the Grand River tract granted to Joseph Brant and his followers in what is now Southern Ontario. These loyalist reserves provided strategic protection to the British as Indian buffer states at either end of Lake Ontario. Neither the government nor the Iroquois agreed on the actual extent of these reserve lands and Brant insisted all along that sovereignty lay with the Six Nations, "a free people subject to no power on earth."

²⁶ Robin Winks, Blacks in Canada: A History (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1971) 17 & 18.

were either Pawnee or from closely related tribes). In fact, the term "panis" became a synonym for slave and was occasionally applied to Negro slaves as well.²⁷

In contrast to the Cape of Good Hope, where slaves were imported to perform menial labour, J.R. Miller argues that Indian slaves in Canada served more as status symbols than labour force. The fact that the colony was not an agricultural settlement with heavy labour requirements, as well as the "independence and pride" of the Indians, meant that there was neither the need nor the availability of an indigenous slave labour force.²⁸ Moreover, slave status in New France was not thought to be inherent but a "temporary condition arising from the accident of events" while in British colonies, including the Cape of Good Hope, "the presumption of the law was in favour of slavery as the Negro's natural condition."²⁹

Unlike the Cape, where the first "Immorality Act," curtailing sexual liaison across the colour line came in 1685³⁰, the racial taboos of a later era were not present in 17th and 18th century New France. Europeans saw themselves as "Christians" and indigenous peoples as "heathens."³¹ Intermarriage between French settlers and indigenous peoples as

²⁷ Ibid., 10. Winks makes an interesting observation about the differences between Indian and Negro slaves in terms of lifespan (neither lived very long) and susceptibility to disease. The average age at death for "panis" was 17.7 years, for Negroes it was 25.2 years. In 1733 fifty-eight Indians died in a smallpox epidemic while only two Negroes succumbed to the disease; in 1755 and 1757 the death toll ratios were similar. While few Negro slaves died of smallpox, Winks goes on to note, many must have borne the pox marks since this was specially noted as a quality of aesthetics in the sale of slaves for domestic service.

²⁸ Miller, *Skyscrapers*, 45: "Indians were especially coveted as slaves by French merchants and administrators in the towns precisely because slaves had almost no economic value in New France."

²⁹ Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 12.

³⁰ Eric Walker, *A History of South Africa*, 3rd ed., (London: Longmans, 1962) 72. Under this Act marriage between whites and full-blooded blacks was forbidden, although marriage between whites and half-castes was still allowed.

³¹ Donald G. Baker, "Color, Culture and Power: Indian-White Relations in Canada and America," *The Canadian Review of American Studies*, III (1) Spring 1972, 6. "Christian" was used as a synonym for "white" in the 17th century, and "savage" or "heathen" for Amerindians.

well as "panis" was not infrequent and often received the sanction of the Church.³² Unlike the British in the Cape, however, the French pursued a deliberate policy of assimilation - the purpose being to cement alliances but also to create "one nation" by transforming Indians into "Frenchmen."³³

According to historian David McNab, assimilation policies varied in different parts of North America: on the two coasts the policy was to "insulate" the Indians from European settlers until they were "ready for assimilation;" in Central Canada and the northwest, the goal was to "amalgamate" the Indians quickly through education and assimilation. In the Atlantic region, Indian-white relations went through all these phases until a concerted attempt was made to assimilate the native population.³⁴

It was only in Canada's fur-trading country in the northwest that a "new nation" emerged which had its counterparts in the frontier community of "Bastaards" or Griquas of South Africa.³⁵ Many French Canadian and British fur-traders (the latter servants of The Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay) took Indian wives (albeit without the sanction of the church but "à la façon du pays") in much the same way as the servants of the Dutch East India Company and early Cape burghers formed both formal

³² Winks, Blacks in Canada, 11. The majority of slave children were born out of wedlock. As Winks notes, "père inconnu" in the registers must have included white men as well as black since "French settlers especially were attracted to Indian women, and 75.9 percent of all "panis" children were "bastards", while only 32.1 percent of Negro children were born out of wedlock."

³³ Olive Patricia Dickason, Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992) 168.

³⁴ David T. McNab, "Herman Merrivale and Colonial Office Indian Policy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" in Ian A.L. Getty, and Antoine S. Lussier, eds., As Long as the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983) 85-103.

³⁵ Elphick & Giliomee, The Shaping of South African Society, 363: "To say that the Griqua people were not 'white' is at least partially anachronistic in reference to the eighteenth century: the economic and political conditions in which racial categories became established did not as yet firmly exist."

and informal unions with Khoisan and slave women.³⁶ However, while parallels exist between the development of métissage, the "ultimate uniqueness" of the two situations becomes evident on closer examination of the distinctive histories of the "Coloured" people of South Africa and the Métis nation.³⁷

Key figures in these early years of social and cultural interaction on the North American and Southern African continents were the missionaries. The notion of the civilizing mission of western peoples - popularized as "the white man's burden" in the writings of the Victorian poet Rudyard Kipling - had been enthusiastically adopted by Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries in Europe since explorations of the "New World" first began. In North America, the French and then the British found missionaries invaluable in bringing the indigenous peoples under their control. Until well into the twentieth century, Christian missionaries in Canada were of primary significance as agents of European acculturation. The two best-known missionaries of this period, who were both effective agents of acculturation were Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby or "Sacred Feathers," 1802-1856) a Mississauga-Welsh Métis who became a Methodist missionary and William Duncan (1832-1918) an Anglican school-master acting under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society and founder of the Tsimshian village of Metlakatla.³⁸

³⁶ a) While this early mingling of the indigenous and settler populations may indicate a certain openness to the other's culture, this was not necessarily the case. In their important studies on women and the fur-trade, Sylvia van Kirk and Jennifer Brown argue that, while native women gained important advantages through their liaisons with white fur-traders, racism was an integral part of their experience. See Sylvia Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties" Women in Fur-trade Society, 1670-1870 (1980) and Jennifer Brown, Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country (1980); b) For a history of the Griquas see Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 138-148 and Elphick and Giliomee, The Shaping of South African Society, 345-409. According to Davenport, the "Bastaards" emerged as a distinct people by the first half of the 18th century. Consisting of the offspring of marriages or illicit unions, generally between whites and Khoikhoi, their role on the frontier was to assist white farmers to drive out Khoisan in return for arms and ammunition and, in turn, to help their Khoisan kinsmen to resist white encroachment on their hunting grounds.

³⁷ Alvin Kienetz, "The Rise and Decline of Hybrid (Métis) Societies on the Frontier of Western Canada and Southern Africa," The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, 3 (1) 1983, 4.

³⁸ See Dickason, Canada's First Nations, 235-237 and 244-246.

Although the first missionaries to arrive at the Cape in the late eighteenth century were expected to bolster the authority of the government, they tended to do just the reverse. As the "unflinching champions" of slaves and indigenous peoples, Johannes Van der Kemp and his successor John Philip of the London Missionary Society soon fell foul of the Cape authorities and aroused deep animosity in the white farmers (particularly the Boers).³⁹

Missionaries played a dual role in the lives of indigenous people in both Canada and South Africa. While they were perceived, and indeed frequently were, the agents of the white governments, indigenous peoples used them to serve their own purposes as well.⁴⁰ In their detailed studies on African history, Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson attribute wide-sweeping influences to the early mission stations which were not only a place of refuge but also the nuclei of new social and political structures uniting Khoikhoi, San and Bantu-speaking peoples in ways which would possibly not have occurred otherwise.⁴¹ At the same time, new cleavages between formerly cohesive communities were established as a result of the new religious teachings and the emphasis on education often contributed to the strategy of successive white governments to "divide and rule" the African majority.⁴²

³⁹ Horton Davies, ed., "Some South African Missionary Institutions." Unpublished manuscript of essays by theological students at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa, August 1954: "The missionaries of the London Society were disliked [by the Boers] and held in contempt until the death of Dr. John Philip. The Boers claimed that the missionaries enticed their servants away in order to lead idle lives at the settlement; they resented the Hottentots being better educated than themselves and regarded the employees of the Society as the emissaries of a foreign hostile power."

⁴⁰ Colin Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry, (London: Heinemann, 1979) 42: "Co-operation with a missionary might assist in coming to terms with external powers such as the British government, Boer republics, or rival kingdoms. Entire communities or clans that were clients, refugees, or in other ways subordinated in the existing political structure, would attach themselves to missionaries (the Mfengu, Thembu and Baralong all did this)."

⁴¹ Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, eds., The Oxford History of South Africa (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971) 72-75.

⁴² Ibid., 75: "The depth of the cleavage between "school" [those who promoted education] and "red" [the traditionalists who covered their bodies with red ochre] in Pondoland in 1931 was reflected in verbal usage: neither group referred to an individual of the other group by the intimate term 'a person'

2) The Nineteenth Century

The key factor in the relationship between indigenous peoples and white intruders in both Canada and South Africa was the issue of land. Land was a precious commodity in both countries partly because only a small percentage of it was arable or suitable for settlement and partly because indigenous peoples were reluctant to relinquish their control of it. While neither North American native peoples nor Africans had territorially-based notions of nationhood, and moved freely from region to region as the sustenance and well-being of their people required, land for them had symbolic as well as practical value.⁴³

According to African tradition, everyone had a right to land and it "belonged" to the community through the chief. These words of Chief Sekwati of the Pedi polity reflect the African notion of land-ownership: "if I bartered one of my children then I would no longer be his master; if I bartered my land then I would no longer be master of my own people."⁴⁴ Peter Delius makes the point that when peace treaties were agreed upon by tribal leaders they were invariably understood by them to give usufructuary rights only to the settlers. In exchange, the chiefs hoped to gain welcome allies against external threats and at the same

(umntu) but specifically as 'a red' or 'a convert', in the same way as someone of another race was a 'white' rather than 'a person': however, in the following thirty years the cleavage diminished in many districts. By 1966 some leading Christian women in the Ciskei were wearing 'red' dress on festive occasions as an assertion of 'national' identity."

⁴³ It is interesting to note the lack of comprehension of African values exhibited by South African historians. Writing in 1963, William Macmillan writes: "...they habitually settled in one spot for five to seven years; then, even if the ground was not exhausted, their huts needed to be renewed for hygienic reasons and they moved slowly on...picking out the eyes of the country in their no doubt highly wasteful progress." He goes on to account for their understanding of land ownership: "The Bantu were tribally rather than territorially organized, and so long as land was plentiful their ideas of boundaries were as vague and rudimentary as their notions of land ownership." see Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 26.

⁴⁴ Peter Delius, The Land Belongs to Us (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983) xi.

time entrench their own authority over their people.⁴⁵ But what the Boers were asking for was not merely the use (usufructuary rights) but actual land ownership, a concept inconceivable to the African.⁴⁶

While the similarities between North American Indian and African notions of land ownership are striking, the methods of dispossession used by the British colonial powers on each continent varied considerably. With the exception of British Columbia, which refused to recognize aboriginal title to lands even after it entered Confederation in 1871, and Quebec, native people were induced to surrender title to their lands under various treaties as immigrant settlement expanded across the Prairies to the Pacific coast. In Atlantic Canada, where treaties did not involve land surrender, dispossession took a different form. With the disappearance of the bison, the major source of livelihood for western tribes, the only hope of survival for the Indians was to enter into treaties. As an Indian Affairs official accurately observed in 1946, "While these treaties or agreements were bilateral in form, actually, of course, the Indians had to accept the conditions offered or lose their interest in the lands anyway."⁴⁷ The exchange of land for promised hunting and fishing rights, annuities, education, health services and agricultural implements and training would never compensate them for what they gave up: their traditional means of subsistence and their independence.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Ibid., 32. Enormous dislocations of African peoples took place in the early decades of the 19th century and detribalized refugees were quickly absorbed into the evolving polities. Delius argues that when peace treaties (vredens tractaat) were signed with the Trekboers it is likely the African chiefs regarded the Trekkers in similar standing with other refugee groups who wanted to settle in their area of hegemony.

⁴⁶ Donald Moerdijk, Anti-Development: South Africa and its Bantustans (Paris: The Unesco Press, 1981) 21.

⁴⁷ T.R.L. MacInnes, "History of Indian Administration in Canada," a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association in Toronto, May 24, 1946.

⁴⁸ See John L. Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885," in J.R. Miller, ed., Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) 212-242.

In the late 19th century, when the fear of American invasion of Canada had subsided and the combined effects of smallpox, starvation and landlessness had decimated the aboriginal population to the point where they were regarded as a "vanishing race," the government looked for ways to eliminate the "Indian problem" through a policy of assimilation.⁴⁹ The official Indian policy, as stated by Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald in 1880 was "...to wean [the indigenous peoples] by slow degrees, from their nomadic habits, which have become an instinct, and by slow degrees absorb them or settle them on the land. Meantime they must be fairly protected."⁵⁰ The "protection" that First Nations were to receive related only partly to the "Indian lands" referred to in the Royal Proclamation (which in itself was a "two-edged sword" because it allowed the Crown the ability to obtain full control of aboriginal lands⁵¹), but also to the "corrupting influences" of white society. In the view of the policy-makers, Indians had to be segregated in order to be "raised" to the moral and intellectual level of the dominant European society.⁵² Church-run residential schools, shrinking reserve territory (which had become no more than holding camps for a doomed race), prohibition of religious and cultural activities such as the Sun Dance and Potlatch, compulsory enfranchisement and the destruction of aboriginal political and social structures were preparatory steps towards the long-term objective of

⁴⁹ Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, The 'Nations Within' Aboriginal-State Relations in Canada, the United States and New Zealand (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992) 10.

⁵⁰ John Leslie and Ron Maguire, "The Historical Development of the Indian Act," 2nd edition, (Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979) 191.

⁵¹ Nin.Da.Waab.Jig, Walpole Island, 15: "The Proclamation did have a double edge... While providing protection to Indian lands, it also provided a mechanism whereby lands might be alienated. This could only be done by the Crown at an assembly of the Indians called for that purpose... Indian people today say that they have lost a great deal of land through the application of that same mechanism. It also created a Crown monopoly of Indian land and thus depressed values."

⁵² See John Leslie and Ron Maguire, The Historical Development of the Indian Act, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2nd edition, 1978, chapters two and three; See also Joan Boswell, "'Civilizing' the Indian: Government Administration of Indian Affairs, 1876-1896" (Ph.D. diss., University of Ottawa, 1978).

"assimilation."⁵³

The history of land dispossession by the British Colonies and Boer republics of Southern Africa followed an entirely different pattern. A series of wars, annexations and treaties throughout the 19th century eroded the land bases and powers of resistance of the indigenous nations.⁵⁴ The situation was complicated by the presence of two adversarial "white" peoples vying for control of the land in addition to competing African nations. Wars of conquest were still being fought when new considerations attracted imperial attention: the unearthing of diamonds (in Griqualand West in 1867) and gold (on the Witwatersrand in 1886). The need for cheap African labour grew with the rapid industrialization which followed the consequent influx of capital and entrepreneurship. The total dispossession of aboriginal lands was halted by the increased need for labour; black settlements or reserves were essential to preserve African societal structures, even if temporarily, and to provide the necessary conditions for black migratory labour.

Colin Bundy, in his pioneering examination of African peasantry between 1890 and World War One argues that a critical factor in the development of land policies in South Africa was the success of African farmers at the turn of the century before they were forced onto the inadequate and desert-like reserves. Not only did African farmers offer unwelcome competition to their Afrikaner counterparts but, when their own farms were producing well, there was little incentive for Africans to sell their labour to white farmers.⁵⁵ The Natives Land Act of 1913 put an abrupt end to this period of relative prosperity by

⁵³ Wright, Stolen Continents, 316.

⁵⁴ T. Keegan, "White Settlement and Black Subjugation on the South African Highveld: The Tlokoa Heartland in the North Eastern Orange Free State, ca. 1850-1914," in William Beinart, Peter Delius & Stanley Trapido, eds., Putting the Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa, 1850-1930 (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986) 218.

⁵⁵ Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry, 210: Fears were expressed that the black farmer with his "small wants and thrifty habits" would gradually oust unsuccessful white farmers who would be forced to sell to blacks in order to receive a better price for their land.

prohibiting Africans from purchasing land, working, or even entering non-reserve, or "white" areas.⁵⁶

Unlike Canada, where land acquisition and the establishment of reserves was directed towards the ultimate assimilation of indigenous peoples, the official policy of the liberal Cape Colony was to "protect" and "civilize" the Africans in order to mould them into an accessible and submissive labour force. The imposition of coercive laws and a "hut tax" were designed to draw out a greater supply of labour.⁵⁷ According to South African historian T.R.H. Davenport, under Rhodes' Glen Grey Act of 1894, the Transkei (annexed to the Cape in 1885) became a "labour pool for Colonial needs."⁵⁸ When Britain annexed the Boer republic of Natal in 1843, ostensibly to "protect" the indigenous population from the excesses of Boer administration, labour was the primary motivation. Although never fully implemented, the policy of Britain's Diplomatic Agent in Natal, Theophilus Shepstone⁵⁹ set out to dismantle the Zulu military structure and transform its thirty thousand warriors into "labourers working for wages."⁶⁰ Shepstone's policy is claimed by

⁵⁶ Davenport, A Modern History, 259: "The Land Act imposed a policy of territorial segregation with a very heavy hand. It aimed specifically to get rid of those factors of African land ownership and share-cropping which white farmers found undesirable, and at the same time to increase the size of the African reserves for the more convenient recruiting of labour for the mines."

⁵⁷ Roger Southall, South Africa's Transkei: The Political Economy of an 'Independent' Bantustan (London: Heinemann, 1982) 71: "The levying of a hut tax of ten shillings per annum obligated each adult male to find a cash income, and the typical Mpondo response was to try to do this through the sale of their crops or cattle rather than their labour (although increasing numbers of them were forced by circumstances into wage employment after 1900)." See also Barbara Rogers, Divide and Rule: South Africa's Bantustans (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1980) 6.

⁵⁸ Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History 141.

⁵⁹ Sir Theophilus Shepstone was made Agent for Native Affairs after the creation of British Natal and served on the Executive Council of the Natal Native Land Commission. See Mark R. Lipschultz and R. Kent Rasmussen, Dictionary of African Historical Biography, Second edition, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) 216.

⁶⁰ Mzala, Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1988) 27 & 31: "Shepstone laid the foundations [in the 1840s] for the role of the chiefs in the present-day bantustan policy... Those chiefs who refused to co-operate with Shepstone's administrative hierarchy were simply deposed and new ones appointed from the same tribe... In a very short space of time, Shepstone

historian David Welsh as the "precursor" of the later policy of racial segregation known as "apartheid" or "separate development."⁶¹

The story of conquest and subjugation was repeated in the Boer republics where land dispossession and labour were once again intertwined. Having abandoned their isolated and precarious existence as farmers in the Cape hinterland in the 1830s, the Boers trekked into the interior intent on establishing their own independent state.⁶² The strategy the Boers used against the armies of indigenous African tribes with whom they came into contact was to circle their ox-wagons into laagers; with their superior fighting-power of guns over spears and assegais, victory was assured. To satisfy their insatiable appetite for cheap labour, the Boers exacted tribute in the form of children (as well as ivory and cattle) as war booty and kidnapped African women and children to work on white farms. The infamous practice of apprenticing African children (called "inboeksellings") ensured a captive source of cheap labour without relinquishing white control of the land or the means of production.⁶³ A system of feudalism known as "kaffir-farming" was also established. Under this system, dispossessed Africans farmed the land taken over by Afrikaners, using their own seeds and farming implements, and shared the profits of their labour with their white "masters."⁶⁴

Having defeated the Zulus in the Battle of Blood River, the first Boer republic was

created a whole machinery of native authority working under the framework of European control, with himself as 'paramount chief.'"

⁶¹ David Welsh, The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Natal (1845-1910) (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971) i.

⁶² The reasons for the "Great Trek" have traditionally been ascribed to frustration at the liberal attitudes of British colonial authorities in the Cape Colony and what the Boers believed to be inadequate compensation after the abolition of slavery in 1833.

⁶³ Delius, 39.

⁶⁴ Ngubane, An African Explains Apartheid, 34. This labour-tenant relationship was referred to as "kaffir-farming" and was prevalent until the Natives Land Act of 1913 outlawed the practice.

established in Natal in 1838.⁶⁵ When the British troops followed the Boers into Natal in 1842, the trek continued across the Vaal and Orange Rivers into African territory. The founding of the Zuid Afrikaansche Republic (later the Transvaal) in 1852 and the Orange Free State two years later marked the zenith of the Trekboer's victory over the indigenous African nations. Citizenship and land ownership in both republics was restricted to whites and, according to the ZAR constitution, there was to be "no equality in church or state."⁶⁶ The bitter-almond hedge had once again been erected around a "pure white" enclave, but again the ambiguity of black labour intervened. As South African historian William Macmillan suggests, perhaps the aim of the trekkers was "a foggily conceived plan of segregation."⁶⁷ Africans were driven back and allowed to live on pockets of land which Boers could not, or would not, occupy. Only in the malaria-infested Zoutpansburg area of the trans-Vaal lowveld were Africans left in peace and their tribal institutions virtually undisturbed - much like the inhospitable northern territories of Canada where Inuit peoples were ignored for many years.

Although Britain recognized the sovereignty of the Transvaal and Orange Free State republics over African lands under the Conventions of 1852 and 1854, the wealth-producing diamond and gold mines rekindled Britain's interest in the Boer republics. Under the Pretoria Convention of 1881, a Native Location Commission was authorised to set aside African reserves. By 1903, 1,356,800 acres had been reserved and another 545,920

⁶⁵ Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 16: "[The Boer's] power was all the more effective because of a cataclysmic event known as the Difikane (in Zulu) or Mfecane (a Xhosa term meaning "to be weak, emaciated from hunger).

⁶⁶ E.S. Sachs, The Anatomy of Apartheid (London: Collot's (Publishers) Ltd, 1965) 39-40: "In the Orange Free State natives were prohibited by law from owning or leasing land and unauthorized squatting was forbidden. In other words the whole state was regarded as an exclusive European area, although grants of land were made to individual coloured persons or Africans as rewards for assistance."

⁶⁷ Macmillan, Bantu, Boer and Briton, 360.

acres had been purchased by tribal subscription.⁶⁸ In 1909, when the colonies were united under the South Africa Act, control and administration of native affairs and reserve lands were vested in the Governor General in Council. Reserve lands could not be alienated except by Act of Parliament. The Natives Land Act of 1913 not only formally reserved the lands which had been set apart but also barred Africans from purchasing land outside "scheduled Native areas." In 1936 provision was made for additional lands to be reserved and the Natives' Trust and Land Act (1936) established a trust to administer all reserve lands.⁶⁹

3) The Twentieth Century

The decline, or rather the transformation, of the British Empire after the Boer War (1899-1902) had a direct impact on the colonial nations. In Britain there was a new push for "closer union" both within the regions and as members of the empire. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as the first French-Canadian Prime Minister of Canada had unity within Canada as his highest priority.⁷⁰ Even among Anglo-Canadians there was a certain restlessness and evolution away from the centre and the concept of "mother country." Joseph Flavelle, the Canadian imperialist expresses this idea succinctly:

"Running through all your public men's ideas about the Colonies is the feeling that we are children, and as the father speaks for the child in England, and restricts and keeps him in his place, and does not seriously consider his views upon any

⁶⁸ Bartlett, Indian Reserves, 7.

⁶⁹ Sachs, The Anatomy of Apartheid, 42: From a total land area of 472,000 sq miles, 35,000 sq miles (7.3%) was declared scheduled "Native Areas" and reserved for Africans who made up 67.3% of total population.

⁷⁰ John Eddy and Deryck Schreuder, eds., The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa first assert their nationalities, 1880-1914 (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988) 195.

question, so your public men have treated your Colonies..."⁷¹

The irony of this statement in the light of the new nations' treatment of their indigenous peoples is obviously lost on Flavelle and his contemporaries. Unlike South Africa, where the political aspirations of the African majority were a vital factor to the leaders of the future Union, aboriginal self-government was of little concern to Canada's political leaders.

Travelling through all four British Dominions (Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand) in the early twentieth century, Richard Jebb, a British imperialist, wrote in 1905: "New nations are bursting the colonial chrysalis."⁷² Struck by the vitality of these new societies as they branched out from the "old country" with new cultures and identities, Richard Jebb noted with concern the development of what he called the "tribal nationalisms" of French Canadians and Boers. As enemies of the imperial ideal, the Boer War was in many ways a war against this form of "tribalism." The union of Boer and British colonies in 1910 was thus seen as a triumph for the imperialist cause. Jan Christian Smuts, who played an essential role in uniting the two "white tribes" of South Africa (by excluding the African majority) was dubbed by Jebb as the "Laurier of the Highveld."⁷³

One of the few comparative studies done on the new societies which emerged from the hey-day of British imperialism take Jebb's tours and writings as a point of departure. In The Rise of Colonial Nationalism, John Eddy and Deryck Schreuder bring important light to bear on the parallels, but, more importantly, on the differences between Canadian and South African societies at a critical stage in their development. While nativistic tendencies were clearly evident in early Canadian history, Eddy and Schreuder argue that

⁷¹ Ibid., 47.

⁷² Ibid., 1.

⁷³ Ibid., 196. The authors note that this was Jebb's view "with hindsight" expressed in writings in the 1920s; the notes of his visit to South Africa in 1906 reflect a slightly less glowing view of Smuts.

