

WHITE TRIBES DRIFTING

Prologue: Loos Talk

Something, even about the Empire in its twilight days – and that sense that all colored people should know their place, you could see in the Suez Canal Zone at the railway station in 1949.

There were 10 lavatories, each labeled:

Officers European
Officers Asiatic
Officers Coloured
Warrant Officers and Sergeants European
Warrant Officers and Sergeants Asiatic
Warrant Officers and Sergeants Coloured
Other Ranks European
Other Ranks Asiatic
Other Ranks Coloured
Women

I. APARTHEID

A. Afrikaners

B. Apartheid

Apartheid didn't come into its own until 1948, when the National Party put it onto the books.

– the *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act* (1949)

(but blacks could marry coloureds, same as before)

– *Immorality Amendment Act* (1950)

No sex between whites and ANY other color.

(Till now, it had been a ban for whites and blacks alone)

And Bill Clinton would have a difficult time saying, “define sex.”

It DID, very specifically.

It makes quite racy reading.

– *Group Areas Act* (1950)

Each race shall be pushed to develop in its own way.

And in its own place.

Blacks can be in “white” cities ... only as guests.

In effect, this meant the government uprooted whole black and Indian and Coloured neighborhoods, and made the areas white ones.

Many communities that had been in one place for 100 years and more were shut down and forced to move.

– *Population Registration Act* (1950)

Everyone gets a formal title:

“White”

“Bantu”

“Coloured”

“Asian”

“Others.”

Don’t worry if you forget. It’s listed in the national race register.

(Japanese got exempted. They were to be counted as “honorary whites.”)

– *the Bantu Authorities Act* (1951)

Blacks get political representation – in the “homelands.”

And what those “homelands” are, the Government decrees.

– *the Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act* (1952)

In fact, the Passes become all powerful, not abolished.

They have to be carried at all times by black people.

They have residency permits in them –
job permits –

travel permits –

marriage permits

They even declare where the black is allowed to die.

– *the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act* (1953)

No race mixing on the job or daily.

Toilets, cafeterias ... everything is made specifically separate.

From this come ...

Separate trains, separate busses

Separate restaurants

Separate park benches

Separate doorways into buildings

Separate graveyards

Separate hospitals

Separate ambulances

Separate phone booths

Separate taxi stands

Separate schools, clubs, and movies

Factories make workers punch separate time clocks.

Comic books have to have all white characters or all black ones.

At zoos and art galleries and museums and public gardens, there are separate hours for whites and for blacks to go there.

If you went to the track, you could stand in line at a ticket window for “whites only.”

There was another for “Asiatics.” But nobody was behind the counter, so nobody bought a ticket.

And there was NONE for blacks.

– *the Bantu Education Bill* (1953)

Nonwhites shall be put out of white educational institutions and black institutions set up to fit them.

And that fitting is to make sure they DON'T LEARN TOO MUCH.

Christian teachings ...

the Afrikan language....

but little beyond that.

– *the Resettlement of Natives Act* (1954)

It defined where blacks could live.

They got about 13% of the country for their “native areas.”

That was where they had to go.

Over 100,000 people were taken out of their homes and moved to villages, many built by the government.

How nice, you would say – except that they didn't choose where to live.

And their old homes, that they were fond of, were

torn down and handed over to whites.

– *the Industrial Conciliation Act* (1956)

Banned trade unions open to whites and coloureds alike.

As for blacks, they couldn't join any trade union anywhere, any times, on any terms.

– the Extension of University Education Act (1959)

It forced the last blacks out of white universities and set up separate black schools ... very unequal ones

– the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act (1959)

This connected the cities with the “homelands.”

Black working in white areas were allowed to vote in the Bantustan of their choice – the Reserve they had been assigned to.

The logic of this is, in that case, every black in Pretoria or Johannesburg or Cape Town is a foreigner. He carries a passport.

He can't be expected to share in power.

He can be deported any time local authorities like.

He can be forbidden to own land; after all,
countries can keep aliens from doing
so.

(Not many do.)¹

And those millions of blacks in white cities DO have a vote.

They can vote for a Parliament – that has absolutely
no control over their lives or their
conditions.

It has jurisdiction in the “Reserve.”

– the Bantu Laws Amendment Act (1964)

No black has a fixed residence, in any white area.

