

Medical apartheid by harriet washington Complete Guide

Medical Apartheid by Harriet Washington is a groundbreaking and provocative book that examines the dark history of medical experimentation and unethical treatment of marginalized populations in the United States. Published in 2007, this comprehensive work unearths centuries of racial discrimination in medicine, revealing how systemic racism has shaped healthcare practices and policies. Through meticulous research and compelling narrative, Harriet Washington exposes the profound injustices inflicted upon African Americans, Native Americans, and other oppressed groups, highlighting the enduring legacy of medical racism that continues to impact health disparities today.

Introduction to Medical Apartheid by Harriet Washington

The history of medicine in America is often celebrated for its advancements and innovations. However, beneath this veneer of progress lies a troubling history of exploitation, unethical experimentation, and systemic racism. Harriet Washington's *Medical Apartheid* offers a detailed exploration of this hidden history, making it an essential read for anyone interested in understanding the intersection of race, ethics, and healthcare.

This book sheds light on the ways marginalized communities have been subjected to medical abuse, often without consent or regard for their well-being. It chronicles numerous instances of unethical research, from the infamous Tuskegee Syphilis Study to covert experiments on enslaved Africans and Native Americans. By doing so, Washington challenges readers to confront the uncomfortable truths about the origins of racial health disparities and the ongoing impact of medical racism.

The Historical Context of Medical Racism

Roots in Slavery and Colonialism

The origins of medical racism in the United States are deeply intertwined with slavery and colonialism. Enslaved Africans were often used as unwitting subjects in experiments designed to justify racial hierarchies and improve treatments for white populations. Examples include:

- Experimental surgeries and treatments performed on enslaved Africans without anesthesia.
- Dissection and anatomical studies conducted on enslaved bodies, often without consent.

- Use of enslaved individuals to develop vaccines and medical techniques.

Native Americans and Indigenous Populations

Native American communities have also suffered from medical exploitation, including:

- Forced sterilizations and reproductive rights violations.
- Experiments conduct

Medical Apartheid by Harriet Washington: An In-Depth Analysis of Medical Racism and Ethical Violations

Introduction

Medical apartheid is a term that encapsulates the systemic racism and unethical practices embedded within the history of American medicine, particularly as it pertains to Black Americans and other marginalized groups. Harriet Washington's seminal work, *Medical Apartheid: The Dark History of Medical Experimentation on Black Americans from Colonial Times to the Present*, is a comprehensive exploration of this troubling legacy. Published in 2007, the book meticulously documents the centuries-long exploitation, deception, and neglect inflicted upon Black populations by the biomedical establishment. Washington's work is not merely a historical account; it is an urgent call to recognize and confront the enduring consequences of medical racism that continue to influence healthcare disparities today.

This article offers an analytical review of *Medical Apartheid*, highlighting its key themes, historical context, ethical violations, and ongoing implications. Through a detailed examination of Washington's research, we aim to understand how this history shapes current debates on medical ethics, racial justice, and health equity.

Historical Foundations of Medical Apartheid

Colonial and Antebellum Periods: The Roots of Medical Exploitation

Washington traces the origins of medical apartheid to the colonial era, where enslaved Africans were subjected to inhumane medical experimentation without consent or regard for their well-being. During slavery, physicians often used enslaved individuals as living laboratories, conducting surgeries, amputations, and drug trials that prioritized scientific curiosity over ethics. These experiments were justified by pseudo-scientific theories that dehumanized Black bodies, portraying them as inferior or inherently different.

Key practices during this period include:

- Inhumane surgeries without anesthesia performed on enslaved persons to study pain responses.
- Use of Black bodies in anatomical studies, often obtained through illicit means or without consent.
- Experimental treatments aimed at understanding diseases prevalent among enslaved populations, often with little regard for the individuals' health or consent.

This era established a pattern of medical dehumanization that persisted into later centuries.

Post-Emancipation and the Jim Crow Era

Following emancipation, Black Americans continued to face systemic medical discrimination. Segregation extended into hospitals and clinics, which often excluded Black patients or provided substandard care. Washington documents how medical institutions perpetuated racist stereotypes such as the false notion that Black bodies were biologically inferior or more resistant to treatment, thereby justifying unequal treatment.