South Africa was an extreme case.⁷⁴ Colonial nationalism did not produce carbon copies based on one formula nor were Canada and South Africa clones of European development.⁷⁵ One of the first weaknesses to appear in the imperial chain was created first by the Boer War and then by the Great War when the Anglo-Saxon groups in both South Africa and Canada had difficulty convincing the "other" white group to participate. While French-Canadian nationalism was not to emerge as a political force until well into the century, Afrikaner nationalism had just been through its baptism of fire in the Boer War and was a new force to be reckoned with. When the Boers (the descendants of Dutch, German and French Huguenots) shook the dust of British "liberalism" and imperialism from their feet in 1836, they not only carved out territorial "homelands" for themselves but they also forged a new national identity, developing their own language⁷⁶, culture and history. After the Boer War it looked as if Afrikaner nationalism was over; the people were divided and economically crushed. But the excesses of the British (the concentration camps for Boer women and children, the burning of farms, the anglicising policy after the war) infused new life into the beleaguered Boers and enhanced their sense of national consciousness.⁷⁷ By 1914 and the call to participate in the imperial war effort, the Afrikaner were prepared to assert their anti-British, fiercely race-conscious views.⁷⁸

Initially the mythology of the Afrikaner nation had a strong neo-Calvinist element.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 5: "The later history of Australia and South Africa, for example, says much for the very different ways in which a colonial nationalism may attempt to work out its future and destiny."

⁷⁶ The Afrikaans language is derived from the lingua franca which emerged from the slave era, when slaves from Angola, Dahomey, Madagascar, various Indonesian islands, India, and the east African coast found a way to communicate with each other and with their Dutch and English masters. See Elphick and Giliomee, The Shaping of South African Society, 121.

⁷⁷ Leonard Thompson, The Political Mythology of Apartheid (New Haven & New York: Yale University Press, 1985) 33.

⁷⁸ Eddy and Schreuder, The Rise of Colonial Nationalism, 220.

Afrikaners saw themselves a Chosen People with a God-given destiny to rule over the dark races. This neo-Calvinism was crucial throughout the mobilizing phase of the mythology. It declined, but by no means disappeared during the second half of the twentieth century as Afrikaners left their farms and became more urban, secular people. Once British imperialism became less of a threat to Afrikaner autonomy, and African resistance grew, the racial element surpassed the religious fanaticism which characterized its earlier history. The tenacious racism of Afrikaner nationalism played a central role in directing the course of South Africa's Native policies until well into the twentieth century. White supremacy, which was the hallmark of the British Dominions until the First World War was not only intensified in South Africa, but gained new impetus as it fell under the influence of the Nazi movement which dominated Germany in the 1930s.⁷⁹

4) The Post-War Period (1945-1960)

Before the Second World War, Afrikaner intellectuals returning home with doctoral degrees from German universities, produced pamphlets, tracts and articles glorifying Nazi ideals which had a profound effect on their readers. Notions of racial "purity" became a central theme of Afrikaner discourse: "The preservation of the pure race tradition of the "Boerevolk" must be protected at all costs in all possible ways as a holy pledge entrusted to us by our ancestors, as part of God's plan with our People."⁸⁰ Apartheid found an early

⁷⁹ The nazification of the Nationalist Party began in the 1930s with the rise of Nazism in Germany. The man largely responsible for the introduction of Nazi methods and doctrines was Oswald Pirow, minister in successive Union governments between 1924 and 1939. Ruthless, ambitious, and of German descent himself, Pirow made several pilgrimages to Europe to meet the fascist dictators. The Nationalist Party split when war was declared - Pirow setting up his own organization, the "New Order." Many Nationalist leaders including Dr Verwoerd, Dr N.J. Diedricks and Eric Louw supported Hitler and were interned in South Africa for the duration of the war. See Sachs, The Anatomy of South Africa, 227-228; See also Brian Bunting, The Rise of the South African Reich (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1986) 56.

⁸⁰ G. Eloff, Rasse en Rasseevermenging (Races and race mixing). A Pamphlet cited in Thompson, The Political Mythology of Apartheid, 41. Thompson also cites a pamphlet by J. Albert Coetzee expressing similar views: "The history of South Africa is really the history of the origin of a new nation

definition in G. Cronje's "solution of South Africa's racial question":

"The more consistently the policy of apartheid could be applied, the greater would be the security for the purity of our blood and the surer our unadulterated European racial survival...total racial separation...is the most consistent application of the Afrikaner idea of racial apartheid."⁸¹

When the Afrikaner National Party gained control of the state machinery in 1948 on the platform of apartheid, the era of white hegemony was drawing to a close in the rest of the world. Segregation was on the decline in the United States, colonization was drawing to a close in Africa and Asia and within the Union itself the indigenuous people were not only resisting white oppression but challenging the very legitimacy of the white regime.⁸² To make their racist dogma more palatable to the outside world, apartheid was presented as not only self-determination for white South Africa but for other "nations" within its borders. "This is our policy of separate development." Prime Minister Verwoerd said in a speech in London in 1961, "South Africa will proceed in all honesty and fairness to secure peace, prosperity and justice for all, by means of political independence coupled with economic interdependence."⁸³

In the chapters to follow we will see how successive Nationalist administrations were to give effect to this ideal of grand apartheid and the promises of "peace, prosperity

- of how, from different European nations, groups, and individuals it was separated, cut off, differentiated and specialized to form a new "volks-groep", with its own calling and destiny, with its own tradition, with its own soul and with its own body."

⁸¹ Ibid., 43 & 44.

⁸² Ibid., 30

⁸³ Ibid., 45: Thompson also cites a speech given in London in May 1961 by H.F. Verwoerd, [Minister of Native Affairs (1950-1958) and Prime Minister (1958-1966)]: "We do not seek and fight for a solution which will mean our survival as a white race, but we seek a solution which will ensure survival and full development - political and economic - to each of the other racial groups, and we are even prepared to pay a high price out of our earnings to ensure their future... we want each of our population groups to control and to govern themselves, as is the case with other nations. Then they can cooperate as in a Commonwealth - in an economic association with the Republic and with each other. In the transition stage the guardian must teach and guide his ward."

and justice" for the vast majority of the population as Dr. Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid promised. The Afrikaner national mythology has been propagated through religious, educational and communications networks. Key to this structure was the Afrikaner Broederbond, founded in 1918, a secret organization which solidified and inspired the ideal of national "purity" and the economic and political hegemony of the Afrikaner volk.⁸⁴

In Canada, on the other hand, there was a strong movement towards desegregation in Indian policy after 1949. As long as aboriginal peoples were mired under the discriminatory and paternalistic provisions of the Indian Act, it was argued, they would remain economically marginalized. The revision to the Indian Act in 1951, preceded by an inquiry conducted by a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons between 1946 and 1948, were indicative of the significant change in approach reflecting post-war sensitivities and objectives. The spiralling costs of maintaining separate structures and special programs was a contributing factor to this move to abolish restrictive laws and draw indigenous peoples into the mainstream society, economically and socially.⁸⁵

Apart from internal pressure from war veterans (who had fought side-by-side with First Nations soldiers in the war) and others influenced by the focus of the "free world" on democracy and human rights, there were a number of external factors which contributed to the parting of the ways from South Africa.⁸⁶ During the war, Canada had come under

⁸⁴ J.H.P. Serfontein, Brotherhood of Power: An Expose of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1986) 11: "The all-male Afrikaner Broederbond is a secret organization unique in today's world. In the Western democracies to which the Afrikaner regards himself as inseparably bound, there can surely be no comparable body."

⁸⁵ Fleras and Elliott, The 'Nations Within', 43.

⁸⁶ It is noteworthy that Africans were also recruited in the Second World War, but not in a combatant capacity. According to a Sunday Times report quoted in the Report of C.J. Burchell, High Commissioner for Canada and the United States to the Secretary of State for External Affairs in Ottawa, 4 July 1945: "An impressive number of African soldiers won awards for bravery... Springboks

attack for her "neglect and mistreatment" of her aboriginal population by Nazi propagandists anxious to discredit her "democratic institutions and governments."⁸⁷ In the Cold War era of the 1950s, considerable attention was given to the problems of indigenous races by international organizations, especially the United Nations and the International Labour Organization who considered the well-being of dependent aboriginal populations to be a matter of concern in promoting economic, social and political stability throughout the world.⁸⁸ In 1952, Canada was invited to become a member of the Committee on Indigenous Labour of the ILO (it had not been invited before the war because it was felt Canada did not have "serious indigenous problems") and was under considerable pressure to demonstrate that her Indian policy was above reproach.⁸⁹ (It is important to note that South Africa, on the other hand, withdrew from the ILO in 1964 when apartheid was unanimously condemned.)⁹⁰

The fact that other governments (particularly the United States and the other

who had experiences of [African soldiers'] gallantry and devotion have developed a healthy new outlook on the nature of the native problem." See RG 10, Volume 6823, File 495-5-1 Pt 1.

⁸⁷ RG 10. Volume 8588 File 1/1-10-4 Pt. 1: Letter from A. MacNamara, Deputy Minister of Labour, 6 May 1950 to Col. Lionel Fortier, Deputy Minister, Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration. "During the late war, Hitler himself and other prominent Nazi members featured the subject in radio addresses from Berlin. The Communists have been following the same tactics and recently considerable publicity was given to a play attended by Stalin which depicted the ...depressed conditions of Indians in North America. One of the particular allegations made against Canada and the United States has been that Indians are denied equal employment and economic opportunities."

⁸⁸ Ibid., Memorandum to Deputy Minister, Department of Citizenship and Immigration on the Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour of the International Labour Organization in Geneva, 15 June 1954.

⁸⁹ Ibid., Response to letter of A. MacNamara, Deputy Minister of Labour from Col. Lionel Fortier, Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, dated 22 May 1950. Fortier goes on to defend Canada's treatment of Indians by referring to "recent studies" which "do not, in general, bear this out, although some discrimination does exist in certain fields of employment." To ensure that "misinformation" about Canada and its treatment of indigenous peoples was replaced by the "other side" of the story, Col. Fortier recommended that Canada accept membership on the ILO Committee on Indigenous Labour.

⁹⁰ Brian Bunting, The Rise of the South African Reich (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1986) 171.

"colonial nations") were also re-examining their relationships with their aboriginal populations influenced the direction Canada was to take over the next decades. The United States, like Canada, adopted assimilation as the stated cornerstone of its Indian policy but it had also managed to accommodate some Indian aspirations by restoring many aspects of Indian self-government and removing restrictions which had seriously hampered Indian economic development.⁹¹ Canada's insistence on integration set her apart from New Zealand which introduced a new policy in the early 1950s allowing the Maori population special representation in Parliament but not complete integration. Referring to the New Zealand model in the Canadian House of Commons, D.F. Brown stated: "We certainly do not want to have any one section of our country stand as a festering sore; rather we want the people to be assimilated so that they will join as one."⁹²

South Africa's deeply segregated and stratified political and social structures were viewed by Canadian politicians and public alike as totally unacceptable. An Ottawa newspaper editorial on the announcement of South Africa's new "apartheid" policy on May 16, 1951 (the day before Canada announced its own amendments to the Indian Act) chastised South Africa for its "victory over the non-Europeans [which] represents a defeat for the Western democracies."⁹³

⁹¹ Willard W. Beatty, "The Goal of Indian Assimilation," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, xii (1946): 399.

⁹² CP House of Commons Debates, 21 June 1950, Vol. iv, p. 3965.

⁹³ The Ottawa Evening Citizen, 16 May 1951.

Conclusion

This wide-sweeping synopsis of the development of European-aboriginal relations in Canada and in South Africa over a span of four hundred years provides essential background to an understanding of the fundamental differences between the conditions of the indigenous peoples of Canada and South Africa. Having started out on similar paths with "race-minded" attitudes and economic interests which over-rode the rights and needs of the original inhabitants of their respective territories, the two countries came to choose very different directions in the decades following World War Two.

Canadians' awareness of the problems arising from South Africa's apartheid policy first became apparent at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conferences in 1960 and 1961. Prior to the 1960s, Canada's position on racism in South Africa was somewhat aloof.⁹⁵ Diefenbaker's hands-off policy on South Africa was supported by the media and when the Canadian Labour Congress submitted a brief calling for South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, Diefenbaker declined. In the spring of 1960 events in South Africa - the massacre of sixty-nine black protesters in the township of Sharpeville - changed Diefenbaker's mind. Canadians were reminded of their own involvement in the incident by press reports that Sabre jets, built in Montreal and sold to the South African government had strafed the fleeing crowds.⁹⁶ During the ensuing year Diefenbaker formally embraced the concept of a multiracial Commonwealth and, reversing his previous stand, was instrumental in South Africa's withdrawal from the association. The pressure exerted by African member states had been critical to South Africa's exclusion and in

⁹⁵ RG 10 Vol. 8588, File 1/1-10-4, Memorandum on Native Reserves from The High Commissioner for Canada, Pretoria, South Africa (Confidential) 21 December 1950.

⁹⁶ Winks, Blacks in Canada, 446.

Africa and Asia Diefenbaker was heralded as "the white champion of the coloured races."⁹⁷

The transformation from colleague to critic did not come about by accident.

Beneath the commonalities in the colonization and formation of Canada and the Republic of South Africa lay fundamental differences in the ideological, political and economical development of these two nation-states. The thesis that Aboriginal-state relations in Canada cannot be equated with South Africa's apartheid system will be argued against the backdrop of these diverging histories, played out on separate continents and on opposite sides of the equator.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 447: Diefenbaker and the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharial Nehru found a way of avoiding direct expulsion by proposing a general resolution condemning racial discrimination in terms that would be unacceptable to South Africa's Prime Minister H.F. Verwoerd, and that nation withdrew its application for continued membership and resigned from the Commonwealth.

Part Two

CHAPTER ONE: RESERVES AS GHETTOS OF DESPAIR

"From Dumping Grounds to Battlefronts"

"A man cannot go with his wife and children and his goods and chattels on to the labour market. He must have a dumping ground. Every rabbit must have a warren where he can live and burrow and breed, and every native must have a warren too." (Sir Godfrey Lagden, South African Native Affairs Commissioner, 1903)¹

On March 3, 1987, South Africa's Ambassador to Canada, Glenn Babb, followed by a crowd of journalists and television camera crews, arrived at the Peguis reserve 150 km north of Winnipeg. He was there as the invited guest of Peguis chief Louis Stevenson. The visit was intended not only to draw attention to the dismal social and economic conditions on Canada's reserves, but to embarrass the Canadian government, and in particular Prime Minister Brian Mulroney who was currently promoting international sanctions against South Africa while denying any parallel between conditions of the black population of South Africa and Canada's indigenous peoples.² The Peguis band's protest action, controversial though it turned out to be, is a typical example of the frequent comparisons

¹ Quoted in John W. Cell, The Highest Form of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 225.

² Maclean's, 16 March 1987, 20. The irony of his visit in terms of turning the tables on international condemnation of his country's racial policies was not lost on Ambassador Babb: "I have issued at least 80 visas to journalists to stare at the entrails of our country," he stated in a press interview, "I wonder if there have ever been as many journalists on an Indian reserve as there are today."

made between Canada's Native policy and South Africa's apartheid system.³ It is also indicative of the transformation of Canadian reserves during the 1970s from dumping grounds for indigenous peoples, stripped of their traditional lands and livelihoods, to battlefronts in the struggle for aboriginal rights and self-government.

In addressing the question: "Is this apartheid?" this chapter will focus on the factors which lay behind socio-economic conditions of reserves in Canada and South Africa between 1960 and 1982. Poverty on reserves in Canada and South Africa was the result of fundamentally different policies. Unlike Canada, where welfare dependency and paternalism created ghettos of despair, South Africa's reserves were designed as both dumping grounds for "surplus Africans" not required by white industry and "breeding grounds" for a cheap labour force essential to the South African economy.

The socio-economic conditions on reserves in Canada and South Africa will be examined under the headings: 1) Native Policy, 1960-1982; 2) The Politics of Poverty; 3) Migrant Labour; and 4) Pass Laws.

1) Native Policy, 1960-1982

Two government studies into the economic conditions on reserves in Canada and South Africa provide an illuminating point of departure for this analysis of policy development in the two countries from the 1950s to 1982. The recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission in South Africa released in 1955 and Canada's Hawthorn inquiry a decade later demonstrate the fundamental differences in the post-war policies of these two former British Dominions. Although neither report was accepted in its entirety by the

³ This action by Peguis chief Stevenson was condemned by many anti-apartheid groups as well as prominent Native organizations as insensitive to the plight of South Africa's black majority and counter-productive to the cause of Native rights. See Ron Bourgeault, "Canada's Indians: The South Africa Connection," Canadian Dimension, 21 (8) January 1988.

governments concerned, both studies were undertaken at a critical juncture in the history of aboriginal-state relations in each country and served as important guidelines for contemporary policy development.⁴

Canada's Hawthorn study grew out of the global interest in the treatment of indigenous populations as the "winds of change" swept through post-war colonial Africa and the Cold War made domestic stability a priority in western democracies. Internal pressures were also brought to bear on the government by humanitarian groups and a new-found social awareness produced by Canada's participation in the war effort and the ideals of human rights promoted by the United Nations and other international bodies.

The Tomlinson study had a more local and politically-oriented purpose. Shortly after the Nationalist government came into power in 1948, it commissioned an investigation into the socio-economic development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa.⁵ The objective of the study was to find an acceptable solution to the dilemma confronting the National Party of maintaining reserves as reservoirs of cheap

⁴ a) Dr. Harry B. Hawthorn, professor of anthropology at the University of British Columbia was selected to head a research study into the potential economic development of Indian reserves in 1963. Its report "A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies in Two Volumes" and released in 1966 (Volume I) and 1968 (Volume II). See RG 10, Vol. 7982, File 1/19-2-1, pt. 2.; b) Gwendolen M. Carter, Thomas Karis and Newell M. Stultz, South Africa's Transkei: The Politics of Domestic Colonialism (London: Heinemann, 1967) 42: "The government's most important commission, established to investigate possibilities for the socio-economic development of the reserves and named after its chairman, Professor F.R. Tomlinson... was not submitted to the Cabinet until October, 1954, and the government's White Paper on the Report, which rejected some of its basic recommendations, was not issued until May 1956."

⁵ Union of South Africa. Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa, Union Government No. 61, Pretoria: The Government Printer, 1955 (henceforth referred to as "the Tomlinson Report"), 101: After careful study, the Commission has come to the definite conclusion that the so-called Native question is, undoubtedly, the most formidable and urgent of South Africa's problems. Admission of this fact, and of the gravity and urgency of the situation must be brought home to every thinking person in our country."

labour while developing an "affirmative dimension" to its Native policy.⁶

One of the most striking differences between the two studies was the influence of humanitarian organizations and social reformers on Canada's native policy-makers in the post-war era; voices which were systematically silenced by the apartheid regime. As Rev. Dr. Theo Kotze, a director of The Christian Institute of Southern Africa (himself under banning orders) points out: "Many black leader have died in detention, 18 moderate organizations and church leaders such as Dr. Beyers Naude and Father David Russell were banned..."⁷ The Hawthorn study, on the other hand, was at least partly conducted in response to a brief submitted to the Department of Indian Affairs by the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, requesting an immediate inquiry into the plight of "Canadians citizens of Indian origin."⁸

While the underlying assumption of both the Tomlinson and the Hawthorn Commissions was the notion of "guardianship" which justified their investigations⁹, the paternalistic notion of the inherent "backwardness" of indigenous peoples is a notable characteristic of the South African study. In evaluating the standards of living on South African reserves, the Report notes:

⁶ Jeffrey Butler, Robert I. Rotberg and John Adams, The Black Homelands of South Africa: The Political and Economic Development of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) 159.

⁷ Theo Kotze, "The Outlook for South Africa," A speech delivered at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, 7 November 1978.

⁸ The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (I.O.D.E.) appealed to the Department of Indian Affairs to initiate a research program to "cover all aspects of the life of our Indian citizens to help them to achieve equality of opportunity..." see RG 10, File 1/19-2-10, Vol. 1: Presentation by the I.O.D.E. to the Honourable Richard A. Bell, Q.C., M.P. "Re a Proposal for a Research Programme to Assist Canadian Citizens of Indian Origin," 7 January 1963.

⁹ There is evidence in the case of the Hawthorn study that there was strong resistance to the "intrusion" of researchers on reserves and resentment over the lack of consultation with Native leaders and the reserve communities. See RG 10, Volume 7983, 1/19-2-10, pt. 1, Letter from Ethel Brant Monture, Toronto to Guy Favreau, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, 28 December 1963: "Please, not another study. As a people we have been researched, quizzed, studied for hundreds of years and nothing changes."

"Generally speaking, the pattern of production and economic activity provides only for the basic necessities of life. The Bantu cling to traditional foods and are averse to planting new kinds of crops even when these would bring greater financial gains or provide a better balanced diet. A good harvest one season, sometimes means an unproductive use of the land in the next. Their traditional conceptions are also responsible for their poor realization of the necessity for protecting and developing their natural resources, and sometimes leads to active opposition against the efforts to induce them to adopt other methods."¹⁰

The "obstinacy" of Africans in "clinging to their traditional ways" plays a major role in Tomlinson's conclusions: "It is the task of social reconstruction and fundamental education to assist the Bantu systemically along the path of progress, adaptation and the alteration of their traditional pattern of living."¹¹

The Tomlinson report echoed the findings of previous surveys in noting the uniformly and gravely poor conditions on the reserves due to serious overcrowding. Even if the additional lands known as "released lands" were included, only half the present populations could reasonably be supported on the lands available for cultivation. Admitting the real potential for racial integration, given the incorporation of African labour into the economy, the Tomlinson Commission recommended two interrelated steps be urgently taken: a) that the current "evolutionary" process of integration of white and black communities be stopped immediately through a policy of separate development; and b) that massive infusions of state funding be pumped into the economy of the "Bantu Areas" in order to create economically viable tribal "homelands." The creation of African jobs by white-owned businesses on the "borders" of Bantu Areas was an essential part of the Tomlinson scheme. The report left little doubt that these recommendations were European solutions in their own self-interests:

¹⁰ "The Tomlinson Report," 99.

¹¹ D. Hobart Houghton, "The Tomlinson Commission: A Summary of the Findings and Recommendations in the Tomlinson Commission Report," (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1956) 48; See also Union of South Africa. Report of the Native Affairs Department for the Year 1950-1951. Union Government, No. 30, Pretoria, 1952: "It is a trying task to bring about an improvement in the mental attitude of the average Native... so many are slaves to primitive ideas and customs which clash with demands of productive labour."

The policy of separate development is the only means by which the Europeans can ensure their future unfettered existence, by which increasing race tensions and clashes can be avoided, and by means of which the Europeans will be able to meet their responsibilities as guardians of the Bantu population.¹²

Although the major recommendations of the Commission (to make the reserves economically viable) were rejected by the Nationalist government, the concept of separate development as a means of maintaining white domination and the establishment of ten "tribal homelands," as prescribed by the Tomlinson Commission, became the blueprint for the bantustan policy.¹³

In striking contrast to the Tomlinson study, the mandate of the Hawthorn Commission was to investigate reserve conditions in order to determine how best to equalize the gap between "white" and Native Canadians. The motives were partly a desire to decrease the rising costs of Native administration (borne almost entirely by the federal government) and also to quieten aboriginal protest against the serious inequalities in living conditions on reserves compared to the rest of the country.

The variation in economic conditions on reserves revealed in these reports is another significant indication of the differences between the Canadian and South African experiences. According to the Hawthorn study, conditions on reserves in Canada varied from comparatively wealthy, self-supporting communities to extremely poorly serviced, isolated ghettos of despair. Unemployment was a variable factor as well. While most reserve Indians were forced to find employment off the reserves, some developed small industries and businesses or farms where land was sufficiently fertile.¹⁴ Many reserves

¹² "The Tomlinson Report," 106.

¹³ Cosmas Desmond, The Discarded People: An Account of African Resettlement in South Africa (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1971) 28.

¹⁴ "Peguis Garments," on the Peguis reserve in Manitoba, was among the enterprises subsidized by the federal government in the 1960s. See Yngve Georg Lithman, The Practice of Underdevelopment and the Theory of Development: The Canadian Indian Case (Stockholm, Sweden: Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology, 1983) 96.

were less fortunate and the acceptance of government welfare payments became virtually a way of life for many reserve residents.¹⁵

The most significant difference of all between the two reports is demonstrated in the key premise articulated by the Hawthorn Commission. As the original inhabitants of Canada, the report recognized that indigenous peoples occupied a privileged position in Canadian society:

"the position we strongly hold is that Indians are citizens plus: that in addition to the normal rights and duties of citizenship they also possess certain rights as charter members of the Canadian community."¹⁶

Running parallel to this notion of special status for aboriginal peoples, the Commission emphasised the integration of social services and economic development programs into existing provincial systems. The ideological basis for this transferral of responsibility (primarily for education, welfare and economic development) to the provinces was its repudiation of racial discrimination:

"While liberal democracies not only tolerate the special claims of certain groups - the aged, the unemployed, the sick, the young, etc. - but provide special facilities or benefits for individuals in these categories, they have been increasingly unwilling to tolerate different treatment based on the grounds of "race" alone... Differentiation on ethnic grounds has become synonymous with discrimination, apartheid, second-class citizenship, and generally a host of emotive catch-words."¹⁷

Even when these assertions of equality are recognized as largely political rhetoric, the racism which lurks beneath the surface of Canadian Native policies pale beside the aggressively racist ideology displayed in the recommendations brought forward by Professor Tomlinson.

The transformation of what were previously known as "Native Reserves" or "Native

¹⁵ Helen Buckley, From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare: Why Indian Policy Failed in the Prairie Provinces (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992) 15.

¹⁶ H.B. Hawthorn, A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies, (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966-67) I, 13.

¹⁷ Ibid., 208.

Locations" into so-called "Homelands" or "Bantu national units", came into effect with the passage of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act in 1959. The term "bantustan," by which these areas later became known, originated as a satirical term but has grown in usage because of the resistance of Africans to recognize their designated "homeland" which most had never seen.¹⁸ In direct contrast to the notion of aboriginal people as "Citizens Plus," as proposed by the Hawthorn report and adopted as the slogan for aboriginal protest movements in the 1970s, the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Amendment Bill passed in 1978 deprived all Africans of the right to citizenship in "white South Africa," thus making them legally "foreigners" in their own land.