He or she is a “temporary sojourner.”

They can be evicted from anywhere.

They can work in one place and live there all their life.

That does not give them the right to remain.

¹ William R. Frye, *In Whitest Africa: The Dynamics of Apartheid* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 30-31.

No black African's home belongs to him by legal right.

He can be forced out anywhere, any time.²

Any idler, any delinquent, any dissident who causes trouble, can
be uprooted and sent out of the white areas, for good.

So much for blacks. What about the "Coloureds"?

They spoke Afrikaans.

They had always lived in white areas.

They had even shared in political power.

But apartheid cut the ties completely.

An end to mixed marriages.

An end to sex with whites.

An end to the last political rights.

It's true that under the Constitution, they had a right to vote.

The only way to take it away was a 2/3 vote.

The National party didn't have 2/3ds of the senate.

² William R. Frye, *In Whitest Africa: The Dynamics of Apartheid* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 16-17.

So ...

– they ignored the constitution.

The Assembly by a simple majority, abolished the Coloured vote.

– when the court overturned it, the government put through a resolution saying that the Court had no power to say anything about it.

– when the court declared this unconstitutional, too, the Government packed the senate.

It made enough new senators to get 2/3ds

– when the court said it couldn't, it packed the Supreme Court.

After that, there were no troubles.

The soul of apartheid lay in the pass-book.

If you were a South African over 16 – white or coloured or black – you carried an i.d. card

But blacks had to carry a full-scale “reference book.”

It's about 90 pages or so long.

Sort of like a passport.

Sort of like an autobiography.

To travel –

to take up residence –
to get a job –

you have to have it.

In a single year, about half a million people were prosecuted
for not having their pass-books in good order.³

Let's say you lose your pass book.

You can't get a job.

You need money to buy another pass book.

But if you can't get a job, how are you going to get the
money? Steal it?

(Some ended up doing that).

The price of life for a black in white areas was desolating poverty.

Go to the South West Townships out of Johannesburg.

SO WE TO is the acronym, and that's what we know it as.

Black areas. Let's say you were a black child, born in 1958.
What future did you have?

³ William R. Frye, *In Whitest Africa: The Dynamics of Apartheid* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 9.

Odds are, a short one. Three black kids in five there died before they turned one.⁴

You'd be sure to be raised hungry, and malnutrition adds to the risk of mental retardation or brain damage.

It means you'd be shorter, too, stunted, puny.

⁴ Peter Dreyer, *Martyrs and Fanatics: South Africa and Human Destiny* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980), 188-89.

Within sight, you could see Johannesburg itself, “City of Gold.”⁵

And it lived up to that name.

It was one of a string of cities built on and around the Witwatersrand,
the gold country of the Reef.

Eighty years saw \$10 billion in gold taken out.

The very currency of South Africa, the “rand,” comes from the
word Witwatersrand (which means “ridge of
white waters”)

Seven vast mining finance houses had their headquarters
here, and holdings all over the world.

The biggest, Anglo-American, had over \$7.4 billion
in assets in the mid-1970s...

but it wasn't Anglo- and it wasn't American.

Most of the shares, South Africans held.⁶

⁵ *E Goli* is the vernacular name. Peter Dreyer, *Martyrs and Fanatics: South Africa and Human Destiny* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980), 190.

⁶ Peter Dreyer, *Martyrs and Fanatics: South Africa and Human Destiny* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980), 190.

Out of that wealth came the money to industrialize South Africa.

To double its manufacturing output in seven years
(1966-1973)

To turn South Africa into the 18th industrial nation in
the world.

But no black person could vote in Johannesburg, or own property
there or hold public office, or share in the wealth.

Soweto had well over 600,000 people in the 1970s.

Maybe as many as two million.

And no more than 1 house in 5 had electricity.

No more than 1 in 15 had a bath or shower.

No more than 1 in 30, if that, had hot water.

People without electricity or natural gas can only warm themselves or heat
water or cook by burning coal

So Soweto was dark, sooty with pollution.

It was the smokiest city in the world.

Respiratory infections, epidemics of tuberculosis claimed lives in
the thousands, and infected as many as half a million people
in the 1970s.⁷

⁷ Peter Dreyer, *Martyrs and Fanatics: South Africa and Human Destiny* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980), 191-92.