Furthermore, Black communities were often the subjects of unethical experiments under the guise of medical progress. For instance:

- The infamous Tuskegee Syphilis Study (1932-1972), in which Black men with syphilis were deliberately left untreated to study disease progression, exemplifies institutional betrayal and racial injustice.
- Use of Black patients in psychiatric experiments and vaccination trials without informed consent.

This period cemented the notion that Black bodies were expendable in the pursuit of scientific knowledge.

Ethical Violations and Scientific Misconduct

Unethical Human Experiments and Their Impacts

Washington details numerous instances where medical research exploited marginalized populations, often under the pretense of advancing science or public health. These experiments frequently violated fundamental ethical principles, such as informed consent, beneficence, and justice.

Some notable examples include:

- The Tuskegee Study, which continued for 40 years, withholding treatment from Black men to observe untreated syphilis's natural course.
- The Guatemala Syphilis Experiment (1946-1948), where vulnerable populations in Guatemala, including prisoners and mental health patients, were deliberately infected with syphilis and gonorrhea without consent.
- The use of enslaved Black women in reproductive experiments, including attempts to understand and control Black fertility.

Washington emphasizes that such experiments were not isolated incidents but part of a broader pattern of systemic abuse rooted in racist ideologies.

The Consequences of Medical Mistrust

The legacy of these unethical practices has fostered deep mistrust toward medical institutions among Black communities. This mistrust manifests today as lower participation in clinical trials, vaccine hesitancy, and reluctance to seek medical care, all of which contribute to persistent health disparities.

Washington argues that understanding this history is crucial to addressing present-day inequities. Without acknowledging the unethical roots of medical research, efforts to improve healthcare outcomes risk repeating the sins of the past.

Systemic Racism in Medical Institutions

Structural Inequities and Healthcare Disparities

Washington's work highlights how systemic racism extends beyond individual acts of misconduct to the very structure of medical institutions. Black Americans often receive lower-quality care, face barriers to access, and are underrepresented in medical research and education.

Key issues include:

- Hospital segregation and unequal resource allocation.
- Bias and stereotypes among healthcare providers that influence diagnosis and treatment.
- Lack of representation of Black researchers and clinicians in medical fields.
- Environmental racism, such as living in areas with higher pollution, leading to increased disease burdens.

This systemic discrimination perpetuates health disparities, resulting in worse outcomes for Black patients across a range of conditions, including hypertension, diabetes, and maternal mortality.

Medical Education and Bias

Washington critiques how medical training often perpetuates racial biases?such as misconceptions about biological differences?that influence clinical decision-making. These biases can lead to misdiagnoses, under-treatment, and mistrust.

She advocates for:

- Curriculum reforms that incorporate the history of medical racism.
- Cultural competence training to improve provider-patient interactions.
- Increased diversity within medical schools and research teams.

Addressing these structural issues is essential for creating equitable healthcare systems.

Contemporary Implications and Pathways Forward

Reparative Justice and Ethical Reforms

Washington urges a reckoning with the past, emphasizing the importance of reparative justice for victims of medical exploitation. This includes:

- Recognizing and apologizing for past abuses.
- Offering reparations or compensation to affected communities.
- Implementing stricter ethical standards for research involving vulnerable populations.

Moreover, she advocates for reforms that prioritize informed consent, community engagement, and transparency in medical research.

Building Trust and Promoting Health Equity

Addressing the legacy of medical apartheid requires rebuilding trust through community-centered approaches. Strategies include:

- Partnering with Black communities in research and healthcare delivery.
- Increasing representation of minorities in clinical trials.

- Developing culturally sensitive healthcare policies.

Washington emphasizes that health equity is not merely a matter of access but also of acknowledgment, respect, and justice.

The Role of Education and Public Awareness

Promoting awareness of medical apartheid's history is critical to fostering informed public discourse. Educational initiatives should:

- Incorporate the history of medical racism into curricula.
- Highlight stories of resilience and resistance.
- Encourage ethical reflection among healthcare professionals and researchers.

An informed public and professional community are essential for systemic change.

Conclusion: The Ongoing Legacy of Medical Apartheid

Harriet Washington's *Medical Apartheid* serves as a sobering reminder of the profound and lasting impact of medical racism in the United States. Her meticulous documentation exposes how scientific pursuits, often cloaked in the veneer of progress, have historically been intertwined with exploitation, dehumanization, and systemic injustice against Black Americans and other marginalized groups.