In almost every respect, Canada's native policies, which underwent dramatic changes in the 1970s, were in direct contrast to those of the apartheid regime in the same period. Paradoxically, Canada's assimilationist goal was almost as detrimental to the economic development of reserves as the effects of apartheid - but for very different reasons. Unlike South Africa, it was never part of the official plan for reserves to remain Indian "homelands." In fact, there was a deliberate policy to break down the cultural ties of native communities which is illustrated in this 1956 departmental memorandum:

Canadian experience shows that the indiscriminate promotion of handicrafts retards integration by artificially reviving or perpetuating certain habits that no longer have cultural meaning... over-commercialization paints Indians into a corner by cutting them from national development and cast them into an inferior role... communities will be measured by their quaintness and exoticism [thus] keeping alive the mythical idea others have of them.¹⁹

In his analysis of Canadian native policy, Bernard Pelot explains the contradictory effects of preserving certain aspects of special status while pursuing an assimilationist goal. The provision in the Indian Act (Section 87) exempting Indians who worked on

¹⁸ See Allen Cook, Akin to Slavery: Prison Labour in South Africa (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1982) 50.

¹⁹ RG 10, Vol. 8588, File 1/1-10-3, vol. 3, "Handicrafts and Rural Industries: Indigenous Populations Convention," Memorandum to the Deputy Minister from Director of Technical Services, 20 December 1956.

reserves from paying income tax encouraged professional people like teachers and administrators who earned good salaries to remain on the reserves. As Pelot points out, to take advantage of the tax breaks, Indian businessmen were kept behind what he terms the "buckskin curtain" of the reserves rather than establishing themselves close to wider markets where they had a better chance of succeeding.²⁰ Thus economic development on reserves was inhibited in many instances by the special status accorded to Native peoples and was at odds with the overall objective of assimilation.

The White Paper announced by Indian Affairs minister Jean Chrétien in 1969 reflected the competition between levels of government for public revenues to sustain social programs; it also called for native participation in the development of the national economy. The policy of "partnership" with native people became a hallmark of Trudeau's Liberal administration. In the words of Chrétien's statement to Parliament in 1969:

The government does not wish to perpetuate policies which carry with them the seeds of disharmony and disunity, policies which prevent Canadians from fulfilling themselves and contributing to their society. It seeks a partnership to achieve a better goal... It is no longer acceptable that the Indian people should be outside and apart. The government believes that services should be available on an equitable basis, except for temporary differentiation based on need... Services ought not to flow from separate agencies established to serve particular groups, especially not to groups identified ethnically.²¹

Critics of Canada's Native policy stressed the "over-abundance" of government spending on welfare payments and were eager to see the integration of native people into the mainstream society where the concept of "special status" would eventually disappear.

²⁰ Bernard J. Pelot, "The Buckskin Curtain: Canada's Indians from Government Wards... to Feudal Lords?" A discussion paper on Aboriginal Rights in the Constitution, February 1985, 35-36: The policy also inhibits university graduates and professional people from seeking positions off reserve... and deprives employed Indians from the benefit of the Canada Pension Plan which is limited to taxpayers under the Income Tax Act. The policy also prevents Indians from seeking the benefits of incorporation of their businesses because "corporation" is not equivalent to "an Indian" under the Indian Act and is therefore liable to taxation.

²¹ Jean Chrétien, "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969." Presented to the First Session of the Twenty-eighth Parliament, by the Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 5.

Criticism for the welfare system also came from the First Nations communities themselves. As Indian businessman, John W. Beaver expressed it, money paid out in welfare would be better spent on "curing the disease of poverty" rather than masking its effects and, by implication, fostering its existence.²² The "normalization" of services for native people within the Canadian state was consequently accompanied by the partial dismantling of special status of Indian reserve communities.

In her comparative essay on Native policy and the reserve system in Canada and the United States, Jeanne Guillemin points out the difficulty in balancing "fair-mindedness" towards indigenous peoples with the economic interests of the dominant society. As in the situation of the imperial powers vis-à-vis the colonies, a conflict of interests existed between national economic interests and the actual economic resources of reservation tribes or bands. Indian land and trust fund management tended to be in hands of pragmatists who treated reserves as a special sector of the public domain. In this way, Indians were treated primarily as recipients of annuities and welfare - in other words as "incidental" to the larger projects of national economic development.²³ As officers of self-perpetuating institutions, departmental administrators had a vested interests in maintaining the status quo. The result was the dependency of Native peoples on government funding in order to maintain even a minimal standard of living.²⁴

Marie Smallface Marule draws attention to the ways in which the Department of Indian Affairs manipulated the system and their position as trustees of reserve funds to feather the nests of the wealthy at the expense of poorer reserve communities. Despite the

²² John W. Beaver, Remarks delivered by John W. Beaver, President and Chief Executive Officer, Churchill Falls (Labrador) Corporation Limited to the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, 4 December 1975. (DIAND. Treaties and Historical Research Centre)

²³ Jeanne Guillemin, "The Politics of National Integration: A Comparison of United States and Canadian Indian Administrations," Social Problems, 25 (3) 1978, 328.

²⁴ Olive Patricia Dickason, Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992) 384.

government's pronounced intention to help "those who are furthest behind," it was frequently governments and large (white) corporations who benefitted most from these schemes. In 1969, a fund was established devoted to Indian economic development. Prerequisites for loans to Indian businesses required incorporation and a lease surrender of reserve land. The effect was to further assimilation by imposing a European system of ownership and control and the use of reserve land as collateral opened the door to expropriation.²⁵

A similar case arose in response to the desperate housing shortages on reserves in the 1970s. By transferring financial responsibility for housing to the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the government side-stepped its own obligations and had Indians pay for their own housing by using reserve land as collateral for CMHC mortgages.²⁶ Once again, it was only the wealthier reserves which benefitted since the impoverished reserves, where the need for housing was greatest, lacked the necessary capital funds.

The fact that Indian Affairs has been placed for many years under various ministries associated with resources or northern development is indicative of where the focus of Canadian policy lay: on land and resources, not the people.²⁷ Even in terms of social assistance programs, it was only after the Hawthorn study that parity with non-Indian programs became a policy goal. Not until 1966 was a specific native services office located with the newly-created Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). As Guillemin observes, the absence of a Canadian Bill of Rights until 1960 permitted the development of a "vertical mosaic" of diverse minorities under British Canadian rule, with Indians, as the least "Europeanized" group relegated to the lowest

²⁵ Marie Smallface Marule, "The Canadian Government's Termination Policy: From 1969 to the Present Day," Ian A.L. Getty and Donald B. Smith, eds., One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978) 108.

²⁶ Ibid., 108.

²⁷ Guillemin, "The Politics of National Integration," 325.

social order.²⁸

2) The Politics of Poverty

As in the 1987 invitation of the South African Ambassador to the Peguis reserve in Manitoba, parallels are frequently drawn between Canada and South Africa on the basis of the abysmal economic conditions to be found on reserves in both countries. As Augie Fleras and Jean Elliott point out, Canada's treatment of its aboriginal peoples has been called a "national tragedy" and an "international disgrace," with "ominous parallels to the white supremacist regime in South Africa."²⁹ While conditions of extreme poverty are common to reserve communities in Canada and South Africa (and indeed to many countries where dispossessed indigenous people have been victims of the combined effects of racism, colonialism, and oppression), there are a number of factors which make the South African experience unique.

The first, and most obvious, factor which affected the socio-economic conditions of aboriginal peoples in Canada and South Africa between 1960 and 1982 was the dramatic difference in the ratio of indigenous populations to the dominant "white" society in each country. In Canada, out of a total population of 21.5 million in 1978, 600,000 claimed Indian or Inuit ancestry. With its large non-Anglo-Saxon immigrant constituency, Canada's indigenous population (representing 1.3% of the total population) amount to a minority among many other minorities.³⁰ In South Africa, the situation is reversed. Forming the vast majority of the South African population, 24.1 million of a total population of 31

²⁸ Ibid., 323.

²⁹ Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, The 'Nations Within': Aboriginal-State Relations in Canada, the United States, and New Zealand (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992) 8.

³⁰ Dickason, Canada's First Nations, 418.

million people were classified in 1983 as "Bantu" (African) by the apartheid regime (Whites numbered 4.8 million; "Coloureds" 2.8 million and "Asians" 890,000). About 13 million of the African population lived in the "independent" bantustans.³¹

The primary significance of this demographical disparity lies in what Kenneth Vickery describes as the "Herrenvolk democracy" of apartheid South Africa. Under apartheid, where the exercise of power and suffrage is restricted to the dominant group and where democracy exists only for the "master race," a negative impact on the oppressed majority is inevitable.³² While European settlers in Canada, the United States and Australia all reserved tiny parcels of land for their indigenous minorities, the enforced confinement of vast numbers of black South Africans on less than 13% of the land has resulted in environmental devastation and human misery unparalleled in any industrial country.³³ As Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash, a South African women's organization which monitors the affects of apartheid reported in 1984:

"There is nothing different about the land and vegetation in the white areas on either side of Venda [a bantustan in northern Transvaal]... What is different about Venda is the fact that South Africa has dumped into that area hundreds of thousands of people. The land is unable to support them."³⁴

The effects of over-population on South African reserves were well-known to government officials as early as the 1930s.³⁵ Numerous studies bore witness to the irredeemable destruction, through soil erosion, of vast tracts of land, to the decline of production and to the impoverishment of the people to the point at which starvation,

³¹ Roger Omond, The Apartheid Handbook: A Guide to South Africa's Everyday Racial Policies, New Edition (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1986) 21.

³² Kenneth P. Vickery, "'Herrenvolk' Democracy and Egalitarianism in South Africa and the U.S. South", Comparative Studies in Society and History 16 (1974): 310.

³³ Barbara Rogers, Divide and Rule: South Africa's Bantustans (London: IDAF Publications, 1976) 7.

³⁴ Cited in Lincoln Letter: X-Ray on South Africa, July 1984, 4.

³⁵ Cosmas Desmond, The Discarded People (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1971) 31.

malnutrition and disease caused a high rate of death and debilitation.³⁶ As the report of a Canadian High Commissioner pointed out, following a tour of South African reserves in December 1950, overcrowding "both human and animal" was the primary contributing factor to the appalling conditions he witnessed: "Some three and a half million Natives now live on Native land at a density of more than 60 persons per square mile, compared to 20.3 for the Union as a whole."³⁷ Instead of allowing people to move freely off the land or increasing the size of reserves, the government's solution was the euphemistically entitled program known as "betterment planning."³⁸ As the Surplus Peoples Project report observes: "[The government] hoped that by controlling land-use more tightly, they could squeeze more life out of the soil. It was like trying to bandage a serious wound with a single piece of elastoplast, and as effective."³⁹

The second, and equally compelling, difference between the Canadian and South African aboriginal experience in the 1960-1982 period was the oppressive burden of apartheid laws which affected every aspect of African life. Unlike Canadian native people (who were unconditionally enfranchised federally in 1960), the African majority in South Africa were voteless and prohibited by law (under The Natives Land Act (1913)) from purchasing land, finding employment in or even entering the remainder (87%) of South Africa (classified as the "white" area) without government permission. The climate of state oppression and police (especially the special branch of the police force, the Security Police)

³⁶ Harold Wolpe, "Capitalism and Cheap Labour-power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid," Economy and Society, 1 (4) 1972, 441.

³⁷ RG 10, Vol. 8588, File 1/1-10-4. Report of the High Commissioner for Canada, Pretoria, South Africa (marked "Confidential") 21 December 1950. p.2.

³⁸ During the 1930s and 1940s cattle culling, fencing off fields for grazing from residential areas, moving people into villages, and stepping up the migrant labour system were the only strategies chosen to relieve the congestion and appalling living conditions. See RG 10, Vol. 8588, File 1/1-10-4, Report of the High Commissioner for Canada, Pretoria, South Africa, 21 December 1950

³⁹ Laurine Platzky and Cherryl Walker for the Surplus Peoples Project, The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985) 94.

brutality under which Africans have lived since the apartheid regime began in 1948 has no parallel in Canadian aboriginal experience.⁴⁰ The banning, jailing, banishment, and executions of political opponents, and the routine harassment and detention of African men, women and children under the laws of apartheid (most notably the pass laws which controlled the movement of Africans from one area to another) were powerful contributing factors to the socio-economic conditions of African people. More will be said later about the Pass laws.

Thirdly, comparisons between aboriginal poverty in Canada and South Africa must take account of the welfare policies in both countries. In Canada, Status and Treaty Indians, under the terms of the Indian Act and treaty agreements, were beneficiaries of special welfare programs administered by the Department of Indian Affairs as well as certain federal and provincial benefits such as old-age pensions and family allowances.⁴¹ Status Indians on and off-reserves were equally eligible for a wide range of special benefits. However harmful and psychologically debilitating the social welfare system might have been for Canada's reserve communities, the existence of social security nets have meant the difference between life and death for many aboriginal people in remote parts of the country.

Although the Canadian federal government has justifiably been accused of not properly fulfilling its obligations towards aboriginal people, it has never denied its

⁴⁰ A. Sachs, South Africa: The Violence of Apartheid, An International Defence & Aid Fund Pamphlet, (London: International Defence & Aid Fund, 1970) v & 48: "Violence is by no means a peculiarly South African phenomenon, yet in South Africa it manifests itself to a degree and in a manner probably without parallel in the world... If the ordinary police indulge in violence against prisoners that is sporadic, widespread, and officially disapproved of, the Security Police would seem to have gone in for torture that is systematic, concentrated and officially connived at."

⁴¹ Sally Weaver, Making Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981) 38. While the Indian Act is responsible for a wide range of "rights and freedoms," most of the special federal programs to which Indians are eligible derive from treaty agreements. These include medical care, housing, welfare and economic development. Some treaties have special provisions for these kinds of services, but even non-treaty Indians often consider these services as a basic right and a federal responsibility.

responsibility for the welfare of native Canadians. Even when the Trudeau government proposed in its 1969 White Paper (which was later withdrawn) to abolish the Indian Act and reserve system and completely integrate Indian social services into provincial systems, aboriginal people were never to be abandoned as the "foreign" outcasts of Canadian society. Recent land agreements, such as the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975, included provisions for social services such as health care, education, economic development, and income guarantees for practitioners of the traditional economy.⁴²

Bantustan residents, on the other hand, were excluded by law from the limited welfare services provided for "white" South Africans because they were regarded as "foreigners" or temporary "sojourners" in white South Africa.⁴³ Unlike Canada, where "Indianness" was never a racial definition (it included some "whites" by marriage or adoption) and was defined in order to distinguish who had a right to benefits accruing to special status, racial classification under apartheid was designed to maintain white privilege at the expense of the other racial groups. Under this system, Africans were accorded the lowest position in the socio-economic hierarchy; the most poorly served being Africans forced to live on the reserves or bantustans.⁴⁴ As citizens of designated African "homelands," reserve-dwellers were eligible only to what their impoverished local governments could afford (or chose) to pay them.⁴⁵

⁴² Brad Morse, "Australia and Canada: Indigenous Peoples and the Law," Legal Service Bulletin, July 1983.

⁴³ The South African Yearbook, 1985, p.649 cited in Omond, The Apartheid Handbook, 75.

⁴⁴ Omond, The Apartheid Handbook, 77: The ratios for old-age pension payments in 1984 were: Whites: R166; Coloured and Indians: R103; Africans in white areas: R65 and Africans in bantustans: R40-49 per month. (In 1993 a Rand was equivalent to 50 Canadian cents.)

⁴⁵ Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1984, 734: In 1984 KwaZulu reported a backlog of 18,000 aspirant pensioners and the administrations of Ciskei, Lebowa and Bophuthatswana reported similar difficulties in paying their pensioners. "It has also been alleged that pension payments vary, apparently because of corruption and theft."

The appalling inadequacy of such essential services as health, education and child welfare in the bantustans is well documented. The inequality in health care for the various racial groups in South Africa's hierarchically divided society is demonstrated in the following statistics. In 1984, in the "white" areas, the ratio of doctors per capita was 1:330 whites, 1:730 Indians, 1:1,200 Coloureds and 1:12,000 Africans. For the same year in the bantustans, there was one doctor for every 14,000 people in the Transkei, 17,000 in Bophuthatswana, and 19,000 in Gazankulu.⁴⁶ Surveys showed that African children were 14-15 times more likely to die before the age of five than white children. A South African medical journal reported that incidents of malnutrition and disease were even high compared to those in other developing nations:

"Homeland populations lack piped water, adequate sanitation, and ready access to doctors, nurses and hospitals. Judged by the standards of other developing nations, intake levels of calories and protein are low and deficiency diseases like kwashiorkor, marasmus, and pellagra are common."⁴⁷

Discrimination in education was equally apparent. While education was free and compulsory for white children from the beginning of the century, scant attention was given to the education of the mass of black children.⁴⁸ In the early phases of apartheid, the regime deliberately prepared black children for their role as labourers in the white economy. As Dr Hendrik Verwoerd clearly stated in 1953 (then Minister of Education, later Prime Minister) when "Bantu education" was introduced:

"Native education should be controlled in such a way that it should accord with the policy of the state... There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour... For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption into the European community... What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?...

⁴⁶ Cape Times, 15 April 1984, quoted in Omond, The Apartheid Handbook, 79.

⁴⁷ South African Medical Journal, XXXIX (1965), 237-238, cited by Butler, Rotberg and Adams, The Black Homelands of South Africa, 20:

⁴⁸ Apartheid the Facts, Revised Edition 1991, (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1991) 30: Expenditure per school student in 1986-87 was as follows: African: R368; Coloured: R887; Indian: R1,714 and white: R2,299.

That is absurd."⁴⁹

A study on poverty in South Africa by the Carnegie Corporation under the direction of Professor Francis Wilson of Cape Town University and released in 1984 found that 8.91 million bantustan-dwellers lived below the poverty line (estimated as \$200 a month for a family of six); 1.43 million of this number had no income at all. The Unemployment Insurance Amendment Act of 1949 excluded all those whose earnings did not exceed 182 pounds a year (which meant the majority of African workers) and all migratory workers irrespective of their earnings. Also excluded from this Act were domestic servants, agricultural workers, public servants and some seasonal workers.⁵⁰

Not only were South African reserve-dwellers without any form of social security, they were forced to pay taxes. A "hut tax," and later (when polygamy among Africans died out) a poll tax, were first imposed by the British colonial governments in the 19th century to induce Africans to seek wage labour in the white-owned mines, farms and factories.⁵¹ Undeterred by the fact that the majority of the African population were too poor to pay these taxes, various schemes were devised to force payment and the responsibility was eventually passed on to the bantustan governments. A Report of the Native Affairs Commission published in 1936 stated:

"Many taxpayers require some pressure before they will meet their liability. As one Native witness expressed it graphically: "they require something behind their neck," and the attachment to cattle in which their pride and sentiment are involved has the effect of applying that necessary pressure."⁵²

Taxation also served to reinforce the status of power wielded by the white state

⁴⁹ Cited in Brian Bunting, The Rise of the South African Reich (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1986) 260.

⁵⁰ Omond, The Apartheid Handbook, 98.

⁵¹ David Welsh, The Roots of Apartheid: Native Policy in Natal (1845-1910) (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971) 307.

⁵² RG 10, Volume 6823, File 495-5-1 pt.1, Union of South Africa Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the year 1936, 4.

over the African majority essential to the maintenance of a cheap African labour force. The notion of "baaschap" (the power of the master), a legacy of the slave era, provided the ideological underpinnings for this objective. A chilling example of how subservience was instilled in Africans is revealed in the minutes of a meeting of the Native Representative Council in 1941, shortly before it was disbanded:

"...this Council deplores the custom which still exists in certain districts of compelling Africans to kneel while they are waiting their turn to pay their tax. It feels this is derogatory to the manhood and dignity of the people and of no administrative value."⁵³

Finally, unlike Canada (and other major capitalist societies) which introduced a single educational and legal system and adopted universal suffrage for its aboriginal population, South African policy-makers explicitly excluded the African population from incorporation. The most notable consequence of this discrimination is that African wages were more than four times lower than the average white wage.⁵⁴ As Stanley Trapido points out, in spite of increases in the price of gold and progressively higher profits, black wages actually decreased between 1932 and 1950.⁵⁵

What Trapido calls South Africa's "labour-repressive" economic development did not emerge from a vacuum. Its progenitors were the Master and Servant laws passed by successive governments from the mid-19th century. Breaking a contract with an employer remains a criminal offence under apartheid laws.⁵⁶ African wages were kept low by a

⁵³ RG 10, Volume 6823, File 495-5-2, pt. 1: Report of the Proceedings of the 5th Session of the Native Representative Council, 1941, p. 5. b) see also Welsh, The Roots of Apartheid, 297: "In 1894 a leading kholwa [African leader], John L. Dubé, alleged that certain magistrates were forcing Africans who came before them to go down on their hands and knees..."

⁵⁴ Aziza Seedat, Crippling a Nation: Health in Apartheid South Africa (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1984) 20.

⁵⁵ Stanley Trapido, "South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialization", Journal of Development Studies, 7 (1971) 315.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 312-314

number of devices including state-run employment agencies in the bantustans.⁵⁷ Until 1979 African unions were prohibited from registering and individual African workers were barred from membership in the all-white unions which kept a vigilant eye on "the colour-bar" which preserved skilled and semi-skilled jobs for white workers.⁵⁸ The importation of non-South African black labour was used to further depress mine workers' wages. Moreover, as Trapido points out, by promising eventual self-determination to African "nations," bantustans became the perfect breeding ground for labour repression because they kept workers "insecure, replaceable and impoverished".⁵⁹

3) Migrant Labour

In his comparative paper on aboriginal land policies in Canada and South Africa, law professor Richard Bartlett argues that "it is difficult to see the significance" of the development of reserves as reservoirs of cheap labour given the fact that reserves in both countries suffered considerable under-development.⁶⁰ By dismissing the migrant labour system under apartheid as irrelevant to his analysis, Bartlett loses sight of the key factor

⁵⁷ Kenneth P. Vickery, "'Herrenvolk' Democracy and Egalitarianism in South Africa and the U.S. South," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 16 (1974) 328: Because of the smaller white/non-white ratio, the permanent elevation of a white lower class was possible. Hence a "vast army" of non-white workers was forced to accept wages below the value of their labour, while white workers were paid inflated salaries. Also see Bernard Magubane, "The Political Economy of the South African Revolution", Bernard Magubane & Ibbo Mandaza, eds., Whither South Africa? (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1988) 74-75.

⁵⁸ The 1922 Rand miners' strike, which was violently put down by the Smuts government, was mounted to maintain the colour bar under the slogan "Workers of the World Unite, and Fight for a White South Africa." See Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 283. See also Republic of South Africa. Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation. Part 1. Republic of South Africa. No. 47, Pretoria, 1979, 2.

⁵⁹ Trapido, "South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialization," 319.

⁶⁰ Richard H. Bartlett, "Parallels in Aboriginal Land Policy in Canada and South Africa," Canadian Native Law Review, 4 (1988) 24.

in the complex apartheid structure. The use of bantustans as migrant labour pools and as dumping grounds for "surplus" Africans not needed by the white economy was central to apartheid policy. As the Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr. S. Froneman starkly stated in 1959, "The White State has no duty to prepare the homelands for the superfluous Africans because they are actually aliens in the White homelands who only have to be repatriated."⁶¹

The South African government's rejection of the Tomlinson proposal to develop the economic potential of the reserve areas reveals the critical factor of cheap labour to the South African economy. In his analysis of the Tomlinson Commission's findings, Harold Wolpe argues from a Marxist perspective that the government's response to its "modest proposals" for the economic development of reserves can best be explained by the threat that these improvements represented to white - and particularly Afrikaner - economic hegemony.⁶² The commission brought to light the fact that the only way the interests of white farmers and industrialists could be served was by maintaining the mass migration of African workers to the cities. In other words, reserves needed to be kept poor in order to sustain a ready supply of cheap labour.⁶³ An official report of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner puts this concept quite succinctly: the view was that "as long as Africans resisted recruitment for labour purposes, a little starvation would 'promote industry.'"⁶⁴ As Wolpe asserts, apartheid goes beyond mere racism and segregationism, it is an economically-driven political system which uses race as a subterfuge for repression and

⁶¹ Quoted by Cosmas Desmond in The Discarded People, 33.

⁶² Wolpe, "Capitalism and Cheap Labour-Power in South Africa," 449.

⁶³ Ibid., 446.

⁶⁴ Bantu Affairs Commissioner (BAC) Files for the King William's Town magistracy, South African Government Archives (Cape Town) quoted in Chris De Wet and Simon Bekker, eds., Rural Development in South Africa: A Case Study of the Amatola Basin in the Ciskei Occasional Paper Number Thirty, (Grahamstown: Shuter & Shooter in association with Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, [1986]) 29.

exploitation.

Such an assessment cannot be made of Canadian policy with respect to Native reserves. Although economic considerations played a significant role in the Trudeau government's rejection of the Hawthorn Commission's report, it would be difficult to argue that the objective was the deliberate under-development of reserves. On the contrary, in the view of Yngve Georg Lithman, the underdevelopment of Canadian reserves was a product of paternalistic over-protectiveness on the part of the Canadian government rather than "exploitation."⁶⁵

Migrant labour took its toll on the socio-economic conditions of the bantustans in three significant ways. It placed an impossible strain on the meagre resources of the reserves by increasing the already seriously over-populated areas through the forced removal of "surplus" African workers from the "white" areas; it depleted the reserves of working-age men and women and left only the weak, the aged and the disabled to carry the burden of scratching out a meagre subsistence; and, thirdly, it destroyed the bonds of family and community life by constantly uprooting individuals and communities and by forcing men and women to work under contract away from their families for extended periods of time.⁶⁶

In its description of relocation areas, based on detailed interviews conducted in nineteen settlements around the country, the Surplus Peoples Project reported that the struggle for survival was fought on the "very boundaries of life."⁶⁷ As the report points out, what made the poverty and suffering on relocation areas unacceptable was that these conditions were the deliberate creations of government policy. Referring to a relocation

⁶⁵ Lithman, The Practice of Underdevelopment, 156.

⁶⁶ Seedat, Crippling a Nation, 19: "The migrant worker's family is prohibited from joining him during the months of his employment, except on short visits, and the result is the inevitable demoralization and disruption of family life."

