

reality

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IN THIS ISSUE . . .

STUDENTS ORGANISE FOR THE SEVENTIES

EDITORIAL

THE REV. DICK CADIGAN

The refusal of the Government to allow the Rev. Dick Cadigan, Anglican Rector of Westville, to remain any longer in South Africa, is one of those actions which reveals far more than it conceals. It should be a further lesson for those English-speaking people who imagine that the intention of the Government is to respect their cultural identity.

The Prime Minister often suggests that it is ludicrous to imagine that the Nationalists would ever dream of tampering with the cultural autonomy of the English-speaking South Africans. The fact is that English-speaking South Africans, even if they are as white as the driven snow, must have a culture that is approved of by the Nationalist Party.

No one doubts that the Government has the legal right to tell Mr. Cadigan that he must go. The authorities do not say, **we don't like your religion or your morality**, nor do they say, **we don't really want foreign priests here, because they don't understand our traditional**

way of life. They simply say, look, your visa has run out, and unless it is renewed, you must go; and in view of the fact that it is not going to be renewed, for reasons which for reasons unknown must remain reasons unknown, you'll have to go.

LEGAL CORRECTNESS

The legal correctness of the Government's decision has been affirmed by Mr. Con Botha, M.P.C., leader of the Nationalist Party in Natal. No one doubts his statement. Why he needs to tell us that it was the late J. H. Hofmeyer who piloted the Bill into law, one cannot see. Does

that give respectability to the measure? Or does it put the blame on Mr. Hofmeyer? One thing is quite certain, and that is that Mr. Hofmeyer would never have used this particular ministerial power to force Mr. Cadigan to leave.

One of Mr. Botha's observations is insulting and unfounded. He accuses Mr. Cadigan of having sought publicity for the whole affair. One must admit that this accusation comes very oddly from a man who recently dropped a "bombshell" in the Natal Provincial Council by declaring that Natal Provincial Administration bandages (marked N.P.A.) had been found in the possession of black terrorists in the North, and later had to admit that his allegation was founded on hearsay, but it was the kind of hearsay that people ought to know about. Let us tell Mr. Botha the real reason why Mr. Cadigan has to go.

NON-NATIONAL

One of the marks of English-speaking churches is that they tend to be universal and therefore non-national in character. Admittedly a great many South African Anglicans would find it difficult to say whether they are Christians or South Africans first, but this does not alter the fact that Anglicanism (and not Anglicanism alone, by any means) is universal in its nature. Therefore it is natural that a young American Anglican should come to South Africa as a priest. But it is also natural that Anglicanism, because of its universal character should lack enthusiasm for themes of racial separation, and should even oppose them on occasion, though not on so many occasions as some Anglicans would like. It is this element in English-speaking culture that is anathema to Afrikaner Nationalism, and that is why Mr. Cadigan has to go.

The proponents of pure Afrikaner culture have to contend with a great number of opposing forces, some of which come under the blanket name of English culture, but by no means all. If these forces are hostile or recal-

itant, they must be dealt with promptly. Organisations like the National Union of Students (until recently called NUSAS), the Black Sash, the Progressive Party, the United Party in its very best moments, all upholders of the rule of law, all opponents of unlimited detention without trial, by and large the English-language press, the University Christian Movement, the Christian Institute, will all be kept under scrutiny, the most imperilled being the National Union and the least imperilled the United Party. And to these must be added the non-Dutch Reformed Churches, in **their** best moments.

NEVER-ENDING WAR

The refusal to allow Mr. Cadigan to stay in South Africa must not be seen as the triumph of Nationalist obscurantism. It must be seen as a skirmish, successful for the Government, in the never-ending war between a fanatical groupism and a wider belief in the brotherhood of man. This war is going to go on; how long it will last, one does not know, but its final result is not in doubt.

To Mr. and Mrs. Cadigan and their family REALITY expresses its deep regret and its warm wishes for their future. Mr. Cadigan has never made any attempt to conceal his views, but he also refrained from public comment on the policies of a country of which he was not a citizen. The irony of the situation is not that as a priest, Mr. Cadigan held strong views on the moral effects of political policies; the trouble is he held the wrong views. If he had held other views, he would not have had to go at all.

Let the English-speaking people of South Africa be in no doubt. The proposed destiny of their culture is to become an approved subculture of Afrikaner Nationalism. That in fact is the proposed destiny of all non-Nationalist cultures. That is the aim of Mr. Vorster's brand of *verligtes*; they can swallow golf and cricket, but Christian universalism sticks in their gullets. **May it continue to do so.**

EDITORIAL

BOOK OF DEATH

The Nationalist Government is, it seems, about to offer to six and a half million South Africans a new "Identity Document" which will consist of fifty pages and will contain large amount of personal information of various sorts. It is hardly surprising that the new document has been nicknamed the "Book of Life."

The Minister of the Interior has put forward the view that the book will bring together many documents that are at the moment separate, and that it will make everybody's life more restful and convenient. But the Opposition parties have countered with the opinion that the book is quite unnecessary, that it trespasses upon the privacy of the citizen, and that it will place a great strain on manpower at a moment when the Government (owing to its own stupidity) seems to lack that commodity. The Opposition has strongly criticised, too, the absurdity of the demand that all changes of address be fed within fourteen days into a computer in Pretoria, and the ominousness of the twenty blank pages which the identity book will contain (what further information will be inserted?).