Understanding this dark history is vital for confronting contemporary health disparities and building a more equitable healthcare system. The path forward involves acknowledging past wrongs, implementing ethical reforms, fostering trust, and actively combating structural racism within medical institutions. Washington's work is a call to action, urging society to recognize that medical ethics are incomplete without justice and that the fight against medical apartheid remains ongoing.

In essence, *Medical Apartheid* is both a historical record and a blueprint for change, reminding us that health equity depends on confronting and dismantling the legacies of racial injustice embedded within American medicine.

Question What is the central thesis of 'Medical Apartheid' by Harriet Washington? The book explores the history of medical experimentation and racial discrimination against African Americans, revealing how systemic racism has led to unethical medical practices and exploitation of Black communities. How does 'Medical Apartheid' describe the legacy of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study? The book details how the Tuskegee study, conducted from 1932 to 1972 without informed consent, exemplifies medical exploitation and has contributed to ongoing mistrust of the healthcare system among African Americans. What are some examples of unethical medical experiments

discussed in 'Medical Apartheid'? Harriet Washington discusses experiments such as the use of Black prisoners in radiation studies, the syphilis experiments on Black men, and the use of African Americans in drug trials without proper consent. How does 'Medical Apartheid' address the impact of racial disparities in healthcare today? The book connects historical abuses to current disparities, highlighting how systemic racism continues to affect access to quality healthcare, medical research participation, and health outcomes for Black populations. What role did medical institutions and government agencies play in perpetuating racial injustice, according to 'Medical Apartheid'? Harriet Washington details how institutions like the U.S. Public Health Service and various medical schools actively engaged in or facilitated unethical practices targeting Black Americans, often justified by racist pseudoscience. What insights does 'Medical Apartheid' offer about the mistrust of medical research among African American communities? The book explains that historical abuses have fostered a deep mistrust, which affects participation in medical research and contributes to health disparities today. How does 'Medical Apartheid' contribute to understanding the importance of ethics in medical research? It emphasizes the need for rigorous ethical standards by illustrating past violations and their lasting impacts, advocating for more equitable and respectful treatment of all populations in research. In what ways does 'Medical Apartheid' highlight the resilience and activism of Black communities in confronting medical injustice? The book discusses how Black communities and activists have fought for justice, better healthcare, and acknowledgment of past abuses, inspiring ongoing efforts to address medical inequalities. Why is 'Medical Apartheid' considered a crucial read for understanding medical ethics and racial justice? Because it provides a comprehensive history of medical racism, exposing systemic injustices and fostering awareness that is essential for reforming ethical standards and promoting health equity.

Related keywords: medical ethics, racial disparities, healthcare inequality, medical experimentation, bioethics, African American health, Tuskegee Syphilis Study, medical racism, bioethics history, healthcare justice

APARTHEID GUNS AND MONEY A TALE OF PROFIT

Apartheid Guns and Money: A Tale of Profit

The phrase **apartheid guns and money a tale of profit** encapsulates a complex and often controversial chapter in modern history, where the pursuit of financial gain intertwined with political ideology and international diplomacy. During South Africa's apartheid era (1948-1994), a clandestine network of arms trading and financial maneuvering fueled both the regime's oppressive policies and its economic interests. This article explores the intricate web of weapon sales, illicit financial flows, and corporate involvement that underpinned the apartheid regime's ability to sustain its political and military apparatus, revealing a story where profit often overshadowed human rights

and ethical considerations.

The Context of Apartheid South Africa

Historical Background

South Africa's apartheid was a system of institutionalized racial segregation and discrimination enforced by the National Party government. It aimed to maintain white minority rule while marginalizing the majority Black population and other non-white groups. The regime faced international condemnation, economic sanctions, and diplomatic isolation, but it also developed clandestine networks to circumvent these restrictions.

International Isolation and Its Challenges

Despite sanctions, South Africa maintained a robust military and economy, partly due to illicit trade and secret dealings. The apartheid government sought to secure arms and funding through covert channels, establishing the foundation for the "guns and money" syndicate that would operate beyond the scrutiny of global oversight.