⁶⁷ Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, 327.

township named Sada in the bleak north-east Ciskei, the report states:

When the government and its planners established the place in 1964, they knew how overpopulated the Ciskei already was. They knew that the people they were sending to Sada came from among the lowest income groups in the country and had no money of their own to develop the place...And yet they sent them there. Sent them and millions like them, to Sadas all over the country.⁶⁸

The first impact of apartheid's migrant labour system on the socio-economic conditions of reserves was to increase the populations of already seriously over-crowded and badly eroded reserves. Under the terms of the Group Areas Act of 1950, massive removals were conducted to clear "unqualified" people from non-designated areas, the vast majority of whom were African.⁶⁹ In the period 1960 to 1983 an estimated 3.5 million Africans were forcibly removed to designated "homelands."⁷⁰ The Group Areas Act also served as an instrument of economic control. New bantustan townships were often placed close to industrial areas, to provide a conveniently placed pool of workers.

Once the "national states" had been created under the bantustan legislation in the 1960s, there was a need to define more clearly both the boundaries of these territories. The Surplus Peoples Project report states: "The 1960s and 1970s were years of convulsive upheaval for hundreds and thousands of rural people who were forced to move to try and make nations out of reserves."⁷¹

The South African government had a special terminology for most of its racially discriminatory and highly unpopular legislation. In the 1964 session of Parliament, the Minister of Bantu Administration stated that a total of 464,726 Africans had been

⁶⁸ Ibid., 327.

⁶⁹ Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, 99: "By the end of 1970 a total of 111,580 families had been "disqualified" in terms of the Act... 59% of them were coloured, 39% were Indian and only 2% were white."

⁷⁰ Survey of Race Relations, 1983, 298 ff. These statistics were based on the findings of the Surplus Peoples Project in 1983.

⁷¹ Platzky and Walker, The Surplus People, 115.

"endorsed out" of [evicted from] the 23 major urban centres during the period 1956-1963. Transit camps for displaced Africans on the reserves, housing over 49,000 people, are described by Hilda Bernstein as their "last hell on earth before the grave."⁷²

Probably the most abusive and psychologically damaging of all the removals which took place during this period, were the relocation of African communities from the so-called "black spots." These were African-owned lands, usually consisting of small communities which had been built up over several generations, and surrounded by "white" farmlands. The community of KwaNgema in the eastern Transvaal, home for 160 families most of them descendants of Stuurman Ngema, is a typical example of the 75 "black spots" threatened by the apartheid government's removal policy. Although the title deeds to the land on which KwaNgema stands state clearly that it was given by King Edward VII in 1904 to the "heirs and successors of the late Stuurman," legislation has stripped away these rights and the people have been ordered to uproot themselves and move to "rocky and barren resettlement areas" in the bantustans.⁷³

In his pioneering work on the South African bantustans The Discarded People Cosmas Desmond writes in 1971 "One does not have to be an economist, sociologist or specialist of any kind to see that the "homelands" are not providing [adequate] economic living standards. This is obvious from the amount of poverty and starvation that I have seen in my tour of the country."⁷⁴ In spite of these assessments, three million Africans were deported to the Bantustans over the next twenty year period as "superfluous Bantu." No

⁷² Hilda Bernstein, For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears: Women in Apartheid South Africa (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1985) 168: "In one typical camp described by a former inmate the inhabitants live in one-roomed shacks of corrugated iron or wood, with no ceiling or proper floor, no piped water and no sanitation. They have no access to land... For the old people... the camp was "perhaps their last hell on earth before the grave."

⁷³ Stephanie Urdang, "Removals: Destroying Communities to Cheapen Labour," Christianity in Crisis 45 (1 & 2) February 1985.

⁷⁴ Desmond, The Discarded People, 39.

provisions apart from some sort of water supply - later tiny privies dotted the landscape of "resettlement areas" - greeted the truckloads of women, children, the elderly and disabled who were literally "dumped in the veld."⁷⁵

While justifiable parallels are made between the "forced removals" in Canada's past (and more recent⁷⁶) history and apartheid, they need to be seen in the context of both the sheer scale of the South African experience and the degree and nature of state coercion with which removals under apartheid were characteristically carried out.⁷⁷ Toronto journalist Michael Valpy - in response to the publication of the South African Surplus Peoples Project report in 1985 - draws attention to two notable examples: the relocation of the Salish, who lived in Vancouver's Kitsilano area at the turn of the century who were "induced" to move because they were encroaching on a white residential neighbourhood, and the Songhees, who lived in what is now Victoria's Bastion Square and were moved to Esquimalt for similar reasons.⁷⁸ As Valpy rightly points out, while dispossession and relocation were integral to Canadian-indigenous relations, particularly in the early stages of Canada's national development, Canada's Parliament never passed a Group Areas Act, a Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, or a Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act. Racial

⁷⁵ Ibid., 40: "In practice even these regulations are not followed. For example, people [removed] from European farms have to provide their own transport and do not receive rations."

⁷⁶ Globe and Mail, "Siddon resists call to relocate Innu", 3 February 1993, A4: "[New Democrat Robert Skelly] said the social disintegration [of the Innu community at Davis Inlet, Newfoundland] has its roots in the forced relocation of the community to a remote island in 1967..."

⁷⁷ Omond, The Apartheid Handbook, 134: The following is an example of the methods used to "persuade" people to move: "In the early hours of 14 February 1984 Mogopa was surrounded by armed police. At 4 a.m. Jacob More [head of the local "planning committee"] told the villagers through a loudhailer that they should load their possessions into a truck and go to Pachsdraai. The leaders of the resistance were handcuffed by police and put into police vans. Their possessions were packed by government labourers. People standing outside their houses were reported to have been beaten by police."

⁷⁸ Globe and Mail, 7 April 1986, 14. Article by Michael Valpy responding to the Surplus People Project study released in 1985: "...Come closer to home, to British Columbia. The Salish who lived in Vancouver's Kitsilano area at the turn of the century were 'induced' to move because they were encroaching on a white residential neighbourhood."

segregation was never institutionalized in Canada as it was in apartheid South Africa.

The idea of using Indian reserves as "labour pools" was not totally foreign to Canadian policy-making, however. In his 1955 study of reserves in British Columbia, Professor Hawthorn observes:

"Even more than they have in the past...Indians may constitute in many parts of British Columbia a sort of strategic labour reserve - a group that employers in the primary industries can draw upon to do the low-income casual or seasonal jobs that whites avoid."⁷⁹

Although Hawthorn's recommendations were never accepted, discrimination against native workers existed in many parts of the country.⁸⁰ Reserves close to cities in Quebec provided a ready labour source. Wages paid to Indian workers were often lower than white workers earned. A special report on the Peguis reserve in Manitoba in the late 1980s claimed that native wages were "generally \$2,000 below the poverty line and less than half that of other Manitobans."⁸¹

In their history of Walpole Island, Nin.Da.Waab.Jig (the community-based research arm of the reserve's Band Council) point out some of the damaging effects of wage labour on the reserve economy. Although the Walpole Islanders had sustained themselves throughout the years of the Depression through their own resourcefulness, since World War Two their dependency on money and the outside economy had increased and their farms and traditional skills lay fallow and forgotten. It was only when a new spirit of self-sufficiency and political assertiveness revitalized the reserve in the 1960s that a sense of dignity and a measure of prosperity were restored to Walpole Island as traditional and

⁷⁹ See H.B. Hawthorn, C.S. Beishaw and S.M. Jamieson, The Indians of British Columbia: A Study of Contemporary Social Adjustment (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958) 268.

⁸⁰ Howard Adams, Prison of Grass: Canada from the Native Perspective (Toronto: General Publishing, 1976) 3: "Even today Indians and Métis rarely apply for work as postmen, bus drivers, or any position in which they would meet the public. These jobs are taboo for natives because we live in a white racist society."

⁸¹ Winnipeg Free Press, 14 October 1988, "Indians: Strangers in Their Own Land: A Special Report."

wage economies became intertwined.⁸²

In his study of Indian labour in Canada, Rolf Knight refutes the notion (put forward by Robin Fisher and others) that the only participation native Canadians had in the wage economy was connected to traditional social patterns and customs.⁸³ As Knight points out, Indians in Canada were involved in the wage economy as migrant or seasonal workers and participated in a wide range of employment opportunities across Canada - most notably in bridge-building. Unlike Africans under apartheid, Canada's First Nations enjoyed the right to move about the country at will, to live and work where they chose and to work on equal terms with fellow Canadians.

4) The Pass laws

Added to the burden of displacement in South Africa were the pass laws, the linchpin which held the crippling existence of "foreign Bantu" in place. Influx control, strictly and often brutally enforced, was the centrepiece of the tightly-woven band of laws and regulations which monitored and controlled every movement of the black population. Not only did the hated "pass books" record and restrict movements from one area of the country to another, they determined and confined the kinds of work for which any given worker was eligible.⁸⁴ In a 1966 memorandum on the application of pass laws and Influx Control the women's protest organization Black Sash reported:

"For thousands of Africans these laws result in broken families, in unemployment, in poverty and malnutrition, insecurity and instability, and in a sense of hopelessness... Millions of rands are spent in administering these laws...[but] the real cost must be counted in terms of human sorrow, bitterness, suffering, and

⁸² Nin.Da.Waab.Jig, Walpole Island, 82.

⁸³ Rolf Knight, Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Indian Labour in British Columbia 1858-1930 (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1978) 194.

⁸⁴ Philip Frankel, "The Politics of Passes: Control and Change in South Africa", The Journal of Modern African Studies, 17 (2) June 1979, 205.

tragedy on a vast scale."⁸⁵

First introduced in the 17th century to regulate the movements and labour of slaves and Khoikhoi workers, pass laws were later applied to Africans to restrict their entry into "white" areas and as an influx control of African labour into urban areas.⁸⁶ As Sachs expresses it, the pass-book was a "badge of slavery" which not only helped to keep the African in bondage, but also served as "a constant reminder to him of his helotry."⁸⁷ In defiance of Ordinance 50 of 1828 (which abolished the pass system for Khoisan), passes were later revived in the Cape, and were extensively applied in the Boer republics and Natal; when Union came in 1910 passes became an essential part of the new political framework.⁸⁸ The philosophical basis of the pass system was articulated in the Stallard Commission (1921) to investigate housing and labour conditions of Africans in the urban areas: "Africans should only be permitted within municipal areas in so far and for so long as their presence is demanded by the wants of the "white" population."⁸⁹ This notion was subsequently to become law through the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923. Independent of any social function they might serve, pass laws are integral to the vast array of legislation employed by the white minority to absorb Africans into the economy while maintaining

⁸⁵ Bernstein, For their Triumphs and for their Tears, 167.

⁸⁶ a) Frankel, "The Politics of Passes," 200: South Africa's notorious pass laws predate the coming to power of the National Party by almost two hundred years; the notion of controlling black movement in the interests of social order, to prevent crime and over-urbanization, or to channel black labour from rural to urban areas, originates as far back as 1780 when slaves at the Cape were required to carry documents authorizing their travel back and forth between town and country."; b) Ngubane, An African Explains Apartheid, 20: Migratory labour and the pass system were introduced in the Cape province through the Hottentot Proclamation of 1809. It became a crime for a Hottentot to be in the white area unless he was employed there and the compulsory carrying of passes monitored his movements.

⁸⁷ E.S. Sachs, The Anatomy of Apartheid, 258.

⁸⁸ Frankel, "The Politics of Passes," 201. See also Elphick and Giliomee, The Shaping of South African Society, 47.

⁸⁹ Sachs, The Anatomy of Apartheid, 74.

political domination. Writing in 1979, Philip Frankel observes: "Today, both locally and nationally, the notions of apartheid and pass laws are considered as virtually inseparable."⁹⁰

Every policeman and numerous government officials had the right to demand the production of a "pass" at any time of the day or night. In 1958, 396,836 Africans were convicted under the Pass laws. Under the euphemistic title of The Natives' Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act (No. 76 of 1952) the law to carry a pass was extended to African women, children and juveniles, and the name was changed from "pass" to "reference book".⁹¹ For over half a century African people engaged in mass campaigns against the Pass Laws. The climax came in March 1960, just prior to the Sharpeville massacre, when a well-organized campaign and tens of thousands of Africans attempted to surrender their "reference books" at police stations and asked to be arrested.⁹²

Closely related to the pass system was the iniquitous use of forced or prison labour.⁹³ Both the pass laws and prisons played key roles in this three-way vice-grip on the lives of Africans. The options facing "pass offenders" were stark: a fine which many are unable to pay; eviction from the urban area and forcible removal to the bantustans to face unemployment and fearful poverty; or a prison sentence which may well include hard

⁹⁰ Frankel, "The Politics of Passes," 201.

⁹¹ Cook, Akin to Slavery, 51: The term "pass" was officially abolished under the Act and the term "reference book" substituted. However, the word "pass" has unofficially remained in use to describe both the system and the document itself.

⁹² Sachs, The Anatomy of Apartheid, 258.

⁹³ Cook, Akin to Slavery, 2: "Following the exposure of the prison labour system in the late 1950s, with widespread publicity, the Prisons Act of 1959 prevented the publication of information about prisons or prisoners. In a way that is characteristic of apartheid, subsequent changes made to the system combined re-naming the same practices and legalizing existing practices which had been taking place outside the law."

manual labour - mainly on farms.⁹⁴ As Bunting observes in his comparison of apartheid with the Nuremberg laws of Nazi Germany, no wonder the practice was condemned as a violation of its statutes by the International Labour Organization, from which South Africa withdrew in 1964. During this session, apartheid policies were unanimously declared "degrading, criminal and inhuman."⁹⁵

Connections have been made by several historians between the system of permits or passes first imposed in the Canadian west in the late 19th century and South Africa's pass laws.⁹⁶ According to lawyer Donald Purich, although it was never legalized, the pass system imposed by the Department of Indian Affairs through the North West Mounted Police (later the Royal Canadian Mounted Police) continued until well into the 20th century. The method of enforcement was initially to deprive the Indians of rations, since the passes prevented them from exercising their hunting and fishing rights.⁹⁷ These early measures to control the movements of western bands, however deplorable, bear little relationship to the pass laws imposed under apartheid. Laurie Barron understates the case by observing: "In practice, the pass system unfolded in a way that was only a weak reflection of what transpired in South Africa."⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Ibid., 52: In 1982 South Africa's prison population was the highest per capita in the world, with 0.44% of South Africans in prison. The United States is the next highest with 0.19%. This is largely because of the pass laws.

⁹⁵ Bunting, The Rise of the South African Reich, 171.

⁹⁶ see Donald Purich, Our Land: Native Rights in Canada (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, 1986) 130 and Ron Bourgeault, "Canada Indians: The South African Connection," Canadian Dimension 21 (8) January 1988, 8. Bourgeault erroneously claims that: "[In 1913] the first of many pass laws were...implemented based on Canadian experience."

⁹⁷ Purich, Our Land, 131.

⁹⁸ F. Laurie Barron, "The Indian Pass System in the Canadian West, 1882-1935," Prairie Forum, 13 (1) Spring 1988, 39.

Conclusion

Parallels drawn between the socio-economic conditions of Canada's First Nations and black South Africans fail to recognize the significance of apartheid's primary aim: to maintain control of its cheap black labour force. Poverty on South Africa's bantustans was a matter of policy. The forced removal of millions of "surplus Africans" not wanted by white industry ensured both labour and farmlands for white economic development. As the protest action of Chief Stevenson on the Peguis reserve in 1987 illustrates, not only were Canada's First Nations free to protest against their conditions, they had access to government subsidies and a welfare safety-net; all of which were denied black South Africans under apartheid. Moreover, Canada's First Nations were free to move and live where they chose. They had not experienced apartheid.

Paternalism, not exploitation lay at the root of the problem of the Peguis people and of many other reserves across Canada. As Canadian reserves transformed themselves into battlefronts in the 1970s, native peoples voiced their frustration. David Courchene, head of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood eloquently expressed the demands of aboriginal people after the royal presentation of commemorative medals to four chiefs at The Pas, Manitoba in 1970:

"It is with sorrow we note that the promises of peace and harmony, of social advancement and equality of Opportunity have not been realized by Indian People...we would ask that you see for yourself the results of a century of deprivation and ask that you advocate on our behalf to your loyal ministers, the need for greater understanding on their part, the need to provide for greater participation of Indian people in the decision making process of our society and the need for tolerant understanding in our negotiations."⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Quoted by Douglas Sanders in "Aboriginal Rights: The Search for Recognition in International Law," in Menno Boldt and J. Anthony Long, eds., The Quest for Justice: Aboriginal Peoples and Aboriginal Rights (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985) 296.

CHAPTER TWO: RESERVES AS TOOLS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

"From Wardship to Self-government"

"The ward does grow up and the time arrives when you should hand over to him the right he should have. We have been looking forward with eyes filled with tears to that time."
(Councillor T. Poswao, Transkei Territorial Authority, 1950)¹

In his analysis of aboriginal-state relations in Canada and the United States, Donald Baker identifies three factors most commonly cited to explain the disadvantaged position of indigenous populations in former British colonies: colour ("white racism"), culture and power.² The inter-relatedness of colour, culture and power are well illustrated in these words by Louis Ruchames in his appraisal of racial thought in America:

The white man's enslavement of the African Negro, as a being obviously different from himself, and his ability to do so with impunity, were the basic factors in the origins of prejudice and discrimination towards the black man.³

When Ruchames speaks of "obvious differences" he is alluding to colour and culture, when he speaks of the ability to enslave "with impunity," he is talking about the relative power of white over non-white. Because the "white man" perceives his colour and culture to be superior, Baker argues, he is able to use his power to enslave the "black man" and destroy the "red man."⁴

¹ Quoted in Govan Mbeki, South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1984) 55.

² Donald G. Baker, "Color, Culture and Power: Indian-White Relations in Canada and America," The Canadian Review of American Studies III (1) Spring 1972, 3.

³ Ibid., 9.

⁴ Ibid., 9.

In addressing the question "Is this apartheid?" this chapter will examine the dynamics of power in the maintenance of legal and political control over indigenous communities in Canada and South Africa. First of all, the reserve system and the limitation of political rights in Canada and South Africa between 1960 and 1982 will be compared. The analysis contrasts the progressive (albeit reluctant and limited) shift in policy direction in Canada from wardship to self-government between 1950 and 1982 and the regressive direction of apartheid policy in the same period. Finally, under the heading "the politics of power," the different strategies used by the official powers in Canada and South Africa to dis-empower native peoples will be discussed and compared.

1) The Reserve System

The reserve system was the cornerstone of the paternalistic policy of "wardship" or "trusteeship" in both Canada and South Africa. While some analysts argue, as does Jean Morisset, that the "English colonial mind" was the genitor of both the Indian reservation and apartheid policy in South Africa⁵, apartheid's application of racial segregation under the deceptive policy of "trusteeship" has no parallels in Canadian history. In the post-war period, colonial notions of aboriginal peoples as perpetual wards of state gradually grew out of favour in Canada while, in South Africa, "decolonization" was a mere façade behind which repressive measures were invoked with impunity.

Reserves were originally established in Canada to "gradually reclaim [indigenous peoples] from a state of barbarism" and to "introduce among them the industrious and

⁵ Jean Morisset, "La Conquête du Nord-Ouest, 1885-1895 or the Imperial Quest of British North America," in Ian A.L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier, eds., As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983) 284.

peaceful habits of civilized life."⁶ Although the "civilizing" mission of native policy was later discredited and abandoned, the paternal aura of wardship clung persistently to Canada's reserve system. Helen Buckley, in her recent assessment of Indian policy in western Canada, argues that although segregation was supposed to be temporary - a "period of tutelage" during which time aboriginal peoples would reach political maturity - the years stretched on and the government "quietly lowered its sights" so that both reserves and wardship took on a permanent character.⁷

Administered under the "colonialist legislation" of the Indian Act, local autonomy on Canadian reserves until the 1950s was minimal.⁸ Originally proclaimed in 1876, this Act defined who was and was not legally an Indian in Canada and empowered government officials to control virtually everything done on the reserves.⁹ Even Six Nations territories, not considered by members of the various Iroquois nations as "reserves," came under the authority of the Department of Indian Affairs. Under the Indian Act, so-called "hereditary" chiefs (an inaccurate term for Iroquois sachems) were deposed and replaced by elected band councils.¹⁰ Before the demise of the Indian Agent (or superintendent as he came to be called in later years) in the 1970s, local government and administration was centred in the position and person of the agent himself. His powers extended over every aspect of reserve life from granting permission for "Indian dancing" to the leasing of reserve lands to white

⁶ J.R. Miller, Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada, Revised Edition, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989) 95.

⁷ Helen Buckley, From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare: Why Indian Policy Failed in the Prairie Provinces (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992) 141.

⁸ Frank Cassidy, ed., Aboriginal Self-Determination: Proceedings of a Conference held September 30 to October 3, 1990 (Lantzville, B.C. & Halifax, N.S.: Oolichan Books and The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1991) 134.

⁹ Peter Carstens, The Queen's People: A Study in Hegemony, Coercion, and Accommodation among the Okanagan of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) 222.

¹⁰ Ronald Wright, Stolen Continents: The New World Through Indian Eyes since 1492 (Toronto: Viking, 1992) 317.

farmers.¹¹ The Indian Agent was also a justice of the peace and as such had the power to convict and sentence "trouble-makers."

In the 1960s, as problems of welfare dependency and social disorders on reserves began to attract public attention, the thrust of Canada's native policy moved away from segregation. In the late 1950s, an official in Indian Affairs asked in a letter to his supervisor:

May we not be doing a disservice to Indians by encouraging them to think they are something separate and apart from the rest of the nation; that their reserves are untouchable sanctuaries...?¹²

The Liberal government's White Paper in 1969 directly followed this line of reasoning. A number of factors, both internal and external, influenced Prime Minister Trudeau's assertion that Indian treaties and reserves could no longer be tolerated in a society which espoused the liberal principles of equality and democracy. Inside Canada, the pressure of Quebec's "Quiet Revolution" for special status as one of Canada's "founding peoples" and the development of a new multi-cultural vision for Canada in which aboriginal Canadians were seen as yet another ethnic group in Canada's multi-cultural "mosaic," profoundly affected the direction of native policy. The Civil Rights movement in the United States, the formulation of a Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations and the growth of Red Power among the indigenous peoples of North America gave impetus to the dismantlement of former power structures, including reserves, and the substitution of more subtle forms of social control over the lives and lands of indigenous peoples.

In direct contrast to Canada's determination to absorb its aboriginal population and to create a single multi-cultural Canadian nation, the driving force behind Nationalist Party rule was its determination to prevent any form of racial inter-mingling which might

¹¹ Carstens, The Queen's People, 223.

¹² RG 10, Vol. 7984, File 1/19-2-10 vol. 1: Letter from W.C. Bethune, Chief, Reserves and Trusts Division to Director, Indian Affairs Branch re W.J. Morris' report on Indians of Red Lake, 18 November 1958.

lead to the establishment of a multi-racial nation with a common citizenship.¹³ The entrenchment of segregation was not an inevitable political outcome of South African history. At the root of this policy was economic necessity combined with the powerful influence of Afrikaner nationalism.¹⁴

Ray and Jack Simons, in their classic study of the class struggle in South Africa before the National Party gained power in 1948, make the compelling observation that a multi-racial, democratic South Africa could easily have been born in the tide of decolonization which swept through Africa after World War Two. Although colour prejudice was deeply-ingrained among whites, the Simons argue, South Africa's policy of racial discrimination differed in degree rather than in kind from that practiced in other colonial countries.¹⁵ It was Afrikaner nationalism - and institutionalized racial segregation backed by military coercion - which effectively destroyed the hope of a peaceful transition towards parliamentary democracy and a non-racial social order.

In her seminal work on South Africa's bantustans, Barbara Rogers notes the connection between the Nationalist Party's policy of "separate development" and Nazi Germany's plans for African colonization in the 1930s. These plans articulated the ideal of the establishment of whites as the "Master Race" which would have no contact with Africans outside the sphere of work.¹⁶ Brian Bunting, in his historical analysis of the

¹³ The fundamental ideology on which the party's policy of Separate Development is rooted is the Nazi ideal articulated by Adolf Hitler in Mein Kampf: "A People that fails to preserve the purity of its racial blood thereby destroys the unity of the soul of the nation in all its manifestations." See Brian Bunting, The Rise of the South African Reich (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1986) 158.

¹⁴ See J.H.P. Serfontein, Brotherhood of Power: An Expose of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1978).

¹⁵ Jack and Ray Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950 (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1983) 7.

¹⁶ Barbara Rogers, Divide and Rule: South Africa's Bantustans (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1990) 7: "The Nazi Ministry of Justice prepared draft legislation in 1940 under which the Reich could assign certain areas to the black inhabitants. If for any reason the colonial administration

totalitarian characteristics of the apartheid administration writes in 1964: "South Africa is not yet Nazi Germany, with its concentration camps and gas ovens. But the attitude of mind which produced such atrocities is there..."¹⁷ In 1973, at the height of the forced removals of thousands of "superfluous Bantu" from designated "white" areas to impoverished bantustans, Opposition Member of Parliament, Helen Suzman noted the continuing influence of the Nazi mindset:

[The members of the National Party] still have the Germanic obsession for nice tidy maps... [They] do not like to see African communities outside of the areas they have designated as homelands even though some of those tribes have been settled there since time immemorial... certainly as far back as 1936, or even 1913 when the original land Acts were passed."¹⁸

As the Boer Republics had done before it, apartheid South Africa justified the dispossession of indigenous tribes by perpetuating the myth that "neither the White nor any one of the Black nations has a prior claim to all of South Africa, except to those areas which evolved politico-historically as the homelands of each particular people..."¹⁹ In a 1974 government publication, the scattered bantustans (at the time Bophuthatswana had 19 fragments and KwaZulu consisted of 29 major non-contiguous pieces, some hundreds of miles apart, and 41 minor fragments) are explained as the result of the "rash of small tribal lands that sprang up as the southward migration dissipated itself in the sub-continent."²⁰ By clinging to an out-dated and discredited interpretation of history, the

decided to restore these areas to the Reich, the blacks could be removed elsewhere... As a 1939 report to the Nazi ministry of Justice stressed, quoting the South African experience, the purpose of the reserves was to give blacks an essentially economic function in serving the white economy as and when required by the Reich."