The Reserves were not fair, and not meant to be.
13% of the land in South Africa was to go into them.

And this was to serve 68% of the population.

27% of the population was herded into that 13%.

Nor was it good land.

None of the country's gold or diamond mines were there.

None of its major ports.

None of its manufacturing centers.

The most they could do was farm or cut timber.

But the land, much of it, couldn't be farmed.

It was too dry, too hot. Grazing was all that
could be done.

Unless the area was developed, a Homeland simply couldn't support
the people on it.

They would have to look for jobs in white areas.

And the South African government wasn't about to develop
the homeland. No aid – no loans – for that.⁸

⁸ It did give millions of dollars – 114 million rand in five years (1961-66) to develop Bantu areas, but most of

So the Reserves survived on big cuts from the pay checks of blacks sent OFF the Reserves, to work on white mines and farms, as very low wages ... about \$4.20 a week in a lot of cases.

To sum it up, South Africa wasn't the South. It was a lot worse than the South.

What southern state had laws forbidding blacks to take certain jobs, even if offered?

What southern state could evict any black and send him to a "homeland"?

What southern state could deport any black from the city to the countryside?

this was for forestry, irrigation, soil conservation and animal husbandry, and some for education. None of it was for industrial development. 114 million rand was like \$159 million, or about \$32 million a year back then.

That was nowhere close to enough – a miserably small fraction – of what was needed. Experts would agree that far, far more, would be needed to make the Bantu lands self-supporting William R. Frye, *In Whitest Africa: The Dynamics of Apartheid* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 34.

What southern state could forcibly separate a black from his wife and kids, by government dictate?

None of this would come easily. A lot of white South Africans were happy with the more easy-going white supremacy of the past, or they were downright hostile to bigotry in any form.

Black South Africans weren't keen on apartheid, either.

But the Government packed its quiver full of pretty lethal arrows, to make the white Commonwealth into a police state.

– the *Prohibition of Improper Interference Act* (1965)

Outlawing all multiracial political parties or groups.

The Progressive Party simply dropped its nonwhites.

The Liberal Party didn't think there was any honorable course but one. They disbanded.

But then, they had never elected a member to Parliament.

– the *Suppression of Communism Act* (1950)

Of course this wasn't aimed at Communists.

It let the Minister of Security decide who to call a Communist, and then outlaw them.

He could do it to people, too.

A person could be banned.

From then on, no newspaper could quote him or even refer to him. He didn't exist.

He had to stay in his "home magisterial district."

He couldn't go to any gathering that had more than 2 people at it.

He couldn't vote, hold office, or join any political group.

Do you think that blacks should vote, as well as whites?

Congratulations. Under the specific terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, YOU are a Communist.

Don't leave town.

– the *Criminal Law Amendment Act* (1960)

The government gets wide powers to outlaw citizens or put them in jail for up to half a year without any charge and without any trial.

All they have to do is something that someone in government thinks would "further the aims of Communism."

Communism believes that everybody must be fed.

...excuse me, just checking – you eaten anything recently?

A-**Ha!**

Oh, and one little kicker.

The government can do this again and again.

So at the end of the 180 days, they can jail you for another 180 ... and so on for life, without charging you with anything.

(This was called the Sobukwe clause, after Robert Sobukwe, a black dissident that they did this to).

Before the British Commonwealth could do anything to reform matters, South Africa quit the Commonwealth.

South Africa became a republic.

One by one, black “homelands” came into being, run by their own chiefs, men often in the pay of the South African government.

... the Transkei
kwaZulu
Bophutatswana
kwaNdebele

The designers of this Great White Way were Dr. Malan and Hendrik Verwoerd

Verwoerd had been raised in Holland.

He got theological training, and when he came to the Cape, went seminary there.

But his pulpit was a newspaper. He went into journalism.

All through the 1940s, his paper was the voice and the brain of the whole notion of apartheid.

... and all of it, the paper insisted, was developing God's plan.

He was, hard as it may be to imagine, very much the idealist.

“In every field of life one has to fix one's eyes on the stars, to see how close one can come to perfection.”

And “perfection” was a white South Africa, with a lot of black “homelands” carved out, reservations run by blacks – as far as they were ready for those powers and rights.

In 1960, a lunatic farmer shot Verwoerd in the head twice.⁹

Apparently that was his least vulnerable spot.