Arms Trading: The Supply of Weapons During Apartheid

Sources of Arms

South Africa's arms procurement was a mix of domestic manufacturing and clandestine imports. Key sources included:

- International Suppliers: Countries like Israel, France, and China supplied arms through covert channels.
- Black Market and Illicit Networks: Smuggling operations bypassed embargoes, often involving third-party countries and front companies.
- Domestic Production: South Africa's arms industry, notably Denel and other defense contractors, ramped up production to meet military needs.

The Role of Covert Arms Deals

The apartheid regime's clandestine arms dealings were characterized by:

- Using front companies and shell corporations to mask transactions.
- Engaging in illegal arms shipments via third countries or unmarked cargo.

- Exploiting diplomatic channels for covert deliveries.

Major Arms Deals and Their Impact

Some notable deals include:

- The purchase of Mirage fighter jets from France despite international embargoes.
- Acquisition of missile systems from China.
- Illegal sale of small arms to various regional actors to bolster regional influence and counter insurgencies.

Financial Flows: Money Laundering and Black Markets

Funding the Military and Government

The apartheid regime relied heavily on illicit financial activities to sustain its operations:

- Money laundering to hide profits from illegal arms sales.
- Black market deals involving diamonds, gold, and other natural resources.
- Offshore accounts used to stash illicit funds and evade sanctions.

Role of Corporations and International Banks

Several multinational corporations and financial institutions played a role in facilitating or turning a blind eye to illegal activities:

- Companies engaged in arms manufacturing and trading.
- Banks in Switzerland, the UK, and the US processed suspicious transactions.
- Front companies created to divert funds and obscure ownership.

Impact on the Economy and Global Finance

The illicit financial activities contributed to:

- An underground economy that sustained apartheid's military complex.
- Evasion of international sanctions, allowing continued military buildup.
- Profits that benefited a select few within the regime and its allies.

Corporate Involvement and Ethical Dilemmas

Multinational Companies in Arms and Finance

Several Western and non-Western companies were implicated in dealings with the apartheid government:

- Arms manufacturers that exported weapons despite embargoes.
- Financial institutions that processed questionable transactions.
- Front companies and middlemen facilitating trade.

Case Studies of Corporate Complicity

- British and French Arms Firms: Engaged in covert sales to South Africa.
- Swiss Banks: Known for handling illicit funds and facilitating money laundering.
- International Corporations: Some maintained investments and operations in South Africa, indirectly supporting the regime.

Ethical Considerations and International Response

The involvement of corporations raised questions about corporate social responsibility and complicity in human rights abuses. Activists and governments called for sanctions and divestment to pressure companies to cease dealings with apartheid South Africa.

The End of Apartheid and the Aftermath

International Sanctions and Their Effectiveness

The global community's sanctions gradually isolated South Africa politically and economically, leading to:

- Embargoes on arms and oil.
- Divestment campaigns targeting corporations.
- Increased efforts to uncover illicit financial flows.

The Transition to Democracy

The dismantling of apartheid in the early 1990s was influenced by internal resistance and

international pressure. The revelations of arms smuggling and illicit finances played a role in exposing the regime's vulnerabilities.

Legacy of Profit-Driven Violence

The story of apartheid's guns and money highlights how economic interests can perpetuate conflict and oppression. It also underscores the importance of transparency, accountability, and ethical conduct in international trade and finance.

Lessons Learned and Contemporary Relevance

Modern Arms Control and Sanctions

The apartheid era's clandestine dealings serve as a cautionary tale for current conflicts:

- The need for robust monitoring of arms exports.
- Strengthening international cooperation to prevent illegal arms trade.
- Ensuring financial transparency to combat money laundering.

Corporate Responsibility Today

Companies are increasingly held accountable for their role in conflict zones. The legacy of apartheid underscores the importance of ethical decision-making and adherence to international norms.

Global Efforts to Combat Illicit Trade

Organizations like INTERPOL, UNODC, and regional bodies work to dismantle black markets and illicit financial flows, learning from past failures to ensure such profit-driven conflicts do not recur.

Conclusion

The tale of "apartheid guns and money" is a stark reminder of how the pursuit of profit can fuel conflict, sustain oppressive regimes, and undermine human rights. By examining the clandestine networks that supplied weapons and laundered illicit funds during South Africa's apartheid era, we gain insights into the importance of vigilance, transparency, and ethical conduct in international trade and finance. As the world continues to confront conflicts today, the lessons from this chapter serve as a call to action to prevent history from repeating itself and to prioritize human dignity over profit.