¹⁷ Bunting, The Rise of the South African Reich, 521.

¹⁸ RSA House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 12 Feb 1973, 430.

¹⁹ Multi-National Development in South Africa: The Reality (Pretoria: State Department of Information, 1974) 18.

²⁰ Ibid., 18.

apartheid regime was attempting to hold the clock back. In many respects the strategy was effective. As Cosmas Desmond pointed out, many Africans became so "cowed and brainwashed" that they were ready to agree that they had no rights at all.²¹

It is important to note that the offer of homeland status (and later of "independence") was not made in response to African demands, but as a strategy to convince the outside world of the legitimacy of the apartheid regime.²² As Govan Mbeki, a former member of the Transkei Legislative Assembly (who served over twenty years as a political prisoner on South Africa's Robben Island) succinctly puts it:

The decision to give the Transkei [the first reserve to be renamed a "homeland"] its own Legislative Assembly was taken by the South African government at a time when world pressures and protests at the policy of apartheid were particularly severe. By advertising its gift of self-government to Africans in certain areas, even if those areas were strictly limited and the self-government effectively hand-cuffed, it hoped to silence world censure.²³

Far from being a South African plan to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow, Mbeki points out, the "gift of self-government" was a slide back into the past, a step backwards.

In George Fredrickson's analysis of the role of segregationism in South African history, the efforts of the Nationalist regime to induce reserve administrations to accept the government's offer of "independence" had two clear purposes. The first was to ensure the continued political dominance of a white oligarchy which in the 1960s constituted about 17 percent of the total population; the second was to thwart the development of a unified African nationalist movement through an adroit application of the divide-and-rule strategy. By encouraging the development of separate tribal nationalisms associated with each of the nine "homelands," not one of which had the potential capacity to challenge the white

²¹ Cosmas Desmond, The Discarded People: An Account of African Settlement in South Africa (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1971) 221.

²² The events which most seriously damaged South Africa's image in the eyes of the international community (with the accompanying withdrawal of economic investment) were the killing by state police of protesting Africans in the urban townships of Sharpeville and Langa in 1960.

²³ Mbeki, South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt, 22.

regime in any effective way, white supremacy was assured.²⁴ In the view of historian John Cell, the bantustan policy represented the pinnacle of segregationism and was the ultimate formation of a white supremacist state.²⁵

South Africa's history is filled with reminders of its past. Writing from the African perspective, Jordan Ngubane noted:

"In every sphere of life, the temper of the slave owner has constituted a grave and limiting factor in the Afrikaner's approach to the man of colour... When Dr. Verwoerd elected to leave the Commonwealth rather than modify the temper of the slave owner, he was merely taking the position assumed by Piet Retief [the Boer leader] more than a hundred years ago...The chain of continuity has never been broken."²⁶

2) Political Rights

After 1960, when an unconditional franchise was granted Canada's First Nations, the demands of aboriginal communities to be recognized as distinct societies with the right to negotiate their future on a nation-to-nation basis, finally received the attention of both government and public.²⁷ With the Constitution Act of 1982, Canada became the only country in the world in which constitutionally entrenched aboriginal and treaty rights form the basis of aboriginal-state relations.²⁸

By contrast, South African legislation in 1959 was designed to push back the forces of rising African nationalism by taking racial segregation to its logical conclusion through

²⁴ George M. Fredrickson, White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981) 246.

²⁵ John W. Cell, The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 214.

²⁶ Jordan Ngubane, An African Explains Apartheid (London: Pall Mall Press, 1963) 37.

²⁷ Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, The 'Nations Within': Aboriginal-State Relations in Canada, the United States and New Zealand (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992) 9.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

the mass deportation of Africans from "white" South Africa. Denied the vote in South Africa, Africans were promised self-government and "areas of liberty" under the National Party's policy of "grand apartheid"²⁹, depriving them of their remaining civil rights in their own country.³⁰

As Fleras and Elliott point out, parallels drawn between Canada's political control of First Nations and apartheid are deceptive. The policy of enfranchisement, which denied Indians membership in their own nations in exchange for the privilege of voting in Canadian elections, was the direct reverse of South Africa's bantustan policy which denied Africans citizenship in the land of their birth. While paternalistic perceptions of aboriginal peoples as wards of state ruled out the possibility of equal political rights in Canadian society, Canada's First Nations today possess a whole range of rights and options which are routinely and strictly denied black South Africans.³¹

As Wright explains it, the motivation behind Canadian policy was no more honourable than that of South Africa. Knowing that native nations held aboriginal title to large parts of Canada, the best way to dispose of their indigenous rivals (short of extermination) was to absorb them.³² In official terminology, and in keeping with the government's "civilizing" policy, enfranchisement was intended to "make a final disposition of the individuals who have been civilized into the ordinary life of the country."³³ Under

²⁹ As opposed to "petty apartheid" which concerned the racial segregation of public facilities and services such as public toilets and park benches and separate entrances and counters at post offices and banks.

³⁰ Rogers, Divide and Rule, 8.

³¹ Fleras and Elliott, The 'Nations Within', 76.

³² Wright, Stolen Continents, 316.

³³ DINA. The Indian Act: A Simplified Version. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Saskatchewan Region, December 1982: "Section 109-113, 40, 111.(1) Once he is enfranchised an Indian can sell or give away any piece of reserve land which he owned, to the band or another band member. If he has not disposed of it thirty days after the enfranchisement order then the superintendent shall offer the land for sale to the highest bidder and pay the money to the enfranchised Indian. If no bid is made

Section 12, (1)(b) of the Indian Act³⁴, women who married non-Indians or non-Status-Indians, as well as their children, forfeited Indian status and were automatically "enfranchised" (though Canadian women were not given the vote until 1919).³⁵ Although very few Indians accepted the franchise before World War One, (most of those who did, were women who had "married out"), it was the firm intention of successive governments to reduce the number of Status Indians and to entice those who remained on reserves to move into the cities.³⁶ Native historian Donald Purich points out that in the mid-1960s the Department of Indian Affairs was offering Indian families subsidies to relocate to the city.³⁷

After a period of neglect of Indian issues in general between the two wars, public interest was reawakened after the Second World War to the fact that full citizenship had been denied aboriginal Canadians, many of whom had fought in the war. John Tobias recounts how veterans' organizations, churches, and citizens' groups rallied to the call for a royal commission to investigate the administration of Indian affairs.³⁸ Although no commission was appointed, a Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons

and the land is still unsold six months after it was put up for sale then the land goes back to the band..."

³⁴ This section of the Act was revoked in 1985. See Janet Silman, Enough is Enough: Aboriginal Women Speak Out (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987): The passage of legislation to amend the Indian Act marked the culmination of a long campaign by Native women to regain their full Indian status, rights and identity."

³⁵ Sally M. Weaver, "Recent Directions in Canadian Indian Policy." A Paper Prepared for the Annual Meetings of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, London, Ontario, 31 May 1978, 9.

³⁶ John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," in J.R. Miller, ed., Sweet Promises: A Reader in Indian-White Relations in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) 137: In the period between 1857 when the enfranchisement process was first enacted to 1920, only slightly more than 250 persons were enfranchised."

³⁷ Donald Purich, Our Land: Native Rights in Canada (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, 1986) 183.

³⁸ Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 139.

recommended in its 1948 report that a new Indian Act be designed "to facilitate the gradual transition of the Indian from a position of ward up to full citizenship."³⁹ The subsequent revision of the Indian Act in 1951 (which remains in effect) was designed to complete the process of integration (the term now used in place of "assimilation").⁴⁰ As one opposing Member of Parliament declared when the amending Bill (Number 267, Respecting Indians) was debated in the House:

We have cavalierly assumed, as white people in this country, that it is a completely desirable thing that the Indians mingle with us, become whites, be submerged and lose their identity... The whole object of our policy in Canada seems to be to submerge the Indians and to assimilate them out of existence."⁴¹

In response to continuing pressure, most of the provinces granted Indians the vote during the post-war period; an unqualified federal franchise (whereby Indian status was not forfeited) was one of the notable achievements of the Diefenbaker government in 1960. While Indians of voting age formed only 1.1% of the total voters in Canada (1964 figures), as Tobias has noted, the importance of the franchise resides more in its contribution to the recognition that Indians form part of provincial and national communities than in their actual leverage on government policy.⁴² The extension of the franchise in the post-war period theoretically provided indigenous peoples with the same capacity as the rest of Canadian society to influence the content of public policy, but in practice these powers were

³⁹ John Leslie and Ron Maguire, "The Historical Development of the Indian Act" (Ottawa: DINA, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, P.R.E. Group, August 1978) 142.

⁴⁰ "Assimilation" implied the absorption of aboriginal peoples into the dominant society; "integration" implied economic and political integration and the recognition of cultural identity.

⁴¹ CP House of Commons Debates, 21 June 1950, Vol. 2, 3947.

⁴² Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," 139. Tobias notes that even if maximum use is made of the franchise, the Indian impact on federal and provincial political systems will always be marginal. The Indian population is not only small relative to the total population of Canada, but its political impact is further reduced by its youthfulness, which leaves a disproportionate percentage of Indians below voting age. The total number of Indians twenty-one years and above, according to figures for 31 December 1964, was only 87,384 out of a population of 210,119. The percentage of Indian population of voting age, 41.6, contrasts unfavourably with the 56.8 per cent of the non-Indian population of voting age.

limited by their inferior status as a "dispersed minority."⁴³

In direct contrast to Canada, political exclusion rather than inclusion lay behind the regressive history of democracy in South Africa. When Britain granted representative government to the Cape Colony in 1853, the franchise was extended to all male subjects of the Crown subject to certain conditions but regardless of race. Although the qualifications were exacting (they included the ability to read and write and a minimum annual salary of fifty pounds or possession of landed property valued as no less than twenty-five pounds) sufficient Africans were able to pass the test to constitute a significant threat to white power.⁴⁴ Successive regimes imposed stiffer qualifications to reduce the number of African voters - and removed property and educational qualifications in the case of white voters. Finally, under the terms of the South Africa Act⁴⁵, by which Britain agreed to the union of its two former colonies with the Boer republics in 1910, the Cape vote for Africans was all but eliminated.⁴⁶ Over the next decades, steps were taken to dilute its effectiveness (such as the extension of the vote to white women in 1930 which doubled white voting power) and in 1936 Cape Africans were placed on a separate voters' roll. As Mbeki notes in his

⁴³ Jeanne Guillemin, "The Politics of National Integration: A Comparison of United States and Canadian Indian Administrations," Social Problems, 25 (3) 1978, 328.

⁴⁴ Mbeki, 23: "With the annexation by the Cape government of the Ciskei and the Transkei, the African population of the Cape increased by over one million persons, and African voters who formed 14% of the electorate in 1882 increased to 47% in 1887."

⁴⁵ Before Union Africans were explicitly excluded from the suffrage. In Natal the qualifications required to vote effectively eliminated all but a handful of Africans. See George M. Fredrickson, White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981) 249.

⁴⁶ Mbeki, South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt, 25: "The Act, which enshrines the principle of racial discrimination, was supported by three quarters of the Cape House of Assembly, and on a division over the franchise issue only two former conservative members, Sir George Prigg and W.P. Schreiner voted against the proposals as constituting "a blot on the constitution."

uniquely insightful account of African resistance in this period⁴⁷, the "Hertzog settlement," which established a Native Representative Council in payment for the surrender of their political rights, was made in the face of fierce African protest.

In 1951 the recently-elected National Party passed the Separate Representation of Voters Act to remove Cape Coloured people from the common voters' roll and, in 1959, under the misnamed Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, the last tiny wedge of African representation (the right to elect four white representatives to the Senate through a system of electoral colleges) was removed. Africans were not consulted when this legislation, which was to have devastating and long-lasting effects on the lives of millions of their people, was passed in the all-white Parliament.⁴⁸

Between 1976 and 1981 more than eight million Africans were made citizens of the ten newly assigned "bantustans" (as "aliens" in South Africa they ceased to qualify for South African passports and could be deported at any time to their "homeland"). As law professor Leonard Gering noted at the time, there were marked similarities between the apartheid law of 1976 (Status of the Transkei Act) which stripped 1.3 million Transkeians of South African citizenship and the Nazi decree of 1941 which deprived Jews of German citizenship. Both made ethnic and racial origins the criteria for deprivation of citizenship.⁴⁹

Transkei citizenship (the Transkei was the "model" bantustan and the first to be offered its

⁴⁷ Ruth First writes in her Preface to the 1984 edition of Govan Mbeki's South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt: "A great slice of this book was written on rolls of toilet paper when Mbeki served a two-month spell of solitary confinement, awaiting trial on a charge of making explosives. Mbeki was acquitted after these court proceedings; the manuscript was smuggled out of his cell to the typist who pored over the faint pencil writing on the thin paper, by candlelight and in the privacy of her township room. Some final portions of the book were written from Govan's last hiding-place in Johannesburg, where he had moved from Port Elizabeth after he was drafted by the African National Congress National Executive to direct A.N.C. campaigns from underground."

⁴⁸ Roger Omond, The Apartheid Handbook: A Guide to South Africa's Everyday Racial Policies (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1986) 111.

⁴⁹ The Star, Johannesburg, 4 June 1976 quoted in Laurence, Patrick, The Transkei: South Africa's Politics of Partition (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1976) 13.

"independence") was imposed on Africans via a number of channels: under agreements between Pretoria and the homelands, in terms of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act Number 26 of 1970 or by Acts passed by bantustan parliaments. An amending Act of 1974 made it possible for Africans to be assigned citizenship in a bantustan "if born in the area, if living there, if speaking any language or dialect used there, related to any member of the population there, or associated with any part of the population 'by virtue of their cultural or racial background.'"⁵⁰ Far from advancing towards a recognition of democratic rights for its indigenous population, apartheid entrenched the principle of white supremacy at the expense of the inherent civil rights of native South Africans.

The height of political exclusion was reached in 1984 when the new Constitution Act of 1983 established a tri-cameral parliament, providing separate parliamentary chambers for whites, Coloureds and Indians (but excluding the African majority). Under this Act, only members of these three racial groups were eligible to vote; Africans were excluded because they were not deemed to be "citizens" of South Africa.⁵¹

3) The Politics of Power

The imposition of state power over indigenous peoples has been a significant aspect of aboriginal-state relations in both Canada and South Africa. In both countries, traditional political structures have been manipulated to maintain control over the lives of native communities. In Canada, this manipulation has attempted to destroy the cultural roots of aboriginal life and to draw the aboriginal population into mainstream Canadian

⁵⁰ Omond, The Apartheid Handbook, 115.

⁵¹ Republic of South Africa. Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, No. 110, 1983: "Every White person, Coloured person and Indian who - a) is a South African citizen in terms of the South African Citizenship Act, 1949... shall, on compliance with and subject to the provisions of the Electoral Act, 1979, be entitled to vote an any election of a member of the House of Assembly and the House of Delegates ..."

society. In apartheid South Africa, African political systems were perverted and controlled by the apartheid administration in order to ensure white supremacy and a cheap black labour force.

The historical dis-empowerment of native peoples in Canada through bureaucratic structures has resulted in high levels of unemployment, undereducation and endemic social dysfunction. Michelle DuCharme and others have compared the effects of state control over the lives of indigenous Canadians with apartheid.⁵² Peter Carstens, whose anthropological research into reserves in both South Africa and Canada led him to conclude that strong parallels existed between the two administrative systems, drew attention to the inhibiting effects of reserve life on successive generations of reserve-dwellers. Carstens argues that, because the Indian Act defines the parameters of such a wide spectrum of reserve behaviour, a process of "administrative determinism" has developed. Among the psycho-social effects he noted (which were evident in reserves in both Canada and South Africa) were displays of "poor self-images, feelings of unworthiness and apathy towards the environment."⁵³ In Carstens' view, even the amendments to the Indian Act in 1951 (which introduced significant changes on both the local and national levels) were merely steps in modernizing the reserve system while maintaining the authority of the federal government.⁵⁴

The lack of consultation in the administration of their affairs has been a major source of frustration and dis-empowerment for Canada's First Nations. Paternalistic

⁵² Michelle DuCharme, "The Segregation of Native People in Canada: Voluntary or Compulsory?" Currents, Summer 1986, 3: "Among the Indians living on reserves, 60 per cent are on welfare. About 70 per cent of status Indians have been incarcerated in a correctional centre by the age of 15... suicide among Indians is six times the national rate and in fact, exceeds the rates for all other racial and ethnic groups in the world... it is imperative that we begin to acknowledge that apartheid is not confined to any one people or country...."

⁵³ Carstens, The Queen's People, 287.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 225.

attitudes inherent in many of the departmental studies conducted on reserve conditions during the 1960s denied a meaningful voice to either the leadership or members of native communities concerned. For example, the questionnaires prepared by Professor Hawthorn's team of researchers, sent to every band across the country, were addressed to the Indian Agent. Very little or no participation was either requested or expected from band councils or members of the reserve communities.⁵⁵ A model Indian Act proposed by the Saskatchewan Federation of Indians to the Joint Committee calling for autonomous Indian reserves and the replacement of Indian superintendents with elected band chiefs, was barely recognized by the Committee.⁵⁶

In her influential analysis of the development of native policy under the Trudeau administration, Sally Weaver attributes the failure of the Liberal government's 1969 White Paper to the lack of aboriginal participation in the decision-making process.⁵⁷ The assertion that the policy announcement followed a year-long consultation process, and was based on the wishes of the native leadership, epitomized the one-way power relationship of the federal government and aboriginal people in the 1960s.⁵⁸ As Native leaders argued in their almost unanimous rejection of the proposed new policy, the meetings which had preceded the White Paper announcement were a) ostensibly held to discuss revisions to the Indian Act not its retraction, and b) a clear indication that the special status of Indians was not negotiable. In the words of the presentation of the Indian Chiefs of Alberta, entitled Citizens Plus: "What Indians asked for land ownership that would result in Provincial

⁵⁵ RG 10, Volume 7982, File 1/19-2-1, pt. 2; Questionnaire tested at St. Regis Agency.

⁵⁶ William Morris, "Report of Parliament's Joint Committee on Indian Affairs," Globe and Mail, Weekend Magazine, 13 January 1962, 5-6 & 23.

⁵⁷ Sally M. Weaver, Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981) xiii.

⁵⁸ Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969. Presented to the First Session of the Twenty-eighth Parliament by the Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 6.

taxation of our reserves? What Indians asked that Treaties be brought to an end? What Indians asked that Indian rights not be recognized?"⁵⁹ The ineffectiveness of the so-called "consultations" is indicative of the weakness of the aboriginal position in the face of government determination to meet its own agenda.

An effective method of exerting control over aboriginal leadership was to offer support to native organizations. In 1963 the Centennial Commission provided \$150,000 for projects initiated by native organizations; a year later the National Indian Council (founded in 1954) received government funding. By 1970 federal funding from all departments amounted to almost a million dollars.⁶⁰ In one sense, as Donald Purich points out, the funding of native organization gave struggling provincial and national associations the boost they needed to organize effectively. However, in her analysis of the "hidden agenda" of native policy directions in the 1970s, Sally Weaver draws attention to the inherent costs of government aid.⁶¹ Native writers like Howard Adams and Marie Campbell support Weaver's conclusions. Campbell's powerful metaphor of "the blanket" eloquently describes the debilitating effects of state paternalism and the wide-spread tentacles of state power:

My Cheechum [grandmother] used to tell me that when the government gives you something, they take all that you have in return - your pride, your dignity, all the things that make you a living soul. When they are sure they have everything, they give you a blanket to cover your shame."⁶²

Although some progress was made in the 1970s in extending the input of reserve leadership and band councils in the decision-making process, the Department of Indian

⁵⁹ Citizens Plus, A Presentation by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta to Right Honourable P.E. Trudeau, Prime Minister and the Government of Canada, June 1970, 3.

⁶⁰ Purich, Our Land, 186.

⁶¹ Weaver, "Recent Directions in Canadian Indian Policy," 10.

⁶² Maria Campbell, Half-Breed (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Goodread Biographies, 1973) 159.

Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) and its officials were reluctant to relinquish complete control. Even in reserves which are now self-governing, such as the Walpole Island reserve in southern Ontario, official power was only yielded under extreme pressure from local communities.⁶³ In their analysis of recent developments in native administration, Rick Ponting and Roger Gibbins cite examples of the "neo-paternalistic" strategies of DIAND to maintain its authority. In almost every instance the practice of various forms of socio-fiscal control left Indians in a debilitating state of continued dependency. By forcing reserves to depend for lengthy periods on welfare payments, band leadership was drained of the initiative and self-esteem essential for launching any meaningful challenge to the political or administrative status quo.⁶⁴ In his assessment of the recent transfer of some of the powers exercised by Indian Affairs to band councils and regional Indian organizations, Donald Purich comments "this is still not self-government." In the 1980s priorities were still being set by the government and the design and implementation of programs had not yet been handed over to native leadership.⁶⁵

The 1971 retraction of the proposed legislation, which threatened the existing rights of Canada's aboriginal people, signalled the strengthening of indigenous political power. In his speech announcing the retraction in March 1971, Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development blamed the failure of past policy on the fact that, although they were "conceived in goodwill," they were not "of and by the people they purported to help," and he applauded the new involvement of native representatives in

⁶³ Nin.Da.Waab.Jig, Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory (Walpole Island, Ontario: 1987) 102: Walpole Island action in seizing the reins of self-government also pushed the Indian Affairs Branch faster than it would otherwise have moved."

⁶⁴ J. Rick Ponting and Roger Gibbins, Out of Irrelevance (Calgary: 1980) 125.

⁶⁵ Purich, Our Land, 226.

many different levels of the administrative system.⁶⁶

One of the most positive results of the renewed awareness of aboriginal rights and cultural identity sparked by the White Paper fiasco was the establishment of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline inquiry under the direction of Justice Thomas Berger in 1974. Following three years of intensive and extensive research - the Commission visited thirty-five communities and every city, town and village in the MacKenzie Valley and Western Arctic region and heard the views of almost one thousand inhabitants (aboriginal and non-aboriginal) - the Berger report highlighted a number of important findings which were to influence future policy developments, not only in the economic development of the north, but in the administration of native peoples.⁶⁷ The affirmation of aboriginal aspirations to assert their right to self-determination and to gain control over their own lives and futures was the Inquiry's most powerful achievement. The acceptance of the Berger Commission's recommendation that the project be delayed for ten years "to allow sufficient time for native claims to be settled, and for new programs and new institutions to be established," signalled a new era in aboriginal-government relations in Canada.⁶⁸

While the advancement of Canada's First Nations towards political recognition was slow and halting in Canada, the history of aboriginal relations in South Africa was one of political regression and the diminishment of civil rights for South Africa's black majority. The lack of any meaningful participation of Africans in decisions affecting their daily lives was a hallmark of the apartheid administration in the 1960s and 1970s and further evidence of the oppression of Africans as a voiceless and voteless people. The basic premise

⁶⁶ Jean Chrétien, "The Unfinished Tapestry - Indian Policy in Canada." A Speech by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development given at Queen's University, March 17, 1971, 1.

⁶⁷ Thomas R. Berger, Northern Frontier. Northern Homeland Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, (Ottawa, Minister of Supply and Services, 1977) Vol. 1, 1.

⁶⁸ Ibid., Volume II, xii: "The evidence led irresistibly to the conclusion that, if the pipeline were built now in the Mackenzie Valley, its economic benefits would be limited, its social impact devastating, and it would frustrate the goals of native claims."

articulated by Maurice Evans, a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Natal in 1906, held true for all subsequent policy-making in white supremacist South Africa:

Within the Native areas the black man will have many rights and privileges; two obligations, however, will be absolutely imperative. The broad policy governing his affairs must be dictated by the white man through his Parliament, and he must be absolutely loyal to the central government.⁶⁹

Evans' first tenet, that all policies governing the affairs of Africans must be subject to white parliamentary rule, were cemented into place under the terms of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1950 granting so-called "self-government" to "national Bantu homelands." Token forms of African representation appeared on the statute books before the bantustan scheme came into effect. The first formal attempt at "consultation" was the much touted and Union-wide Native Representative Council created in 1936 as a pay-off for the removal of the African franchise from the common roll in the Cape Province. As Rotberg and others have noted, the Council functioned as a "toy telephone" - the members could speak, but nobody was listening.⁷⁰ The issue of African participation was broached in denigratory terms by the Tomlinson Commission in 1955. In its report, published without any form of consultation with native people, the Commission pointed out that development had no significance unless the burden were borne by the Bantu themselves:

The European official must become more and more an "advisor", while the Bantu becomes an "actor" and more specifically via the Bantu Authority [administrative system]...The time has arrived when, if anyone is to sit in the sun and restfully watch the world go by, it should be the official rather than the Bantu."⁷¹

⁶⁹ Maurice P. Evans, "Black and White in South East Africa," 314-317, cited in T.R.H. Davenport and K.S. Hunt, eds., Documents on Southern African History: The Right to Land (Cape Town: David Philip Publisher, 1974)

⁷⁰ Robert I. Rotberg, Towards a Certain Future: The Politics and Economics of Southern Africa (Cape Town: David Philip Publisher, 1981) 76. See also Mbeki, South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt, 37: "The Native Representative Council - calling itself a toy telephone, because though it talked and talked, nothing of what it said seemed to reach the ears of the government..."

⁷¹ Union of South Africa. Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa. Union Government, No.61, 1955, 177.

The crassness of the apartheid regime's assumption of power over Africans is well illustrated in these remarks made by Mr. D.E. Mitchell, an Opposition Member of Parliament during the parliamentary debate on legislation to amend the Bantu Authorities Act in 1973:

"What was it the Honourable the Prime Minister said the other day about the Bantu having souls and having to be treated like individuals? He warned his own side, the Government and all the departments that they must realize the Bantu are people: one must talk to them not at them."⁷²

The apartheid regime not only denied any form of consultation with the African majority, it denied them their very humanity.