Verwoerd survived. It seemed like a miracle.

⁹ He was clearly crazy. A farmer, named Pratt, from the Free State, who had failed in business. Pratt went to a mental institution.

To Afrikaners, it showed that God had ordained
this man for leader.

He would never be beaten again. But in 1966, when he
came into Parliament, another crazy person sidled
behind him.

Suddenly, out flashed two silver daggers.

They went straight into Verwoerd. One went through his heart.
He died instantly.¹⁰

Verwoerd's death changed the mood of apartheid.

As long as he was around, it seemed possible. Miracles could happen.

Now the charisma was gone, and the faith began to crack.

1. The whole idea of homelands was to drain blacks out of the cities and
into separate enclaves.

The homelands came into being.

But there were more blacks than ever living outside them.

¹⁰ Again, politics had nothing to do with it.

Go to the *South West Townships* – SO. WE. TO.
It grew to a million people.

Blacks were being deported by the van load from outside
Cape Town. Bulldozers were always knocking
down shanties.

But there were more outside that city than ever.

The slums got bigger.

Outside Capetown there were legal black townships.

These got bigger all the time.

In 1970 there were eight million blacks in “white” areas.

By 1980, there were 9.5 million.

That is, two blacks to each white person.

II. BASINGSTOKE IN THE BUSH

Rhodesia

The whites fashioned society to suit themselves. By the 1950s, English people were emigrating, looking for the good life, and, for the most part finding it.

They built suburbs with neat hedges and flowering shrubs.

The average home had two black domestic servants.

Just about every white family had a car and owned their own home.

Wages and salaries were about 50% higher than you could get in England.

Maybe one family in five in Salisbury had their own swimming pool.¹¹

But the blacks – the kaffirs – were paid next to nothing, impoverished, and held down.

Ride the busses. There are upholstered seats. Those are the “European” seats. The black ones are wooden, and they’re on the other side of the partition.

Walk the sidewalk. A black man coming your way?
Not room for both?

Don’t sweat it. He has to get off the sidewalk to let you pass.
It’s the law.¹²
He can be jailed if he doesn’t.

If you’re a white family, you live in a white world.

The schools are all white ...
the sports clubs...
the swimming pools

Blacks had to carry certificates of registration, that say what African rural area they belong to – even if they were born in a town.

¹¹ David Caute, **Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia**, 56-57.

¹² David Caute, **Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia**, 57.

Any black in an urban area comes there not because he has a right to, but because he's *allowed* to.

It's a privilege, and if he gets out of line, he can be sent out and kept out, permanently.

If he's allowed in, it's only on a labor contract.

What about his wife? Oh, she can come into town to live with her husband, but she needs a certificate, too –

Certificate of Recognition of an Approved Wife.¹³

Worst of all was what they did with the land.

Land Apportionment Act of 1931 gave exclusive control of just about half the usable agricultural land in Rhodesia to a mere 6000 white farmers – including a lot of foreign-owned agribusinesses.

Africans were evicted, and the evictions went on...
113,000 in all.

The Tangwenas had lived eight generations and more in their homelands. In 1905, the British South Africa Company sold it to a private company – without telling the people who lived on it.

¹³ David Caute, **Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia**, 57-58.

In 1930, the land was decreed to be “European land.”

Evictions began in the 1960s.

The courts decided that the Tangwenas had a right to the land. The evictions were illegal.

But what’s a judge’s decision? A scrap of paper.

The Government bulldozed the Africans’ homes and took their cattle and scattered the people into the bush.¹⁴

By 1979, there were 1.6 million hectares of unused land in commercial farming areas.

But go outside, to the “reserves,” where the Africans were shunted, and you could find famine.

A European farmer could give each head of cattle 20 to 25 hectares of land to graze. The grassland could take it, and replenish itself.

But the African farmer had just 4 hectares.

The grass was eaten to bare earth, and the land turned into a dust-bowl.¹⁵

It was a white world, but one hemmed in more every day.

In 1900 there had been only 710,000 blacks in Rhodesia.

¹⁴ David Caute, **Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia**, 80.

¹⁵ David Caute, **Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia**, 80-81.

By 1970 the number was 5.5 million, by 1980 it was 7.5 million.

And whites? About 225,000, at its very peak.

Trouble began in 1960.