Apartheid Guns and Money: A Tale of Profit

The phrase apartheid guns and money encapsulates a complex, often opaque web of international dealings that played a pivotal role in sustaining South Africa's apartheid regime. This clandestine network of arms trading, financial transactions, and political maneuvering exemplifies how profit motives can intertwine with ideological oppression, enabling a regime to endure despite widespread global condemnation. At its core, this narrative reveals the extent to which economic interests can overshadow moral considerations, contributing to one of the most infamous chapters in modern history.

Introduction: Unveiling the Nexus of Profit and Oppression

The apartheid era in South Africa (1948-1994) was marked not only by institutionalized racial segregation but also by a complex web of clandestine arms deals and financial schemes that sustained the regime's grip on power. While international sanctions and protests mounted pressure, a parallel underground economy thrived—driven by a desire for profit that often transcended ethical boundaries. The phrase "guns and money" aptly describes this dual pursuit: arms to suppress dissent and money to fund the regime's stability and expansion. Understanding this narrative involves dissecting how global actors, corporations, and illicit networks engaged in profiteering at the expense of justice and human rights.

The Historical Context of Apartheid South Africa

The Rise of the Apartheid Regime

South Africa's apartheid policy was formalized in 1948 under the National Party government, which institutionalized racial segregation and disenfranchised non-white populations. To maintain this system, the regime relied heavily on military force, police repression, and a robust security apparatus.

International Response and Sanctions

Initially, some Western nations maintained economic and diplomatic ties with South Africa, motivated by strategic interests or economic considerations. However, as global awareness grew regarding apartheid's brutality, international pressure intensified, culminating in sanctions, cultural boycotts, and arms embargoes aimed at isolating the regime.

The Arms Trade During Apartheid: A clandestine Industry

Why Arms Were Essential for the Regime

The apartheid government faced internal resistance, notably from liberation movements like the African National Congress (ANC) and Umkhonto we Sizwe (the armed wing of the ANC). To

suppress these insurgencies, the regime needed a steady supply of weapons, often sourcing arms covertly when official channels were blocked.

Sources of Arms and Smuggling Routes

Despite international embargoes, South Africa managed to acquire arms through various means:

- **Black Market and Illicit Suppliers:** Countries and entities willing to bypass sanctions supplied weapons through clandestine routes.
- **Third-Party Countries:** Nations sympathetic to or complicit with apartheid South Africa, such as Israel, Taiwan, and some Eastern European states, supplied arms directly or via third-party intermediaries.
- **Manufacturing and Reverse Engineering:** South African industries, sometimes with foreign assistance, produced or modified weapons domestically to meet military needs.

The Role of Private Arms Dealers and Front Companies

Numerous private firms and front companies operated to facilitate arms transfers, often disguising their origins and destinations. These entities profited immensely from the lucrative arms trade, often engaging in illegal transactions and money laundering.

Financial Networks and Money Flows in Support of Apartheid

International Banking and Investment

South Africa's economy was bolstered by a web of international banking relationships. Some global financial institutions maintained accounts and facilitated transactions that, intentionally or otherwise, supported the regime's operations.

- **Foreign Investment:** Multinational corporations profited from apartheid-era contracts, often benefiting from discriminatory policies or exploiting cheap labor.
- **Offshore Accounts and Tax Havens:** Wealth accumulated in offshore accounts, making it difficult to trace the flow of money supporting apartheid's military and security apparatus.

Corporate Complicity and Profit Motives

Several multinational corporations maintained business relationships with South Africa during apartheid, often facing ethical dilemmas and public backlash. Their motives ranged from profit maximization to strategic interests. Examples include:

- Arms Manufacturers: Companies like British Aerospace, French firms, and others supplied weapons, sometimes with government backing.
- Resource Extraction Giants: Mining companies profited from South Africa's rich mineral resources, indirectly funding the regime.
- Financial Firms: Banks and investment firms facilitated loans and transactions that kept apartheid's economy afloat.

Corruption and Money Laundering Schemes

To circumvent sanctions, the regime and its partners engaged in complex schemes:

- Shell Companies: Created to obscure ownership and facilitate illicit transactions.
- Trade Mispricing: Inflating or deflating the value of goods to transfer money illicitly.
- Bribery and Kickbacks: Corrupt officials and business executives received payments to secure deals or overlook violations.