The imposition of state power over indigenous peoples has taken a number of subtle forms in both Canada and South Africa. The dismantling of native power structures and co-option of native leadership were strategies of political and social control practiced in both countries. While the methods of dis-empowerment were similar, the objectives of co-option in Canada and South Africa and the results it produced were entirely different.

In his historical overview of the bantustan system, Patrick Laurence describes the corrupting effects of African co-option in South Africa's bantustans and the gradual diminishment of chiefly powers. In the Transkei, which became the model for African self-government in South Africa, chiefs were no longer seen as part of the old chieftainship system but were known by the descriptive name of isibonda or supportive pole (of the white government).⁷³ Far from restoring the old tribal order by reinstating the authority of Chiefs, the bribery and corruption which became characteristic of many bantustan administrations, perverted what was once a position of honour and trust.⁷⁴

The measure of collaboration extracted from the "puppet" governments was directly

⁷² RSA House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 12 Feb 1973, 420.

⁷³ Patrick Laurence, The Transkei: South Africa's Politics of Partition (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1976) 34.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

related to the amount of coercion applied. The carrot and stick approach was used effectively to persuade traditional leaders that their best interests, and that of their people, would be served by submitting to the dictates of the powerful white state. The rewards, both financial and in personal prestige, were considerable. Figures published in February 1983 indicated that the Chief Minister for Venda, for example, earned R48,700 a year plus a tax-free allowance; the average annual per capita income in Venda was less than R450. In Ciskei, the average annual income was given as R450 and the President's income as R42,808.⁷⁵ The "stick" (the mildest form of censure being dismissal) which was used by the South African government to secure the loyalty of bantustan leaders, has a vast array of historical precedents. Govan Mbeki (himself a victim of the heavy hand of apartheid as a former political prisoner) recalls the "object lesson" given to suspectedly recalcitrant chiefs by Cape governor Sir Harry Smith in 1848 when he ordered a wagon loaded with dynamite to be blown up in their presence.⁷⁶ Theories about what motivated Chiefs to cooperate with the white government vary. The "half loaf" hypothesis of Newell Stultz, which asserts that by accepting "independence" African leaders achieved at least a measure of autonomy for their people, is shared by Gwendolen Carter.⁷⁷ However, collaboration came with a heavy price.

In spite of the 1980 Quail Report's⁷⁸ assertion that leaders like Chief Buthelezi of KwaZulu and Chief Sebe of Ciskei enjoyed popular legitimacy, especially inside the rural homelands (as opposed to city Zulu and Xhosa, who deviated markedly from this view

⁷⁵ Omond, The Apartheid Handbook, 115.

⁷⁶ Mbeki, 32.

⁷⁷ See Newell M. Stultz, Transkei's Half Loaf: Race Separatism in South Africa (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1979) and Carter, Gwendolen, Thomas Karis and Newell M. Stultz, eds., South Africa's Transkei: The Politics of Domestic Colonialism (London: Heinemann, 1967).

⁷⁸ The Quail Report was the result of a seven-man government commission of inquiry concerning the granting of Ciskei's "independence."

according to the Report's findings), there is strong evidence that government collusion gravely damaged local support for bantustan leaders.⁷⁹ Writing from his prison cell in 1963, Mbeki notes how bantustan chiefs were used as tax-collectors and "stooges" for the apartheid government:

The Nationalist government has turned the Chiefs into the pivot of the Bantustan scheme. They constitute a ruling aristocracy, but one directly answerable to the government. The Chiefs are the Chiefs because the government has ordained that they may be so. They are stronger than they have ever been - under White occupation - and they are expected to use their powers to keep quiescent not only the great mass of the dispossessed Africans in the new settlements, but the land-holders and small middle class as well.⁸⁰

The acknowledged collusion between the bantustan leaders and the South African government is well illustrated in this exchange between a Progressive Federal Party Member of Parliament, D.E. Mitchell and the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration in connection with the passage of the Amendment to the Bantu Authorities Bill in Parliament in 1973:

D.E.MITCHELL: We have here a tribe of four million people. Their own government was created by this party. This Nationalist government created the KwaZulu Government. It is theirs.

DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU DEVELOPMENT: What is wrong with that?

D.E.MITCHELL: There is nothing wrong with it, but they cannot get the KwaZulu government to agree with them. That is the point.⁸¹

A telling example of the manipulation of the bantustan system to serve the purposes of apartheid is the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1978 which transferred the administration of pass laws to the bantustans. Far from dismantling the iniquitous system of influx control which held millions of Africans in the thrall of white employers, pass laws were further tightened after 1978 and penalties for offenders increased by "homeland" governments. As Philip Frankel points out, the effects of the Act were to lock the

⁷⁹ RSA. The Quail Report, the Ciskei Commission, February 1980, 239.

⁸⁰ Mbeki, South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt, 109.

⁸¹ RSA House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 12 Feb 1973, 423.

"homelands" further into apartheid; to shield Pretoria from world censure while transferring blame to the African bantustans; and to reaffirm the principle that the political future of the urban blacks lay with the bantustans rather than with white South Africa.⁸²

Butler et al, in their analysis of the political and economic development of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, make the telling observation that apartheid legislation in 1970 and 1971 giving "stage one independence" to these bantustans provided "no major break with the system established in the Transkei in 1963, the roots of which go back to the Bantu Authority Act of 1951."⁸³ While the Transkei-type model was extended constitutionally to bantustans, the balance of power remained securely in the hands of the South African republic.

Unlike South Africa, where tribal and national differences were carefully cultivated by the white regime, aboriginal co-option in Canada was directed towards the breakdown of native cultural and religious identity and the total absorption of native Canadians into the dominant society. The damaging effects of the systematic attack on native life-styles and integrity has led to a turnaround in native perceptions of the Indian Act and of the reserve system. For most First Nations people (with the exception of many women who saw it as discriminatory), the Indian Act was no longer seen as an instrument of legal oppression but as a repository of sacred rights.⁸⁴ Reserves, which were once seen as tools of colonialism

⁸² Philip Frankel, "The Politics of Passes: Control and Change in South Africa," The Journal of Modern African Studies 17 (2) June 1979, 216.

⁸³ Jeffrey Butler, Robert I. Rotberg and John Adams, The Black Homelands of South Africa: The Political and Economic Development of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) 41-42.

⁸⁴ a) The controversy over whether the Indian Act should be scrapped because of its discrimination against women, or retained as a guarantee of native rights is described in the report written by Kathleen Jamieson for the Advisory Council on the Status of Women and Indian Rights for Women, Indian Women and the Law in Canada: Citizens Minus (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply & Services, 1978) 2.; b) The discriminatory clause, Section 12 (1) (b) of the Indian Act was revoked in 1985.

and subjugation, were regarded by many native people as territorial "homelands" and havens for cultural renewal.

Fleras and Elliott note that the relentless process of Canadianization - the placement of children in residential schools being the most effective method of acculturation - combined with structural constraints and negative experiences robbed many indigenous people of self-esteem. Psychological damage, derived from a sense of endemic powerlessness, is the result of any number of factors including a sense of not belonging in either the aboriginal or non-aboriginal world and the internalization of white racism.⁸⁵ With the suicide rate at six times the national average for certain age groups, sociologists have noted that Canada's aboriginal peoples currently represent one of the most self-destructive groups in the world.⁸⁶

Canada's paternalistic administrative system lent itself to the practice of co-opting band leadership to serve the interests of the central government. In his account of Canada's treatment of the Iroquois, Ronald Wright describes how traditional governments under condoled Chiefs and Clan Mothers were replaced by elected councilmen who became "puppets" of the Department of Indian Affairs. The imposition of European political systems with elected councils and adversarial style decision-making ran counter to the indigenous traditions of consensus and inclusion of women.⁸⁷ Over vehement protests from many Iroquois communities, who questioned the authority of the Canadian government over them, Ottawa recognized only the "puppet councils" and funnelled all rents, annuities, and other funds belonging to the Indians through that body.⁸⁸ Opportunities for corruption

⁸⁵ Howard Adams, Prison of Grass: Canada from the Native Point of View (Toronto: General Publishing, 1975)

⁸⁶ Fleras and Elliott, The 'Nations Within,' 17.

⁸⁷ Wright, Stolen Continents, 317.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 317.

and graft existed equally on bantustans and on Canadian reserves. Personal greed and human frailty were essential ingredients in the co-option strategy which governments were ready to exploit. As Yngve Georg Lithman notes in his study of Canadian reserve communities, there was a tendency in the Indian Affairs Department to play one band off against another by rewarding those band leaders who collaborate with the system.⁸⁹

Conclusion

In South Africa, colonialism (symbolised by "wardship") left its indelible mark on native policy. Unlike Canada, where wardship gradually gave way to a more equitable relationship with its indigenous population, apartheid South Africa rejected the very notion of racial equality or democratic rights. While the protective paternalism of the Indian Act and the bureaucratic structures of federal and provincial jurisdiction continued to impinge on every aspect of aboriginal life, the basic underpinnings of democracy and constitutional rights offered the hope of full political and legal recognition to Canada's First Nations.

⁸⁹ Yngve Georg Lithman, The Community Apart: A Case Study of a Canadian Indian Reserve Community (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1984) 165.

CHAPTER THREE: RESERVES AS ABORIGINAL HOMELANDS

"Resistance and Rewards"

"I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the idea of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." (Nelson Mandela, 1964.¹)

In the period 1960 to 1982, new patterns of self-management and community government began to emerge in the administration of Canada's First Nations. Aboriginal peoples successfully used legal and constitutional channels (albeit circumscribed by the dominant white society) to assert their inherent rights as sovereign nations to their ancestral lands and to political autonomy. By contrast, the ability of the African majority in South Africa to assert their moral and material power to gain democratic rights and economic equality was greatly inhibited by the apartheid government's repressive tactics of political and economic exclusion and use of armed force.

In addressing the question "Is this apartheid?" this chapter will examine two aspects of the resistance movements in Canada and South Africa. In the first section, entitled "The Wigwam and the Laager," segregation and native self-government will be examined in the context of Canada and South Africa. The second section, "Resistance," compares the capacities for change in Canada and South Africa. The thesis to be argued is that the coercive forces used in South Africa to maintain white supremacy between 1960

¹ Nelson Mandela, *The Struggle is My Life* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1986) 181. The quote is from Mandela's statement from the dock during the Rivonia trial in 1964. He, along with seven others, were found guilty of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment.

and 1982 have no parallel in Canadian history.

1) The "Wigwam" and the "Laager"

A critical difference between the segregation of indigenous peoples in Canada and in South Africa is the factor of choice. In Canada, segregation (at least since 1970) has been chosen as a means of group survival; in South Africa it has been imposed as a means of group control. Two metaphors for these opposing applications of group segregation provide a useful conceptual framework to examine the notion of self-government in the Canadian context. The "wigwam complex" (a term used by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau for the mindset of Quebec separatists in the 1960s²) relates to group segregation which is self-imposed as a means of cultural survival; the "laager," (a symbol for the siege mentality of South Africa's Afrikaner nation³) while it includes elements of isolationism and self-preservation, graphically represents the imposition of segregation by the dominant society on weaker groups as a means of social control. According to the liberal view, any form of segregation, whether it is imposed on others or self-imposed, runs counter to the principles of equality and the sanctity of human rights. In this analysis, the aspirations of Canada's native peoples are examined in the context of the power-struggle between dominant and subordinate groups within society and as an issue of social justice.

In order to explain the motives of aboriginal Canadians in insisting on their right

² Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Federalism and the French Canadians, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968) 211: "The truth is that the separatist counter-revolution is the work of the powerless petit-bourgeois minority afraid of being left behind by the twentieth century revolution. Rather than carving themselves out a place in it by ability, they want to make the whole tribe return to the wigwams by declaring independence."

³ Allister Sparks, The Mind of South Africa (New York: Ballantine Books, 1990) 111: "Mzilikazi's Ndebele warriors fell upon the northbound voortrekkers... Boers circled wagons into the famed defensive laager that became the symbol of their military strategy and ultimately of their mentality as well."

to self-government, it is important to recognize the wide gap between the world-view of native Canadians and that of Euro-Canadian society. The first distinctive characteristic of the indigenous world-view is the centrality of community and the community's relationship with the land. When Prime Minister Trudeau dismissed native claims to aboriginal rights in 1969 as "historical might-have-beens," he was not only articulating the fundamental liberal principle of individual equality under a strong central government, he was rejecting the validity of the aboriginal notion of community.⁴ The "wigwam" complex, as Trudeau saw it, which focused on community or group rights rather than individual rights, was both anti-progressive and anti-democratic.

Noel Dyck explains this diametrically opposing view of Euro-Canadians and indigenous peoples in his analysis of indigenous nation-states in Canada, Australia and Norway. According to Dyck, liberal democratic states like Canada represent the totality of their individual citizens while indigenous peoples consist of small, self-selecting communities usually connected with a particular territorial base. The special relationship that native peoples have with the land is forcefully expressed by native activist Harold Cardinal:

We are a nation of people, a people who were put on this continent with the specific purpose of fulfilling our responsibilities to our land. Ours was a special relationship with our Creator...When we talk of treaties and land claim settlements, we are talking about much more than just dollars for Indian development - we are talking about the integrity of our Indian souls, the integrity of our Indian nations.⁵

Western nation-states tend to dismiss native land claims as opportunistic and focus instead on the economic plight of native people. By asserting that only one form of citizenship can exist - the model of western democracy - they fail to recognize the native point of view and

⁴ Sally Weaver, Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda, 1968-1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981) 55.

⁵ Harold Cardinal, "Treaties Six and Seven: The Next Century," in Ian A.L. Getty and Donald B. Smith, eds., One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978) 133. (This paper is an edited transcript of a speech given at the Calgary Convention Centre, 19 February 1978).

the inter-relatedness of land and socio-economic stability.⁶

Justice Thomas Berger, who headed the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry and is an effective proponent of the aboriginal view, pointed out the vital importance of the patterns of "collective and cooperative self-reliance" that characterize northern traditional life to the pipeline debate.⁷ The highly localized sense of identity of native people was central to the rejection of the pipeline project and so-called "northern development."⁸ In their Eurocentric view, corporations and government decision-makers regard the issue of land claims as essentially the control of access to valuable commodities, like land and mineral resources; for indigenous peoples, these claims stand for a totally different set of economic interests and, above all, for the protection of native culture and community life.

A second common theme of indigenous peoples in their assertion of political rights is their survival as distinct cultural entities within a larger and alien society. Once again, Native people have had enormous difficulty translating aboriginal concerns into a format comprehensible to the western mindset. Labelled "wigwam thinking", aboriginal demands (like those of Quebec separatists) tended to be dismissed as out of step with Enlightenment principles and contrary to the national priority of a strong unified state. The concurrent emergence of Quebec nationalism with the growing political consciousness of aboriginal people between 1960 and 1982 was an inhibiting factor in the acceptance of aboriginal demands for special status as Canada's First Nations. As Sally Weaver explains it, as pressures from Quebec for special status within the federal system increased, "special" and

⁶ Noel Dyck, Indigenous Peoples and the Nation-State: 'Fourth World' Politics in Canada, Australia and Norway Social and Economic Papers Number 14 (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985) 1-7.

⁷ Thomas R. Berger, Northern Frontier. Northern Homeland, Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1977) II, xi.

⁸ Ibid., xi.

"separate" became loaded words in the national political vocabulary.⁹ Following the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963-1968), native peoples were regarded more and more as yet another minority in Canada's cultural "mosaic."¹⁰

From the point of view of Canada's native community, any move towards integration diminished their aboriginal entitlement to be recognized as Canada's first nations. Although what has been proposed by some native groups is special status not unlike that of the French in Quebec, others claim that they are not interested in separatism or secession. The goal of self-government is an essential ingredient in redefining and restructuring the relationship between aboriginal peoples and the nation-state; only by taking control of their own affairs on the level of institutions and decision-making can native people regain the powers they have lost.¹¹ The concept of the "inherent right" of native people to self-government is problematic to western thinking, yet it is critical in promoting the idea of aboriginal peoples as distinct founding nations because it acknowledges that they were sovereign and self-governing prior to contact and have never lost that pre-existing right. Thus recognition of "inherent rights" is an empowering factor for native peoples.¹²

The third distinctive aspect of the worldview of aboriginal peoples to be considered here concerns political participation in a system biased in favour of non-natives. By asking for self-government, aboriginal peoples are demanding the right to "level the playing-field" for native people. The concept of self-government implies the attainment of aboriginal jurisdiction over their own lives instead of always deferring to an external power. In the

⁹ Weaver, Making of Indian Policy, 13.

¹⁰ Michael Bliss, Canadian History in Documents, 1763-1966 (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966) 359.

¹¹ Fleras and Elliott, The 'Nations Within', 30.

¹² *Ibid.*, 25.

words of Ovide Mercredi, grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations:

Self-government means having the authority to control our own lives and to manage the day-to-day affairs of our people without having to ask to do so. It also means having the necessary financial resources to carry out these plans.¹³

These demands are largely ignored as the products of the "wigwam" mindset of aboriginal peoples who are accused of either milking the system for their own benefits or trying to turn the clock back to by-gone days.¹⁴

In his review of native policy in the era of government cutbacks in the 1970s and 1980s, Murray Angus provides important background to the issue of native self-government in Canada. Faced with a fiscal crisis (which peaked in Canada in the late 1970s), and determined to reduce its long-term responsibilities for native people, the government saw the quest for self-government as a heaven-sent opportunity to restructure its legal, political and fiscal relations with native people. As Angus puts it, by harnessing the campaign for self-government and local control, the government was able to legitimize its own agenda of "getting out of the native business."¹⁵ In assessing the motives for native self-government, it is important to recognize the framework within which political changes are able to take place. Whatever its form, native self-government will require three things: constitutional recognition of aboriginal rights; a recognized structure for exercising its specific areas of responsibility; and the economic resources to make that structure work. In each of these stepping stones, the federal government has the power to control both the process by which transfers of responsibility will take place and to ensure its own objectives and agenda are realized.

¹³ Toronto Star, 27 Oct. 1991 quoted in Fleras and Elliott, The 'Nations Within,' 24.

¹⁴ William I.C. Wuttunee, Ruffled Feathers: Indians in Canadian Society (Calgary, Alberta: Bell Books Ltd., 1971) 111. "Indians have a great love of their land which they regard as Mother Earth, but this love for the last remnants of their land has been their undoing. It has engendered a great devotion, to the point of heroic sacrifice, for a few acres of reserve land."

¹⁵ Murray Angus, "...and the last shall be first": Native Policy in an Era of Cutbacks (Ottawa: The Aboriginal Rights Coalition (Project North), 1990) 28.

Finally, in a country where native people have been treated as wards of the state and their land and natural resources exploited to benefit the dominant society, the promise of "equal opportunity" for all Canadians has been seen as a cruel myth. The homogenizing forces of Eurocentric value-systems denigrated native languages and cultures and destroyed their social systems and self-esteem; residential schools segregated native children from their cultural roots in order to remake them into "white" citizens. The demand for cultural "homelands" is an appropriate response to the historical treatment of Canada's indigenous peoples. There are strong and solid reasons for wanting to re-lay the foundations of a cultural heritage which has been under attack for three hundred years.

At the opposite end of the spectrum from the self-imposed "wigwam" is the "laager" of racial segregation institutionalized by the Afrikaner Nationalist government. Cut off geographically and culturally from the liberal, democratising influences of the western world, the racist regime of "white" South Africa has maintained a "laager-like" mentality of self-protective isolationism. The concept of inherent rights of Africans to land and self-government was appropriated and perverted in the interests of white South Africa. The schizophrenic mentality of the "laager," which divided the country into ten fictitious African "homelands" while denying even the presence of Africans in "white" South Africa where more than 60% of them lived and worked, fostered the illusion of self-determination while denying Africans even the most rudimentary human rights. The "invisibility" of the African majority - and the accompanying denial of democratic rights - is clearly illustrated in the words of Member of Parliament P.J. Clase in his defence of the new South African Constitution which provided separate parliamentary chambers for whites, Asians and "Coloureds" but excluded black Africans. While conceding that "what happens in the territory of the Republic of South Africa also affects the Black people who find themselves here," (emphasis added) Clase declared:

Anyone who thinks in a well-balanced way and who desires justice ought to be satisfied with section 14(1) of the Constitution Act of 1983 which affords every

group the opportunity to have the sole right to decide about what is his own, about the retention of his own identity, about the preservation and promotion of his own way of life, his own culture, traditions and customs.¹⁶

Apart from the blatant denial of justice to Africans, who were not permitted to "decide what is his own," the new tri-cameral parliament inaugurated by the 1983 Constitution was intended to inflate the powers of the white regime by incorporating (under white veto) the Asian and Coloured communities into the apartheid state.

Self-government envisioned by Canada's native people bears no relationship either to the paternalistic system of administration currently in place or to the bantustans of South Africa. When parallels are drawn between native claims in Canada and apartheid, Berger argues, the entire thrust of native aspirations is being misunderstood.

Native claims have been described as claims based on the idea of apartheid. We really must make an effort to understand what we are talking about. ... The Native people in Canada are seeking access to the social, economic and political institutions of the dominant society. What they are seeking is the exact opposite of apartheid. Only if we were to deny them that access could it be said that we were guilty of apartheid.¹⁷

Donald Purich concurs with this view. Indian self-government is not apartheid, Purich argues; apartheid is a policy of forced racial segregation, while Indian self-government is a voluntary joining together of Indian peoples to run their own affairs. No one is suggesting that Indians move back to the reserves and be subject to the rule of reserve governments, nor will hundreds of postage-stamp-size provinces emerge as has been suggested. The most important factor about self government, as Purich rightly points out, is that the decision to become part of an Indian community will rest with Indians themselves and not, as under apartheid, with the state.¹⁸

¹⁶ RSA House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 2 March 1984, 2191.

¹⁷ Thomas R. Berger, "Native Rights and Self-Determination" The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, III (2) 1983, 374.

¹⁸ Donald Purich, Our Land: Native Rights in Canada (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1986) 224.

"Self-government" under apartheid had its roots in colonial history when traditional African social structures were manipulated to bolster white supremacy. Both the attempts of Sir Theophilus Shepstone to turn the traditional social system of the powerful Zulu nation into an instrument of European control and the form of "native administration" in the Cape anticipated the future national policy to control the African people. Under the Glen Grey Act introduced by Cecil John Rhodes in 1894, the Bunga (meaning "council") system of African representation separate from the "common society" was established and became the model for local "self-government" in the bantustans.¹⁹ Like the Native Representative Council, the function of the Bunga was purely advisory. Debates and resolutions were forwarded to the Minister of Native Affairs but rarely reached Parliament.

The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 established a hierarchy of Bantu authorities - tribal, regional, territorial - with limited legislative, executive and judicial powers, each guided and controlled by whites. Local chiefs (who were on the government payroll) and white officials appointed members of tribal councils. The powers of regional authorities, which covered two or more tribal authorities, included the management of schools, the construction and maintenance of public works and hospitals. They could also levy taxes and impose fines and make by-laws. These regional authorities were in turn subject to Territorial Authorities (as defined by the Promotion of Self-Government Act in 1959) with powers of essentially the same range of matters. By exercising their political aspirations within these three categories of local government, Africans were expected not to concern themselves with national issues.²⁰ In 1957 the Transkei Territorial Authority replaced the

¹⁹ Govan Mbeki, South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1984) 34.

²⁰ Jeffrey Rotberg, Robert I. Butler and John Adams, The Black Homelands of South Africa: The Political and Economic Development of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) 78.

Bunga and became the first subordinate African government in the Republic.

The myth of African tribal nationalism was an important building block used by the architects of apartheid to shore up white economic and political hegemony and at the same time protect their own white "national homeland." The idea of African "nationhood" (which was artificially created, since the traditional cultural bonds of Africans had been completely disrupted through long contact with white society and their integration into a single economy) was central to the apartheid scheme to convert African reserves into tribal homelands. The carefully-crafted introduction of the new bantustan system involved a shift of ideological focus from white supremacy to "self-determination" for African "national units." This was reinforced by a parallel shift in terminology from biological inferiority (typically Africans were classified as "backward" or "lazy") to ethnic differences (the term "race" gave way to "nation," "ethnic group" or "volk"). As the Minister of Bantu Affairs and Development, De Wet Nel tried to persuade his fellow-Parliamentarians in 1959:

There is something...which binds people, and that is their spiritual treasures, the cultural treasure of a people. It is those things which have united nations in the world. That is why we say that the basis of our approach is that the Bantu, too, will be linked together by traditional and emotional bonds, by their own language, their own culture, their national possessions...²¹

Far from affording Africans autonomous states where they could control and administer their own affairs, few Africans held positions of power in the bantustan Legislative Assemblies. Like the Native Representative Council and the Bunga, the new institutions were regarded by Africans as mere "talking shops" without power of any kind.²² As Butler, Rotberg and Adams point out, the excuse for the lack of Africans in positions of authority has been blamed on the fact that few had the required education or experience to

²¹ RSA House of Assembly Debates (Hansard) 1959, Col. 6018 quoted in Harold Wolpe, "Capitalism and Cheap Labour-power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid," Economy and Society 1 (4) 1972, 451.