But Rhodesia's government was ready for it.

It censored the press.

It tapped the phones of journalists.

It jailed reporters.

And it banned all radical newspapers.¹⁶

It built up a security apparatus second to none.

So strong was it that in ten years, guerrillas never were able to kill more than ten white civilians.

And between 1967 and 1972, not a single one.

Rebels were divided, dispersed, jailed, exiled, infiltrated by police informers and kept up close watch.¹⁷

¹⁶ David Caute, **Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia**, 45-46.

¹⁷ David Caute, **Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia**, 40.

Heading the white kingdom was Ian Smith.

He was the first Prime Minister born in southern Rhodesia.

When he took office, he'd been to Britain just four times –
always on a short visit.

His looks may have been against him –
The skin graft on his right cheek
The half-closed right eye....

But these were a patriot's pay.

He got them fighting Hitler as a fighter pilot in World War II, when his
Hurricane crashed in North Africa.

His father had come out of Scotland (Lanarkshire) a little before the
century began, and prospered, as farmer and rancher, breeding
horses

(Some of them won races, and won cups).

Ian Smith went in for sports, becoming a rugby captain and
tennis captain and cricket captain at school.

He was British, and proud of it.

Both his parents got the MBE, an Empire medal.

Of course he dropped college work to volunteer for war.

... shot down in his Spitfire
... crashing his Hurricane¹⁸

¹⁸ David Caute, **Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia**, 89-90.

But Smith wasn't proud of the Britain of Harold MacMillan's day...

effete, soft, weak, spineless.

He had fought Churchill's war, but not to turn the Empire over to black kaffirs; and, what's more, he didn't think Churchill ever had had any such notion himself.

Churchill himself was saving an empire run by white people that gave black people better rule than they could have got on their own and better than they deserved.¹⁹

(That was Smith's take on it, anyhow).

By 1965, his party ran Rhodesia with too much strength to be wrestled out of it.

And the party WAS Smith.

His PR man saw to that.

Shop windows were full of plaster busts and effigies
There were Smith ash-trays and dishcloths showing him and
his Spitfire plane

¹⁹ David Caute, Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia, 90.

There were copper plaques of Smith²⁰

Censorship and locking people up without trial helped keep the other parties from getting a foot in the door.

Not that any black party would.
Blacks couldn't vote.

Voting was based on paying income tax.

But whites who didn't pay income tax could vote, because whites as a RACE paid more than their share of income taxes.²¹

Opposition? The legislature had fifty seats and Smith's party won all fifty.

Its candidates never lost a seat from that time on.

Race discrimination didn't lighten. It toughened.

The Government had ended separate lines for blacks at post offices and banks, and let Africans go to the movies or into hotels, and gave private schools the right to enroll black pupils if they wanted.

²⁰ David Caute, **Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia**, 91.

²¹ David Caute, **Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia**, 92.

Now Smith did away with all that.²²

Rhodesia was a defining moment – one of three in 1965...

– the death of Winston Churchill

– the war of two Commonwealth countries, India and Pakistan

... in which Britain's role was almost a complete irrelevancy

– Rhodesia

For here for the first time it became clear that Britain not only wasn't a world power (Suez showed that).

It wasn't even an imperial power.

Taming Rhodesia would take military muscle.

Smith had the second-best armed state in southern Africa.

3 battalions of infantry

8 battalions of territorials

... and four more on the way

The Rhodesian air force had four squadrons of bombers – up to date ones.

They had helicopters

²² David Caute, **Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia**, 91.

And 34,000 special police.

They could crush out any insurgency within, and could make a mincemeat of any but a world power striking them from without.

But England wasn't even thinking of striking a blow.

It couldn't wave the big stick; the stick was in hock.

Britain's finances were so shaky that the faintest whisper that it would fight was sure to start a run on the pound and shut down the bond markets.

When it became plain that Britain wouldn't send in troops to make the white government behave, Smith declared independence.

Britain imposed sanctions, to break the Rhodesian economy.

But South Africa supplied everything Rhodesia needed.

British oil companies kept on selling to Rhodesia, as if the sanctions policy didn't exist.

Rhodesia's complacency ended in 1976.

Guerrilla warfare, long stilled, came to life again.

In the three years till then, they had killed 84 members of the security forces – and lost 734 men of their own.