The International Dimension: Countries and Entities Enabling Apartheid's Profitability

Israel's Role in Arms Supply

Israel's covert support for the apartheid regime has been well-documented. Through clandestine arms deals, Israeli companies supplied weapons and military technology, often under the guise of third-party intermediaries. This relationship was driven by strategic, economic, and political interests.

Western Countries? Ambiguous Positions

While formal policies condemned apartheid, some Western nations continued to engage economically with South Africa, often turning a blind eye to arms and money flows. The UK, France, and the US had varying degrees of complicity, with some companies profiting from the regime's needs.

Sanctions and Their Limitations

Though sanctions aimed to cut off arms and financial support, enforcement was imperfect. Many deals were clandestine, and loopholes allowed profit-driven actors to continue their operations.

Impact and Legacy: Profit as a Catalyst for Endurance and Resistance

Economic Benefits vs. Moral Cost

The relentless pursuit of profit helped sustain the apartheid regime longer than it might have otherwise. Profits from arms sales and financial transactions provided the resources needed for repression, propaganda, and international lobbying.

Resistance and Exposure

Investigations, journalistic exposés, and activist efforts gradually uncovered the networks of guns and money. Notable examples include:

- The Klein Report (1980s), which detailed international complicity.
- The work of investigative journalists exposing illicit arms flows.
- The role of sanctions and public pressure in disrupting profit channels.

Post-Apartheid Reckoning and Lessons Learned

After 1994, South Africa's transition to democracy involved dismantling the economic and military structures that had sustained apartheid. Legal actions targeted some profiteers, and efforts were made to bring transparency to financial dealings. However, some networks persisted, serving as cautionary tales about the destructive potential of profit-driven complicity in human rights abuses.

Conclusion: The Interwoven Tapestry of Guns, Money, and Power

The story of apartheid guns and money is a stark reminder of how economic interests can perpetuate systemic injustice. Behind the scenes of diplomatic debates and political struggles lies a shadow economy fueled by clandestine arms deals and illicit financial flows, enabling a regime to survive and suppress dissent. Recognizing these networks helps illuminate the importance of robust international oversight, transparency, and moral accountability. As history shows, profit motives can be a powerful force—sometimes for good, but often for destruction—highlighting the ongoing need for vigilance against the influence of greed in global affairs.

In the end, the tale of profit during apartheid is not just a history lesson but a cautionary tale for contemporary struggles against injustice and the clandestine forces that sustain them.

Question What is the main focus of 'Apartheid Guns and Money: A Tale of Profit'? The book examines how arms trade and financial interests fueled and sustained the apartheid regime in South Africa, highlighting the role of profit in perpetuating the system. Who are the key figures or organizations discussed in the book? The book discusses various actors including multinational corporations, government officials, and foreign governments that profited from the apartheid-era arms trade and financial dealings. How did the arms trade contribute to the longevity of apartheid? The arms trade provided the apartheid regime with military equipment and technological support,

enabling it to suppress opposition and maintain control for decades. What role did international financial institutions play in sustaining apartheid profits? Financial institutions and investors continued to fund and profit from South Africa's economy during apartheid, often turning a blind eye to human rights abuses for financial gains. Does the book explore the ethical implications of profit from apartheid-related transactions? Yes, the book critically examines the moral compromises made by corporations and governments that prioritized profit over human rights and justice. How does 'Apartheid Guns and Money' relate to current discussions on ethical investing? The book serves as a historical case study highlighting the importance of ethical considerations in investing and the potential consequences of profit-driven decisions. What impact did exposing these profits have on global awareness of apartheid? Revealing the extent of profits from apartheid-related transactions helped galvanize international anti-apartheid movements and increased economic sanctions. Are there parallels between the book's themes and contemporary conflicts? Yes, the book's themes resonate with modern issues where profit motives drive conflicts, arms trading, and human rights abuses in various parts of the world. What lessons does 'Apartheid Guns and Money' offer for preventing similar abuses today? The book underscores the importance of transparency, ethical governance, and active resistance to profit-driven complicity in human rights violations.

Related keywords: apartheid, South Africa, arms trade, corruption, military funding, economic exploitation, political repression, illicit financing, colonial legacy, apartheid regime

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