²² Patrick Laurence, The Transkei: South Africa's Politics of Partition (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1976) 31.

take on these responsibilities. However, there is evidence to suggest that there were many more trained and able Africans available than serving. In the fiscal year 1975-76, Bophuthatswana's Department of the Chief Minister and Finance had filled every one of its 153 ranking administrative positions with whites. Virtually all the chief clerks and senior welfare officers were on loan from the Republic. KwaZulu's administration followed a similar pattern. All senior officials were white. In the "homelands," as in South Africa, white supremacy reigned; Africans were always placed in positions of inferiority under whites.²³

The relationship of power is apparent in the National Party's defence of its policies. Responding to accusations of lack of consultation with African leaders in the bantustans, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs argued in Parliament in 1973:

We have built in the granting of more and more responsibilities to the governments of the various homelands. This implies that we are not only being true to the promises which we have made to them, but also that we have confidence in them that they will gradually be able to accept more and more responsibility and that we are sure that they will be able to see to the interests of their people."²⁴

The whole structure of the bantustan system is thus based on the premise that the white Parliament controls the nature and degree of "responsibility" granted to the African people. A case in point was the amendment to the Constitution of the Transkei (Clause 9) withdrawing control of university level education from the Transkei Legislative Assembly in 1973.²⁵ Arguing that the issue of "sovereign independence" was irrelevant to the matter, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs told the House of Legislative Assembly in Pretoria:

The fact is that we are now at the stage where they can control primary and intermediate education. This we can now give them where it becomes necessary. We do not simply want to give university education as well, because there are certain

²³ Butler, Rotberg and Adams, The Black Homelands of South Africa, 47.

²⁴ RSA House of Assembly Debates (Hansard), 12 Feb 1973, 427-428.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 405.

problems in that connection.²⁶

The metaphors of the "wigwam" and the "laager" serve to highlight the diametrically opposite situations of the indigenous peoples of Canada and South Africa. In Canada, the self-assertion of indigenous peoples in order to protect their rights to self-determination and cultural survival has brought about a renewed cultural awareness and determination to not only right the wrongs of the past, but to move forward as sovereign independent nations within the larger Canadian state. Far from being a regressive step, the "wigwam" symbolizes the strength of aboriginal community-life and the cultural and religious values which have held native peoples together under conditions of extreme adversity. By contrast, the "laager" bears connotations of racial genocide and the fragmentation and disharmony spawned by racial repression and economic exploitation. In their struggle against apartheid, Africans have waged a war against a system which denied them not only their cultural and political survival but their very humanity.

2) Strategies of Resistance

While native resistance movements in both Canada and South Africa resorted to militancy and gained in strength in response to political oppression, their demands and strategies of resistance represent fundamentally different objectives. The demographic reality of tiny minority versus vast majority partly explains these disparities; the position of this paper is that the fundamentally different experiences of indigenous population in Canada and South Africa determined the wide differences in their protest movements. This analysis does not attempt to provide a comprehensive overview of resistance movements in Canada and South Africa; the purpose here is to briefly examine points of comparison between the development of Native protest movements in Canada and South Africa.

²⁶ Ibid., 452.

The transformation of Canadian reserves to battlefronts of political resistance took place over the decades following the announcement of the Trudeau government's White Paper in 1969. The new policy direction proposed by Indian Affairs minister Jean Chrétien flew directly in the face of both the Hawthorn Commission recommendations and the year-long "consultation process" on revisions to the Indian Act which had involved band leaders across the country. The immediate outcome of the proposal was to force Native leaders to regroup and organize a counter attack. The response of the Indian Association of Alberta to the White Paper published in 1970, Citizens Plus picked up on the Hawthorn report's emphasis on the special rights of aboriginal peoples and came forward with substantive recommendations for a new policy based on this premise.²⁷ In its rejection of the abolition of the Indian Act, Citizens Plus reasserted the constitutional basis of their rights as Canada's First Nations and stressed the government's legal obligation to fulfil the terms of the treaties:

We say that the Federal government is bound by the British North American Act, Section 91, Head 24, to accept legislative responsibility for "Indians and Indians' lands". Moreover, in exchange for the lands which Indian people surrendered to the Crown the treaties ensure the following benefits...²⁸

The White Paper also stirred the regionally-based and previously fragmented political organizations into action. Not only did Native organizations present a united front, for the first time in their existence, but they learned what could be accomplished through demonstrating, protesting and lobbying. In the face of fierce opposition by native and non-native Canadians, Trudeau withdrew the White Paper on March 17, 1971.²⁹

A series of court decisions in the 1970s brought about change - or at least a

²⁷ Citizens Plus, Response of the Indian Association of Alberta to Rt. Hon. P.E. Trudeau and the Government of Canada, 1970, 19 & 20.

²⁸ Ibid., 6.

²⁹ Olive Patricia Dickason, Canada's First Nation: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992) 388.

challenge to the status quo. In 1973 the Supreme Court of Canada declared in Calder v. Attorney General of British Columbia that aboriginal title existed in common law, but the court was split on whether aboriginal title had been extinguished in British Columbia. The protest action of the Nisga'a of British Columbia became an important political catalyst as well as a symbol of the struggle for land rights. The Nisga'a claimed not only the right to compensation for lands appropriated, but an even more important right: aboriginal rights. Frank Calder, founder and President of the Nisga'a Tribal Council told the court what another spokesman had told a royal commission in 1888:

"What we don't like about the government is their saying this: 'We will give you this much land.' How can they give it when it is our own? They have never bought it from us or our forefathers... It has been ours for a thousand years."³⁰

In spite of the long delays and misunderstandings over the powers of the British Privy Council to decide on this matter, the Nisga'a did eventually win a major victory when Chief Justice Brian Dickson proclaimed in November 1984: "this court [recognizes] aboriginal title as a legal right derived from the Indians' historic occupation and possession of their tribal lands." Thus pre-existing aboriginal title was finally established in Canadian law.

The growth in native political power grew dramatically between 1960 and the late 1970s.³¹ In the mid-1960s federal monies became available to native organizations. By 1970 federal funding from all departments to native organizations amounted to nearly a million dollars; in 1969 the Privy Council granted \$500,000 for native organizations to research claims and grievances. Even provincial governments began providing provincial organizations with one dollar per registered Indian and assisted the National Indian Brotherhood, formed in 1968 after the National Indian Council split into the NIB and the

³⁰ Quoted in Dickason, Canada's First Nations, 349. The original statement was made by David McKay, a Greenville chief, to the joint reserves allotment commission established in 1876.

³¹ Purich, Our Land, 186-187. "In the 1950s there was one national native organization and nine provincial ones. By the sixties there were four national, one regional and thirty-three provincial organizations."

Canadian Métis Association.³² Over the period 1975-1985 the budget of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development rose from \$300 million to \$1.4 billion.³³

Although the road to constitutional recognition of aboriginal rights was fraught with setbacks and disillusionment, the goal was ultimately met (albeit with some limitations) with the inclusion of "existing" rights for all Canada's aboriginal people (Métis included) in the Constitution Act of 1982.³⁴

In the 1970s the Inuit and Dene peoples who populate the 3.4 million square kilometres of the Northwest Territories agreed to split the territory into two parts. The eastern half would become Nunavut, the home of the Inuit³⁵; the western half would become Denendeh, home of the Dene nation and the Métis. The primary purpose of both "homelands" was to ensure the cultural and political survival of the Inuit and Dene/Métis nations. The Charter of Founding Principles for Denendeh included the entrenchment of native languages.³⁶ The Dene Declaration of 1975, asserting Dene nationhood within Canadian federalism was a landmark document in the struggle for aboriginal self-government.

The final example of indigenous resistance in Canada can be seen in the movement for constitutionally entrenched aboriginal rights and self-government which emerged after the demise of the 1969 Liberal White Paper. As Douglas Sanders points out, in 1978 it

³² Ibid., 186.

³³ Bernard J. Pelot, "The Buckskin Curtain: Canada's Indians from Government Wards... to Feudal Lords?" A discussion paper on the Aboriginal Rights in the Constitution, February 1985, 32.

³⁴ Purich, Our Land, 196: "...the Constitution does not restore rights that were taken away before the Constitution was proclaimed."

³⁵ John Amagoalik, "Nunavut: Offering hope for Inuit people," The Ottawa Citizen, 30 April 1992, A 13: "On December 16, 1991 an agreement between the Inuit of the Northwest Territories and the federal government on the creation of a new territory to be called Nunavut (Our Land) was announced... if the proposed boundary is accepted and the claim ratified... Nunavut is to come into existence in 1999."

³⁶ Purich, Our Land, 228-230.

seemed unlikely that Indians, Inuit and Métis would play any substantial role in the Canadian Constitutional reform process.³⁷ Until then, the only Canadians to question the basis of the Constitution which had defined the Canadian nation since Confederation were the Quebec "nationalist elites." However, Indians had traditionally argued that treaties were constitutional documents which should be protected by or incorporated in the Constitution. Moreover, they asserted a special relationship with the Queen which was to be a distinctive feature of their later strategies and arguments.³⁸

The aggressive campaign for Constitutional recognition launched by the National Indian Brotherhood was accompanied by a new spirit of militancy. Indian youth staged a "sit-in" at the Department of Indian Affairs offices in Ottawa in 1973 and the Anishnabe Park in Kenora occupation followed. Indian protest reached a peak in Ottawa in the fall of 1974 when the Native Caravan from Vancouver staged demonstrations on Parliament Hill. Their demands were that "the hereditary and treaty rights of all Native Peoples in Canada including Indian, Métis, non-Status and Inuit must be recognized and respected in the Constitution of Canada." Although the Caravan never got to present its demands to Parliament (barricades were erected and a Royal Canadian Mounted Police tactical force deployed to remove the native delegation from the Hill), the first bill (Bill C-60) to amend the Constitution in 1978 included some limited protection for native rights. The following year the NIB took its campaign to Britain and appealed to the Queen to refuse patriation of the Constitution until aboriginal rights were fully recognized. The view that aboriginal rights had equal standing with those of Quebec in Constitutional changes was formally presented in a proposal by the Ontario Métis and Non-Status Indians Association in 1981:

"...therefore be it resolved that recognition of the native people of Canada be proclaimed as the founding partner in this country on a par with their English and

³⁷ Douglas Sanders, "The Indian Lobby," in Richard Simeon and Keith Banting, eds., And No One Cheered: Federalism, Democracy and the Constitution Act (Toronto: Methuen, 1983) 302.

³⁸ Ibid., 317.

French brothers and sisters and that such a principle be incorporated into the Canadian Constitution."³⁹

The determined efforts of aboriginal groups both in London and Ottawa in the year leading up to the patriation of the Constitution were finally rewarded, but not without significant setbacks. The first version of the new Constitutional package released on November 5, 1981 had dropped the section guaranteeing aboriginal rights. Although the final version re-instated "existing aboriginal rights," the fact that this change only came about in response to strong protests from native and non-native activists reveals a great deal about the fragility of the rights of numerically weak and politically marginalized groups within Canada's federal system.⁴⁰

The striking differences between the quest for self-government of Canada's First Nations and the imposition of apartheid's sham African "homelands" in order to protect the cultural and economic survival of the white minority are vividly illustrated in the findings of the Quail Commission, an inquiry into the proposed so-called "independence" of the Ciskei. In its 1980 report, the Commission concluded that, far from being regarded as cultural homelands, for the majority of Ciskeians the new status of the Ciskei represented "the iron hand of apartheid." The Commission found that, while the reserve offered a degree of "ethnic continuity" in marriage and inter-generational patterns, there was little evidence of material or emotional investment in the Ciskei as a "Bantu homeland."⁴¹ In the words of the Report:

"Homeland independence tends to be seen by a majority as an unfair dispensation imposed by Pretoria and implying a loss of rights and economic opportunities

³⁹ Native People and the Canadian Constitution. The Report of the Métis and Non-Status Indian Constitutional Review Committee. Commissioner H.W. Daniels. (Ottawa: Mutual Press, 1981) 19.

⁴⁰ Tony Hall, "What are we? Chopped Liver? Aboriginal Affairs in the Constitutional Politics of Canada in the 1980s" in Michael D. Behiels, ed., The Meech Lake Primer: Conflicting Views of the 1987 Constitutional Accord (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1989) 425.

⁴¹ RSA The Quail Report, 209-210.

without necessarily offering an escape from the dictates of Pretoria."⁴²

Significantly, while considerable value was placed on African traditional customs and on ethnic integrity in the family, the ideals at the political level clearly inclined people towards the model of a "universal non-ethnically structured democracy."⁴³ The "overwhelming majority" favoured a single body politic with a common franchise for the whole of South Africa.

While African political organization dates back to the late 19th century, the era of militant resistance began in response to the victory of the National Party in 1948.⁴⁴ A year later, the African National Congress (ANC), founded in 1912 by an amalgamation of separate groups representing Africans, Asian and Coloureds, adopted a "Program of Action." In its demands for political independence, the ANC and its allies launched a series of Defiance Campaigns, anti-pass campaigns, consumer boycotts and general strikes. When urban unrest reached crisis proportions, the government responded by reducing the number of Africans in urban areas and strictly controlling those who remained.⁴⁵ The pass laws and influx controls were intensified and thousands were arrested and detained. Organized resistance in the 1950s succeeded only in swelling the prison populations and increasing the number of new laws. Boycotts of schools to demand the repeal of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which transferred control of African education from the provinces and missions to the national government were equally ineffective. Africans were in fact far

⁴² Ibid., 203.

⁴³ Ibid., 218-219

⁴⁴ Andre Odendaal, Vukani Bantui: The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912 (Cape Town & Johannesburg: David Philip, 1984) 286. "The powerful impact of Christian missions on African politics was reflected in the educational backgrounds of the first generations of westernized political leaders, their temperateness and respect for constitutional propriety, and the strong moral assertions embodied in their political demands."

⁴⁵ Laurine Platzky and Cherryl Walker for the Surplus Peoples Project, The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985) 104.

worse off politically in 1959 than they had been a decade before: hundreds of leaders were now in jail and much harsher laws had been enacted.⁴⁶

As Peter Walshe observes in his examination of the rise of African nationalism in South Africa, it was impossible to prise reforms from the "clenched fist" of Afrikaner nationalism.⁴⁷ By way of illustration, C.R. Swart, who became the first president of the South African Republic and was the National Party's first Minister of Justice, introduced the Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1953. The Act imposed lashes, imprisonment and fines for anyone participating in the passive resistance campaigns. As E.S. Sachs recounts:

"This 'Christian' gentleman, upholder of European culture, remarked in accepting an amendment from the Opposition which reduced the number of lashes from fifteen to ten: 'What are five strokes between friends?' Since Swart became Minister of Justice, the number of lashes in South Africa has risen from 26,000 a year administered to 4,000 wrong-doers to 78,000 given to 13,000 - an average of 220 lashes are administered to the bodies of 40 men daily."⁴⁸

Although Africans persisted in their struggle under these daunting conditions, the leadership of the ANC was thwarted, buffeted and eventually banned by government order in 1960. At which point it had no alternative but to go underground.⁴⁹

Reserves in South Africa became battlefronts of resistance when the Verwoerd government pushed forward its bantustan policy in 1961 (partly to distract African resistance but also to dilute the international furore over the Sharpeville massacre). Although militant protests had been launched against unpopular soil conservation schemes, increased taxation, and other official policies during the 1950s, grassroots anger in eastern Pondoland in the Transkei focused on the government-appointed and salaried chiefs in the

⁴⁶ Robert I. Rotberg, Towards a Certain Future: The Politics and Economics of Southern Africa (Cape Town: David Philip Publisher, 1981) 69.

⁴⁷ Peter Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism: The African National Congress, 1912-1952 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971) 405.

⁴⁸ E.S. Sachs, The Anatomy of Apartheid (London: Collots (Publishers) Ltd., 1965) 235.

⁴⁹ Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism, 405: "The ANC split in 1959 when the Pan-African Congress was formed. This organization was also banned in 1960."

Transkei Legislative Assembly.⁵⁰ In spite of the fierce local opposition, bantustan leaders like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi (of KwaZulu) and Chief Kaiser Matanzima (of Transkei) pushed their advantage and even gained some international recognition in spite of the spurious nature of their regimes.⁵¹

In South Africa, Africans responded to a political climate which was entirely different to that pertaining in Canada. Instead of the Anglo-French duality of Canadian nationhood, the fundamental factor for South Africa's indigenous majority was what Archie Mafeje calls the "two nations thesis." The notion of South Africa as a colonial state in which two nations (an oppressing nation and an oppressed nation) live side by side in the same territory, was an inevitable outcome of apartheid. By creating this "group feeling" on either side of the colour line, Africans' responded to the mounting oppression with an increasing sense of solidarity.⁵² Thus Black nationalism is explained as a reaction to white chauvinism and racial discrimination, not as a political bid to establish an independent nation or state in the same way as African nationalism did elsewhere in Africa - or as Canada's First Nations have done. As Mafeje explains it: "It is a move to establish a more inclusive state in which the processes of national integration which have already taken

⁵⁰ Gwendolen Carter, Thomas Karis and Newell M. Stultz, South Africa's Transkei: The Politics of Domestic Colonialism (London: Heinemann, 1967) 25.: "The government instituted drastic measures in return... the imposition of Regulation 400 and 413 which provided for detention without the right to habeas corpus and a ban on all meetings. Large areas were sealed off from the media and specially trained riot police and heavily armed troops moved into the Transkei."

⁵¹ Rotberg, Towards a Certain Future, 79: "Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima and his supporters in the territorial authority of the Transkei judged that more could be achieved for themselves, and for other Africans, by supporting separate development than by opposing it... He and his colleagues were prepared to turn Verwoerd's cynical public relations advantage to their own advantage."

⁵² Archie Mafeje, "South Africa: The Dynamics of a Beleaguered State", Magubane, Bernard and Ibbo Mandaza, eds., Whither South Africa? (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1988) 31: Mafeje argues that tribal culture was not a factor in South Africa. The so-called tribal faction fights in the mines are more a result of ghetto mentality fostered by the South African government than a reflection of deep-seated tribal antagonisms. From 1912 Africans projected themselves as "Africans" not as separate "nationalities" or "national groups." As the chosen names of organizations indicate: African National Congress, the All-African Convention, Pan-African Congress, the Cape African Teachers' Association.

place despite apartheid can continue unimpeded."⁵³

The thrust of African self-determination differed sharply from that of Canada's First Nations. Instead of seeking a place within the constitutional framework of South Africa, the African struggle centred around the issue of civil rights - essentially the extension of rights enjoyed by whites. In the 1940s, however, the ANC Youth League (led by Nelson Mandela and others) emerged with a new, more radical stand. The Youth League Manifesto declared that the African people, like any other people have the "inalienable right to national self-determination"; that the emancipation of the African people "will be achieved by the Africans themselves"; and that leadership of the ANC must reflect the "aspirations of the people." Fundamental to the movement's credo was the belief that white supremacy was essentially illegitimate. In the view of the ANC, the "Herrenvolk democracy" of apartheid had lost South Africa the right to be considered a sovereign state. Since it was recognized that power would not be willingly conceded, it would have to be wrested from the white minority regime.

The "Program of Action" adopted in 1949 to achieve freedom from white domination and attainment of political independence was an assertion of the belief that the apartheid state would have to be eliminated if Africans were to achieve the rights which were legitimately theirs.⁵⁴ The Defiance Campaigns against pass laws, the imposition of bantustan authorities and Bantu Education (the imposition of a segregated education system) during the 1950s and 1960s culminated in the massacre of sixty-nine protesting Africans in the township of Sharpeville on March 21, 1960.⁵⁵ The struggle against

⁵³ Bernard Magubane and Ibbo Mandaza, Whither South Africa? (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1988) 33.

⁵⁴ Z. Palle Jordan, "Socialist Transformation and the Freedom Charter", in Bernard Magubane and Ibbo Mandaza, eds., Whither South Africa? (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1988) 99-100.

⁵⁵ Apartheid the Facts. Revised Edition. (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1991) 102.

apartheid grew in militancy after the banning of the two most powerful organizations, the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress in 1960. The defiant rejection of apartheid grew in momentum during the 1970s especially amongst black workers and youth. There was an upsurge in trade union activity in response to anti-strike laws. Encouraged by the collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique and the victory of the liberation party, Frelimo, the ANC and PAC (in exile in the neighbouring Southern African states) increased the armed struggle. When protests about education, sparked off by the enforced use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in African schools, developed into a sustained action during 1976 and 1977, resistance to apartheid took an open and defiant form.

In spite of brutal police action and the use of military personnel and armed carriers to intimidate and control the township residents, massed action continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Trade unions, civic and community organizations, women's organizations and university student bodies launched concerted and effective campaigns to bring down the apartheid regime. Between 1979 and 1983 widespread, sustained and in many cases intense campaigns were directed against specific manifestations of apartheid. Trade union rights, high rents and transportation costs, racially-segregated and inferior education, and enforced removals and resettlement in urban or rural areas were all identified as deriving from the injustice of the apartheid system.

A striking aspect of the resistance movement in South Africa is the active participation of women from the earliest days of apartheid repression. The participation of women was a key factor in the campaign against the introduction of Bantu Education in 1955 and in the "Defiance Campaign against Unjust Laws" during the late 1950s. Twenty thousand women defied arrest in Pretoria protesting the extension of pass laws to women in 1955. Following the 1960 massacre at Sharpeville the Federation of South African

Women (affiliated to the ANC) organized a protest march against the state of emergency⁵⁶. Women were prosecuted on a wide range of political charges and (frequently with infants) suffered the full range of penalties.⁵⁷ In her book Window on Soweto, Joyce Sikakane describes her own experience in the 1970s as a journalist. Imprisoned many times along with a number of other women, and beaten and tortured, her story reveals the resilience and strength of women who dared to confront their oppressors.⁵⁸

Strengthened by the mass action campaigns across the country, political organization against the apartheid state gained new momentum and unity with the launching of the government's constitutional proposals for a segregated tri-cameral parliament which would effectively exclude the black majority in 1982. From late 1984 to the end of the decade a phase of continuous and often violent resistance deepened the economical and political crisis of the apartheid regime. Having failed to destroy the popular organizations or to impose a reformed apartheid Constitution, the regime unbanned all the restricted organizations on 2 February 1990 and moved towards negotiations with the liberation movements.

Conclusion

The divergent paths of Native policy in Canada and South Africa were reflected in the aspirations and objectives of the resistance movements in the two countries. While

⁵⁶ Fatima Meer, "Women in the Apartheid Society". United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, Notes and Documents No. 4, 1985, 28.

⁵⁷ Hilda Bernstein, For their Triumphs and for their Tears (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1985) 98.

⁵⁸ Joyce Sikakane, A Window on Soweto (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1977) 68: "Many women committed to Pretoria Central [Prison] had small babies, or were pregnant, so throughout the jail there was this terrible forlorn crying, babies crying for their mothers or because they were hungry. It appeared that the women were taken off to work and the babies were just left in their cells..."

Canada's aboriginal peoples demanded constitutional recognition of their inherent aboriginal rights to land and their special rights under treaty agreements, Africans were engaged in a struggle for a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist society where all its inhabitants could share in the political and economic control of South Africa as a whole.

Parallels between Canada and South Africa in the period 1960 to 1982 must be seen in the context of the notorious laws of apartheid, the brutality of its security forces and police, and the powers invested in the state to intimidate, imprison and torture opponents of the apartheid regime. Canada's First Nations have experienced discrimination, destitution, and cultural denial but they have not experienced apartheid.

CONCLUSION

The era of apartheid has almost ended in South Africa.¹ On November 17th 1993, barely a decade after a new South African constitution provided racially segregated parliaments which excluded the African majority, President F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress signed their agreement to a new constitutional package for South Africa which will end white-minority rule.² With the country's first multi-racial elections set for 27 April 1994, democracy will finally have arrived in South Africa.

The three pillars of the new South African Constitution reflect almost exactly the three major points argued in this thesis. The proposed constitution and accompanying Bill of Rights ensure that: 1) all South Africans will have the right to move and live where they want; 2) all South Africans will have the constitutional right to vote; and 3) detention without trial, which has kept the opponents of apartheid behind bars for the past forty-five years, will be abolished.³ These three essential characteristics of apartheid (soon to be eliminated by democratic process), were the criteria adopted in addressing the question "Is this apartheid in Canada?"

¹ The process of dismantlement began with the "reforms" undertaken by the Botha administration in the mid-1980s. In 1985 the government suspended forced population resettlements, abolished the laws prohibiting interracial marriages and sexual relations, increased the granting of leasehold and freehold rights to blacks in urban areas and introduced legislation to give blacks some political powers at the local government level. See Newsweek, 20 May 1985, 41.

² Philip Van Niekerk, "South African parties agree on details of new constitution," The Globe and Mail, 18 November 1993, A1: "Now that it has been ratified by the negotiating forum, the constitution is to go to parliament next week to be promulgated, the last act of the all-white assembly."

³ The Ottawa Citizen, 18 November 1993, A6.

The analysis has shown that aboriginal experience in Canada and South Africa differed in fundamental ways. The dominant forces behind South Africa's unique political system were: slavery, the need for cheap labour and the rigid "tribalism" of Afrikaner nationalism. Slavery not only contaminated the attitudes and ideologies of the European settlers, it prepared the way for the implementation of a political system which was to be universally condemned as a crime against humanity. While racism played a major role as the ideological basis of apartheid, economic motives and the perceived need for a cheap black labour force were responsible for the entrenchment of white supremacist rule after World War Two. Finally, the inflexibility inherent in the National Party's ideology (strongly influenced by the Nazi doctrine of the "master race") served to alienate not only its own indigenous majority but the world-wide community as well.⁴

Racism also influenced Canada's attitudes and dealings with aboriginal peoples. It is noteworthy that the word "panis" (for Pawnee) was adopted as the term for "slave" in Canada and that slavery itself has been almost totally ignored in twentieth century Canadian historiography. Far from precluding the development of racism in Canada, the fact that the existence of slavery was suppressed distorted how Canadians came to view themselves. It also explains the duplicity of Canada's relationship with South Africa after 1960 as both trade partner and major critic.

While the question "Is this apartheid?" has demanded as full an examination of South Africa's native policy and aboriginal aspirations as possible, the neglect and abuse of Canada's First Nations have been fully recognized in this analysis. Although they have not experienced apartheid, native Canadians across the country have suffered undeniable social ostracism and economic deprivation. Their double disadvantage of isolation on reserves and "special status" has deprived First Nations communities of employment and markets for their products and robbed them of essential financial aids in the creation and

⁴ Jordan Ngubane, An African Explains Apartheid (London: Pall Mall Press, 1963) 28.

sustaining of entrepreneurial ventures. Politically Canada's First Nations have been burdened with heavy-handed paternalism which has denigrated their leadership, denied them independence and crushed their self-esteem. Above all, the treaty system and the Indian Act have combined in forcing Band Councils into a situation of economic dependence which has sapped the vitality of many of its people and created divisions and disharmony between the variously advantaged groups in aboriginal society.