In 1976, it was 171 security forces and 1,965 guerrillas

... plus 54 white civilians.²³

To fight it, the Government uprooted a half million people from their villages and put them into “protected villages,” the PVS.

This would quarantine them – keep them free of the guerrilla influence.

What it really did was convince the natives that they were second-class men, without civil rights, without property rights, with no door open to the courts, no right to appeal, who their white masters could do anything do that they pleased.

You take people out of their villages, fields, stores and churches.

You throw them into barren ground, without shelter, and without even poles with which to build huts.

There’s no blankets, no warm clothing.

You give them identity bracelets, each of them numbered.

Anyone caught without that bangle on can be shot –

²³ David Caute, **Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia**, 46.

no questions asked – as a terrorist.²⁴

But the war went on, and the killing got worse.

It numbered in the thousands every year.

When a settlement came, it was more like a surrender, and England helped do the surrendering.

The black puppet government of Bishop Abel Muzorewa was undone.

New elections would be held in Rhodesia and a constitutional convention in London.

Out of it came Britain's granting Rhodesia its independence.

The sanctions were dropped.

When elections were held, Robert Mugabe, head of the Marxist guerrillas, won handily.

The poor bishop took just 3 seats to Mugabe's 57 and Joshua Nkomo's 29.

From now on, Rhodesia would be called Zimbabwe.

Its free press was snuffed out quickly.

²⁴ David Caute, **Under the Skin: The Death of White Rhodesia**, 61-62.

Whites were left alone.

But the new government sent out its killers and cops to
beat, harass, and jail the black supporters of the
other revolutionary army, Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU.²⁵

Ian Smith wasn't gone forever; he would hold a place in the legislature.

But his power was thrown into lasting eclipse.

Coda: The end of White Australia

There's a different story, though, in the Antipodes.

Until the 1940s, Australia had a lot in common with South Africa.

The "white Australia" policy particularly.
Immigrants didn't come, and they weren't welcomed.

But after the war, the crumbling of Empire changed the calculations.

If Australia was going to grow, it needed immigrants.

²⁵ Lawrence James, **Imperial Rearguard**, 221.

“Populate or perish,” as the slogan went –

grow 2% a year in people.

You couldn’t get them by barring the door.

Ideally, the way to do it was to get them from England.

... but England didn’t have the ships.

It could feed its own people – or it could fill Australia.

Not both.

So only about 40% of the half million people who came between
1947 and 1951 were British.

The rest were Greeks and Italians and Portuguese and
Germans

As Europe recovered from the war, the number of northern Europeans
willing to come dwindled.

Australia had to look further afield: Turkey, Yugoslavia

South America, the Middle East....

But if you let in a Lebanese or a Maltese, how can you keep
out a person of pretty much the same color skin
from the Philippines?

How can you keep out the Chinese from Singapore?²⁶

²⁶ Bruce Grant, *The Australian Dilemma*, 240-43.

Starting in 1966, the government began to let in at least some non-Europeans.

It wasn't just a matter of justice or need. It was a different way of seeing Australia's place in the world.

Instead of looking to England, it had to look to its future in Asia.

How can you trade with and make alliances with countries if you won't let their people come into your country?

So when the Vietnamese boat people arrived, desperate refugees in the mid-1970s, Australia found a refuge for fifty thousand of them.

That's better, per capita, than just about any other country anywhere.²⁷

Australia also looked across the Indian Ocean to Africa for business and trade.

And the same sea-change came in the 1970s.

As of 1971, South Africa, apartheid and all, was something that Australia could live with, or even apologize for.

²⁷ Bruce Grant, *The Australian Dilemma*, 247.

When the South African rugby team, the Springboks, came to tour Australia in 1971, they got a huge welcome.

Trades unions threatened not to service the team's aircraft. The Government gave the players full use of the Royal Australian Air Force instead.

Did that make a different country?

Not altogether. As of the mid-1980s, Australia was still about 78% British.

But in the 1930s, they were 98% British.

But by 1981, the Springboks weren't allowed to tour Australia at all. In fact, when they came, to tour New Zealand, they had to make their air trip around Australia, because the Government wouldn't let them cross Australian air-space.²⁸

²⁸ Bruce Grant, *The Australian Dilemma: A New Kind of Western Society* (London: Macdonald Futura Publishers, 1983), 247.