The purpose of this thesis was not to catalogue the wrongs perpetrated on aboriginal societies, or to lay blame on those responsible, but to open the way for constructive change. By critically examining the validity of parallels drawn between Canada's treatment of First Nations and apartheid, the histories of both societies have been illuminated in special ways. The prism of apartheid has provided insights into the causes as well as the consequences of aboriginal experience otherwise obscured.

First, by focusing on the fundamentally different causes of economic hardship on Canadian and South African reserves, the problem of poverty has been portrayed in less deterministic terms. Comparisons of "Fourth World" conditions which emphasize common legacies of land dispossession, colonialism, racial segregation and even pass laws tend to present aboriginal poverty as both inherent and inevitable. Aboriginal poverty is labelled and defined - but not understood. By exposing the specific policy decisions responsible for the various problems on Canadian and South African reserves, solutions become possible.

The problems of poverty and political dis-empowerment are not addressed by drawing parallels with apartheid. They are Canadian problems with Canadian solutions. Assimilationist policies and unjust land settlements, which have been the hallmarks of Canada's aboriginal policy since colonial times, have seriously disadvantaged Canada's native peoples. What is needed now are secure land bases and the necessary political mechanisms to develop economic independence and cultural survival for Canada's original peoples.

Secondly, the comparison of political systems in Canada and South Africa has highlighted the critical importance of democratic structures to the situation of indigenous peoples. Democracy, the object of South Africa's long and courageous liberation struggle, has been a constitutionally entrenched right in most western countries (at least for the male members of most societies) for centuries. Under the laws of apartheid, indigenous South Africans were deprived of the fundamental rights and freedoms taken for granted by the peoples of the democratic world, including Canada. This comparative study has shown that it is the basic underpinnings of democracy and constitutional rights in Canada which offers the hope of full political and legal recognition to Canada's First Nations.

Finally, by comparing the disparities between the resistance movements in Canada and South Africa, this analysis has taken a fresh look at the struggle of Canada's First Nations for aboriginal rights and self-government. In spite of claims that their situation is analogous to apartheid, aboriginal peoples in Canada have marched to their own distinctive and unique drumbeat. With self-sufficiency, continuity and self-determination as their goals, they have set out to fulfil their destiny, or, as native people express it, to "complete the circle."⁵

As South Africa's volatile journey to democracy captures world-wide media attention, members of the Confederacy of Treaty 6 First Nations beat traditional drums outside Canada House in London, England in protest against treaty violations.⁶ Like South Africa, Canada is at a cross-roads in its history. Addressing the question "Is this apartheid?" offers new ways of looking at the past and present in order to find new directions for the future.

⁵ Nin.Da.Waab.Jig, Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory (Walpole Island, Ontario, 1987) 106.

⁶ Globe and Mail "Natives take land-claim to Britain," 26 November 1993, A5: "Treaty 6, signed by Britain in 1876, covers 30,000 people in 17 native groups across central Alberta, Saskatchewan and parts of Manitoba. There are 60 outstanding land claims, many of which contend that the federal government expropriated land without adequate financial compensation."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

a) Archival Sources

National Archives of Canada (NAC)

- RG 10, Volume 6823, File 495-5-1, Pt. 1.
- RG 10, Volume 7982, File 1/19-2-1, Pts. 1 & 2.
- RG 10, Volume 7984, File 1/19-2-10, vol. 1.
- RG 10, Volume 8588, File 1/1-10-3, vols. 1-3.
- RG 10, Volume 8588, File 1/1-10-4, Pt. 1.

b) Government Publications

Canada.

House of Commons Debates, 21 June 1950, Vols II & IV.

The Indian Act: A Simplified Version. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Saskatchewan Region, December 1982.

Republic of South Africa.

- House of Assembly Debates, (Hansard), 12 February 1973.
- House of Assembly Debates, (Hansard), 2 March 1984.

Statutes - Constitutional Law.

- Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, No. 32 of 1961.
- Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, No. 110, 1983.

Multi-National Development in South Africa: The Reality. Pretoria: State Department of Information, 1974.

The Quail Report. The Ciskei Commission, February 1980.

Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Security of the State. (Abridged) Pretoria: The Government Printer, [1970]

Report of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development for the Period 1 April 1975 to 31 March 1976. (Mimeographed version)

Report of the Department of Co-Operation and Development for the period 1 April 1980 to 31 March 1981. RP 87/1981.

Report of the Department of Co-Operation and Development for the period 1 April 1981 to 31 March 1982. RP 101/1982.

Report of the Department of Plural Relations and Development for the period 1 April 1977 to 31 March 1978. RP 107/1978.

Report of the Native Affairs Department for the Year 1950-1951. Union Government, No. 30. Pretoria: The Government Printer, 1952.

South Africa 1976: Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa.

Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas Within the Union of South Africa. Union Government, No. 61. Pretoria: The Government Printer, 1955.

c) Newspapers, Pamphlets, etc.

Amagoalik, John. "Nunanut: Offering Hope for Inuit People." The Ottawa Citizen. 30 April 1992, A 13.

Cohen, Richard. "Israel and South Africa - the Parallels are Ominous." The Manchester Guardian Weekly. 12 September 1993. 17.

Fulton, E. Kaye. "Apartheid in Canada?" The Ottawa Citizen. 7 March 1987, Weekend Observer Section, B4.

George, Ron. "Echoes of Apartheid." Native Council of Canada. September 1993.

The Globe and Mail, "Natives take land claim to Britain." 26 November 1993, A5.

Maclean's. 16 March 1987, 20.

Morris, William. "Report of Parliament's Joint Committee on Indian Affairs." Globe and Mail, Weekend Magazine, 13 January 1962, 5-6 & 23.

Newsweek, 20 May 1985, 41.

The Ottawa Citizen, 18 November 1993, A6.

The Ottawa Evening Citizen, 16 May 1951.

Smith, Doug. "An Awkward Visit." Maclean's. 16 March 1987, 20.

The Star, Johannesburg, 4 June 1976.

Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility. May 1987 Mailing.

Toronto Star, 27 October 1991.

Tutu, Desmond. "Burma as South Africa." Far Eastern Economic Review. 16 September 1993. 23.

Van Niekerk, Philip. "South African parties agree on details of new constitution." The Globe and Mail, 18 November 1993, A1.

SECONDARY SOURCES

a) Books *(All published works are listed as Secondary Sources since the thesis covers the period from First Contact to 1982.)*

Apartheid the Facts. Revised Edition. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1991.

Adams, Howard. Prison of Grass: Canada from the Native Point of View. Toronto: General Publishing, 1975.

Angus, Murray. "... And the last shall be first": Native Policy in an Era of Cutbacks. Ottawa: The Aboriginal Rights Coalition (Project North), 1990.

Bartlett, Richard H. Indian Reserves and Aboriginal Lands in Canada: A Homeland. Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre, 1990.

Behiels, Michael D., ed. The Meech Lake Primer: Conflicting Views of the 1987 Constitutional Accord. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1989.

Beinart, William and Colin Bundy. Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa. London: James Currey, 1987.

Beinart, William, Peter Delius and Stanley Trapido, eds. Putting the Plough to the Ground: Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa, 1850-1930. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986.

Berger, Thomas R. Fragile Freedoms: Human Rights and Dissent in Canada. Toronto & Vancouver: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1981.

_____. Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland. Vols. I & II. Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. Ottawa: Minister of Supply & Services, 1977.

Bernstein, Hilda. For their Triumphs and for their Tears. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1985.

Bliss, Michael. Canadian History in Documents, 1763-1966. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966.

Boldt, Menno and J. Anthony Long with Leroy Little Bear. The Quest for Justice: Aboriginal Peoples and Aboriginal Rights. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

Buckley, Helen. From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare: Why Indian Policy Failed in the Prairie Provinces. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

Bundy, Colin. The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry. London: Heinemann, 1979.

Bunting, Brian. The Rise of the South African Reich. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1986.

Butler, Jeffrey, Robert I. Rotberg and John Adams. The Black Homelands of South Africa: The Political and Economic Development of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.

Campbell, Maria. Half-Breed. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Goodread Biographies, 1972.

Cardinal, Harold. The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1969.

Carter, Gwendolen M., Thomas Karis and Newell M. Schultz. South Africa's Transkei: The Politics of Domestic Colonialism. London: Heinemann, 1967.

Carstens, Peter. The Queen's People: A Study of Hegemony, Coercion, and Accommodation among the Okanagan of Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Cassidy, Frank, ed. Aboriginal Self-Determination: Proceedings of a Conference held September 30 to October 3, 1990. Lantzville, B.C. & Halifax, N.S.: Oolichan Books and the Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1991.

Cell, John W. The Highest Form of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Citizens Plus. A Presentation by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta to Right Honourable P.E. Trudeau, Prime Minister and the Government of Canada, June 1970.

Cook, Allen. Akin to Slavery: Prison Labour in South Africa. Fact Paper on Southern Africa No. 11. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1982.

Cosmas, Desmond. The Discarded People: An Account of African Resettlement in South Africa. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1971.

Davenport, T.R.H. South Africa: A Modern History. Third Edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

Davenport, T.R.H. and K.S. Hunt, eds. Documents on Southern African History: The Right to Land. Cape Town: David Philip Publisher, 1974.

Davis, David. African Workers and Apartheid. Fact Paper on Southern Africa No. 5. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1978.

De Klerk, Willem. F.W. de Klerk: The Man in his Time. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1981.

De Wet, Chris and Simon Bekker, eds. Rural Development in South Africa: A Case Study of the Amatola Basin in the Ciskei. Occasional Paper No. 30. Grahamstown: Shuter and Shooter in association with the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, 1986.

Delius, Peter. The Land Belongs to us. (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983.

Dickason, Olive Patricia. Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992.

Dubow, S. Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919-1936. Basingstoke: Macmillan in association with St. Anthony's College, Oxford, 1989.

Dyck, Noel. Indigenous Peoples and the Nation-State: 'Fourth World' Politics in Canada, Australia and Norway. Social and Economic Papers Number 14. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985.

Dyck, Noel. What is the Indian 'Problem': Tutelage and Resistance in Canadian Indian Administration. St. John's, Newfoundland: The Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991.

Eddy, John and Deryck Schreuder, eds. The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa First Assert Their Nationalities, 1880-1914. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988.

Elphick, Richard and Hermann Giliomee, eds. The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1979.

Fairchild, Hoxie Neale. The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928.

Fisher, Robin. Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977.

Fleras, Augie and Jean Leonard Elliott. The 'Nations Within': Aboriginal-State Relations in Canada, the United States and New Zealand. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Fredrickson, George M. White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Gann, L.H. and P. Duigan. White Settlers in Tropical Africa. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1962.

Gerhart, Gail M. Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology. Berkeley: University of Los Angeles Press, 1978.

Getty, Ian A.L. and Donald B. Smith, eds. One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978.

Getty, Ian A.L. and Antoine S. Lussier, eds. As Long as the Sun Shines and the Water Flows. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1983.

Hawthorn, Harry B. A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies, Vols. I and II. Ottawa: Indian Affairs, 1966 and 1968.

Houghton, D. Hobart. The Tomlinson Commission: A Summary of the Findings and Recommendations in the Tomlinson Commission Report. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1956.

Jamieson, Kathleen. Indian Women and the Law in Canada: Citizens Minus. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply & Services for the Advisory Council on the Status of Women and Indian Rights for Women, 1978.

Johnstone, Frederick. Class, Race and Gold: A Study of Class Relations and Racial Discrimination in South Africa. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976.

Kepple-Jones, Arthur. South Africa: A Short History. London: Hutchinson University Library, 1966.

Kidd, Dudley. The Essential Kaffir. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904.

Kline, Benjamin. Genesis of Apartheid: British African Policies in the Colony of Natal, 1845-1893. Lanham, New York & London: University Press of America, 1988.

Knight, Rolf. Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Indian Labour in British Columbia, 1858-1930. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1978.

Laurence, Patrick. The Transkei: South Africa's Politics of Partition. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1976.

Leslie, John and Ron Maguire. "The Historical Development of the Indian Act." Second Edition. Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979.

Lipschultz, Mark R. and R. Kent Rasmussen. Dictionary of African Biography. Second Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Lithman, Yngve Georg. The Community Apart: A Case Study of a Canadian Indian Reserve Community. Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1984.

_____. The Practice of Underdevelopment and the Theory of Development: The Canadian Indian Case. Stockholm, Sweden: Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology, 1983.

Lyon, Noel. Aboriginal Self-Government, Rights of Citizenship and Access to Governmental Services. Background Paper No. 1. Aboriginal Peoples and Constitutional Reform. Kingston, Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 1984.

Magubane, Bernard Makhosezwe. The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979.

Magubane, Bernard and Ibbo Mandaza. Whither South Africa? Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1988.

Mandela, Nelson. The Struggle is My Life. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1986.

Marks, Shula and Stanley Trapido. The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa. London: Longmans Group UK Limited, 1987.

Mbeki, Govan. South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1984.

Meli, Frances. A History of the ANC: South Africa Belongs to us. Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1988.

Marks, Shula and Stanley Trapido, eds. The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa. London & New York: Longman, 1987.

Macmillan, William. Bantu, Boer and Briton: The Making of the South African Native Problem. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

Miller, J.R. Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.

_____. ed. Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Moerdijk, Donald. Anti-Development: South Africa and its Bantustans. Paris: Unesco Press, 1981.

Murray, J. Martin, ed. South African Capitalism and Black Political Opposition. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company Inc., 1982.

Mzala. Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda. London: Zed Books Ltd., 1988.

Native People and the Canadian Constitution. The Report of the Métis and Non-Status Indian Constitutional Committee. Commissioner H.W. Daniels. Ottawa: Mutual Press, 1981.

Ngubane, Jordan K. An African Explains Apartheid. London: Pall Mall Press, 1963.

Nin.Da.Waab.Jig. Walpole Island: The Soul of Indian Territory. Walpole Island, Ontario, Canada, 1987.

Odendaal, Andre. Vukani Bantu! The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912. Cape Town & Johannesburg: David Philip, 1984.

Omond, Roger. The Apartheid Handbook: A Guide to South Africa's Everyday Racial Policies. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1986.

Plaatje, Sol. Native Life in South Africa. London: Longman, 1987 (First published by P.S. King and Co., London, 1917).

Platzky, Laurine and Cherryl Walker. The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa. Johannesburg: Ravan Press for the Surplus Peoples Project, 1985.

Ponting, J. Rick and Roger Gibbins. Out of Irrelevance: A Socio-Political Introduction to Indian Affairs in Canada. Toronto: Butterworths, 1980.

Purich, Donald. Our Land: Native Rights in Canada. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, 1986.

Robertson, Heather. Reservations are for Indians. Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1970.

Rogers, Barbara. Divide and Rule: South Africa's Bantustans. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1980.

Roskam, K.L. Apartheid and Discrimination. Leyden: A.W. Sythoff, 1960.

Rotberg, Robert I. Towards a Certain Future: The Politics and Economic of Southern Africa. Cape Town: David Philip Publisher, 1974.

Roux, Edward. Time Longer than Rope: A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1964.

Russell, Peter H. Constitutional Odyssey: Can Canadians be a Sovereign People? Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Sachs, A. South Africa: The Violence of Apartheid. Second Edition. London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1970.

Sachs, E.S. The Anatomy of Apartheid. London: Collot's (Publishers) Ltd., 1965.

Seidman, Judy. Facelift Apartheid: South Africa after Soweto. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1980.

Serfontein, J.H.P. Brotherhood in Power: An Expose of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond. Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1986.

Sikakane, Joyce. A Window on Soweto. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1977.

Silman, Janet. Enough is Enough: Aboriginal Women Speak Out. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987.

Simeon, Richard and Keith Banting. And No One Cheered: Federalism, Democracy and the Constitution Act. Toronto: Methuen, 1983.

Simons, Jack and Ray. Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950. London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1993.

The South African Council of Churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference. Relocations: The Churches' Report on Forced Removals. Randburg: The South African Council of Churches, 1984.

Southall, Roger. South Africa's Transkei: The Political Economy of an 'Independent' Bantustan. London: Heinemann, 1982.

Sparks, Allister. The Mind of South Africa. New York: Ballantine Books, 1990.

Stultz, Newell M. Transkei's Half Loaf: Race Separatism in South Africa. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1979.

Surtees, Robert J. The Original People. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Limited, 1971.

Tennant, Paul. Aboriginal Peoples and Politics. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991.

Thompson, Leonard. The Political Mythology of Apartheid. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1985.

Thompson, Leonard and Andrew Prior. South African Politics. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1982.

Trafficking in Apartheid: The Case for Canadian Sanctions Against South Africa. Toronto: SACTU Solidarity Committee (Canada), 1985.

Trudeau, Pierre Elliott. Federalism and the French Canadians. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968.

Unesco. Apartheid: Its Effects on Education, Science, Culture and Information. Paris: United Nations, 1967.

Walker, Eric. A History of South Africa. Third Edition. London: Longmans, 1962.

Walshe, Peter. The Rise of African Nationalism: The African National Congress, 1912-1952. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Weaver, Sally M. Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda, 1968-1970. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Welsh, David. The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Natal (1845-1910). Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Wichern, P.H. jr. Two Studies in Political Development on Canada's Resource Frontier: Political Development on Canadian Reserves and the Administrator's Role in Single Enterprise Communities. Winnipeg: Centre for Settlement Studies, University of Manitoba, July 1972.

Wilson, Monica and Leonard Thompson, eds. The Oxford History of South Africa. Vols. I & II. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Winks, Robin. Blacks in Canada: A History. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1971.

Woods, Donald. South African Dispatches: Letters to my Countrymen. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1986.

Wright, Ronald. Stolen Continents: The "New World" Through Indian Eyes. Toronto: Penguin Books, 1992.

Wuttunee, William I.C. Ruffled Feathers: Indians in Canadian Society. Calgary, Alberta: Bell Books Ltd., 1971.

York, Geoffrey. The Dispossessed: Life and Death in Native Canada. London: Vintage U.K., 1990.

b) Articles

Baker, Donald G. "Color, Culture and Power: Indian-White Relations in Canada and America." The Canadian Review of American Studies. III (1) Spring 1972: 3-20.

Barron, F.L. "A Summary of Federal Indian Policy in the Canadian West, 1867-1984." Native Studies Review. 1 (1) 1984: 28-39.

Barron, Laurie. "The Indian Pass System in the Canadian West, 1882-1988." Prairie Forum, 13 (1) Spring 1988: 25-42.

Bartlett, Richard H. "Parallels in Aboriginal Land Policy in Canada and South Africa." Canadian Native Law Review. 4, 1988: 1-35.

Beatty, Willard W. "The Goal of Indian Assimilation." Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science. xii, 1946: 396-404.

Berger, Thomas. "Native Rights and Self Determination." The Canadian Journal of Native Studies. III (2) 1983: 363-375.

Bourgeault, Ron. "Canada Indians: The South Africa Connection." Canadian Dimension. 21 (8) 1988: 6-10.

Carstens, Peter. "Coercion and Change." Ossenberg, Richard J., ed. Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change, and Conflict. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1971.

DuCharme, Michelle. "The Segregation of Native People in Canada: Voluntary or Compulsory?" Currents. Summer 1986: 3.

Dunning, R.W. "The Indian Situation: A Canadian Governmental Dilemma.: The International Journal of Comparative Sociology, June 1971: 128-134.

Fisher, Robin. "The Impact of European Settlement on the Indigenous Peoples of Australia, New Zealand, and British Columbia: Some Comparative Dimensions." Canadian Ethnic Studies. XII (1) 1980: 1-14.

Frankel, Philip. "The Politics of Passes: Control and Change in South Africa." The Journal of Modern African Studies. 17 (2) June 1979: 199-218.

- Frideres, James. "Native Rights and the 21st Century: The Making of Red Power." Canadian Ethnic Studies. XXII (3) 1990: 1-7.
- Grew, Raymond. "The Case for Comparing Histories." American Historical Review. 85 (4 & 5) 1980: 763-778.
- Guillemin, Jeanne. "The Politics of National Integration: A Comparison of United States and Canadian Indian Administrations." Social Problems. 25 (3) 1978: 319-332.
- Jenness, Diamond. "Canada's Indians Yesterday. What of Today?" The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science. 20 (1) February 1954: 95-99.
- Kienetz, Alvin. "The Rise and Decline of Hybrid (Métis) Societies on the Frontier of Western Canada and Southern Africa." The Canadian Journal of Native Studies. 3 (1) 1983: 3-21.
- Knight, J.B. and G. Lenta. "Has Capitalism Underdeveloped the Labour Reserves of South Africa?" Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics. 42 (3) August 1980: 157-201.
- Kuper, Hilda. "The Development of a Primitive Society." Bantu Studies. XV, 1941.
- Long, J. Anthony, Leroy Little Bear and Menno Boldt. "Federal Indian Policy and Indian Self-Government in Canada: An Analysis of a Current Proposal." Canadian Public Policy. VIII (2) Spring 1982: 189-199.
- Marks, Shula. "The Myth of the Empty Land." History Today. 30 (January 1980): 7-12.
- Miller, Carmen. "Chums in Arms: Comradeship Among Canada's South African War Soldiers." Social History. 18 (36) 1985: 359-373.
- Ponting, J. Rick. "Internationalization: Perspectives on an Emerging Direction in Aboriginal Affairs." Canadian Ethnic Studies. XXII (3) 1990: 85-105.
- Redkop, Clarence G. "Commerce over Conscience: The Trudeau Government and South Africa, 1968-84." Journal of Canadian Studies. 19 (4) Winter 1984-85: 82-102.
- Trapido, Stanley. "South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialization." Journal of Development Studies. 7 (1971): 309-320.
- Upton, L.F.S. "The Origins of Canadian Indian Policy." Journal of Canadian Studies. 8 (4) November 1973: 51-60.
- Vickery, Kenneth P. "'Herrenvolk' Democracy and Egalitarianism in South Africa and the U.S. South." Comparative Studies in Society and History. 16 (1974): 309-328.
- Watson, R.I. "Slavery and Ideology: The South African Case." The International Journal of African Historical Studies. 20 (1) 1987: 27-44.
- Wolpe, Harold. "Capitalism and Cheap Labour-power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid." Economy and Society. 1 (4) 1972: 425-456.

c) Theses and Unpublished Sources

Beaver, John W. Remarks delivered by John W. Beaver, President and Chief Executive officer, Churchill Falls (Labrador) Corporation Limited to the Empire Club of Canada in Toronto, 4 December 1975.

Boswell, Joan. "'Civilizing' the Indian: Government Administration of Indian Affairs, 1876-1896." Ph. D. diss., University of Ottawa, 1978.

Chrétien, Jean. "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969." Presented to the First Session of the Twenty-eighth Parliament by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

_____. "The Unfinished Tapestry - Indian Policy in Canada." A speech by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development given at Queen's University, 17 March 1971.

Davies, Horton, ed. "Some South African Missionary Institutions." Unpublished manuscript of essays by theological students at Rhodes University, Faculty of Divinity, Grahamstown, South Africa, August 1954.

Dil, Revd. Pierre J. "Separate and Equal? The Policy of Separate Development of the Government of South Africa." A booklet sponsored by the Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, New York. 1968.

Egero, Bertil. "South Africa's Bantustans: From Dumping Grounds to Battlefronts." The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Discussion Paper 4. Uppsala, 1991.

"Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada Brief to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons on the Constitution of Canada." Presented by W. Currie, G.A. Clark, Prof. P. Cumming and Prof. T.H.B. Symons on 13 May 1971.

Jones, Col. H.M. "The Years Ahead." Speech by the Director of Indian Affairs at the National Superintendents' Conference, Harrison Hot Springs, 18 September 1961.

Kotze, Theo. "The Outlook for South Africa." A speech delivered at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, 7 November 1978.

Leeuwenberg, Jeff. "Transkei. A Study in Economic Regression." London: The Africa Bureau, July 1977.

Leighton, James Douglas. "The Development of Federal Indian Policy in Canada, 1840-1890." Ph. D. Diss. University of Western Ontario, 1975.

MacInnes, T.R.L. "History of Indian Administration in Canada." A paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association in Toronto, 14 May 1946.

Maguire, R.C. "History of the Indian Act." Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, October 1975.

Meer, Fatima. "Women in the Apartheid Society." United Nations Centre Against Apartheid. Notes and Documents. 85-11681. April 1985.

Morse, Brad. "Indigenous Self-Government in Canada." Paper presented to the Western Regional Science Association, San Diego, California, February 1985.

Naiman, Joanne, Joan Bhabha and Guy Wright. "Relations Between Canada and South Africa 1948-1983." United Nations Centre Against Apartheid.

Notes and Documents. 84-15150. May 1984. Presented to the North American Regional Conference for Action Against Apartheid, United Nations Headquarters, New York. 18-21 June 1984.

Patterson, E. Palmer, II. "Andrew Paull and Canadian Indian Resurgence." Ph. D. diss. University of Washington, 1962.

Pelot, Bernard J. "The Buckskin Curtain: Canada's Indians from Government Wards... to Feudal Lords?" A discussion paper on the Aboriginal Rights in the Constitution, February 1985.

Ponting, Rick. "The Sociological Impact of Aboriginal Self-Government on Aboriginal Communities." Paper presented to a joint session of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association and the Canadian Political Science Association, Annual Meetings of the Learned Societies, l'Université de Montreal, Montreal, Quebec, 31 May 1985.

Weaver, Sally M. "Recent Directions in Canadian Native Policy." A paper prepared for the Annual Meetings of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, London, Ontario, 31 May 1978.

Woods, Donald. "Apartheid and its Victims." Audiotape of an address given at Glebe-St. James United Church, Ottawa, 8 May 1983.