SIGNIFICANCE

Obviously the Opposition's case is altogether more impressive than the Government's. Indeed there is no point in reiterating or elaborating the criticisms that have been put forward. There may, however, be some point in considering the significance, the psychological significance, of the Government's decision to create a "Book of Life."

Nationalists seem always to be adopting defensive postures. Recalling no doubt some of their more distant ancestors who built dykes to keep out the North Sea and some of their more recent ancestors who formed laagers to ward off the black hordes, they feel themselves to be responding to a threat. What do they feel themselves to be threatened by? The tide of "non-white" life and aspiration, and the currents of their own narrow fears. The two threats flow together, of course, for if they were not frightened and prejudiced they

would be able to see the "black tide" in a different light — they would be able to see, in fact, that the **colour** of human aspirations is unimportant, and that their own flow of life is a part of the tide that had seemed such a menace.

VULNERABLE

Be that as it may, Nationalists feel themselves to be vulnerable in the midst of a hostile and mysterious universe. Almost every foreign country condemns them, and within their own country the very forces of life seem likely to destroy their hopes and their schemes. What they need (they tell themselves) is to exercise control, mastery. But if mastery cannot be obtained, then (and this is something they do **not** tell themselves) they are forced to make do with the **illusion** of mastery. And few states of mind foster the illusion of mastery so readily as the sense of having got everything written down in books.

The nickname "Book of Life" is no misnomer, then: the Nationalists no doubt really do feel that, in the case of each citizen, they are beginning to get this puzzling and threatening thing called "life" safely formulated in a 50-page book. **Reality** feels obliged to express its strong suspicion that the Government is destined to learn the lesson that has been learned by so many people and institutions before it — the striking difference between books and reality.

The Church and Politics

by A. L. Boraine

In 1966, the Methodist Church of South Africa adopted the following resolution:

Believing that Jesus Christ is the Lord of all life, we urge our people to acknowledge his lordship in the political realm as in all others. This will involve taking an intelligent interest in political affairs, whether local or otherwise, and, when one has the vote, using it in a manner which will best serve Christ's purposes on earth.

Despite this, and many other similar resolutions taken by most of the major denominations of our country, the average churchman is utterly opposed to the church being in any way involved in politics. Further, it is generally true that most people linked with the church see no relation whatsoever between their Christian profession and politics. This whole question is so charged with emotion that if any representative of the church does dare to remind the church of its responsibility in the political realm he is in danger of being publicly vilified and of being at the receiving end of abusive letters and telephone calls, many of them anonymous but all in the name of Christ!

ARISTOTLE

For the purposes of this article I am presupposing Aristotle's definition of politics; "That activity which uses all the other sciences to secure not only the good for man but the good for the whole city state". Another way of saying the same thing is that politics has to do with "keeping life human in the world". Essentially, therefore, politics involves people. Politics has to do with housing, education, wages, job opportunities, pollution, old age pensions, hospitalisation, etc., but always it has to do with people.

Briefly stated, the basic principle of Christian ethics is love; but the amplification of this basic principle involves at least five others which must be briefly cited. Each of these is profoundly important and deserves greater consideration than is possible to give here.

(a) Human worth — every person has a dignity and worth as a child of God and all institutions are to be judged in terms of their effect on the persons.

(b) Human freedom — responsible moral choices require freedom. A freedom exercised in community and with diversity.

(c) The inclusive community — Christian

love knows no barriers of geography, of colour, of age, of sex, or even of creed.

(d) Social salvation — the church must be concerned with the transformation, freedom and proper functioning of other social institutions besides itself.

(e) The community of forgiven and the forgiving — the church is a human and divine institution judged and renewed by God — a fellowship of those who, needing forgiveness, seek to live in obedience and forgiveness.

In order that this far-reaching and demanding ethic of love may find expression, Christians have been called by God to fulfil a mission in the world, and obedience to this call means participation in the life of the world. They have responsibility as citizens and no concentration on man's eternal destiny can be used as a means to evade responsibility for his welfare now. It is not enough for Christians to seek to save souls and improve individual characters on the assumption that good people will produce good government. Christians must be concerned for the structures of society but it is imperative that this involvement becomes conscious and responsible participation to the extent that each given situation permits.

William Stringfellow in his book **Dissenter in a Great Society**, makes the point that "the church and Christians are not simply involved in politics because of the nature of politics as such — by which all are involved and abstinence is a fiction — but because they honour and celebrate God's own presence and action in this world, because they know that the world — in all its strife and confusion, brokenness and travail — is the scene of God's work and the subject of God's love".

IN THE WORLD

The church is the body of Christ — God's appointed instrument to give expression for His concern for the world which He has cre-

ated. Thus the church is called to live in the world and not in some silent sanctuary of spiritual retreat.

In South Africa, the problem of race relations is the focus of every political discussion. This is one of the major reasons why so many people in the church shy away from politics. Thus a possible interpretation of the lament "too many of our preachers are preaching politics instead of the gospel" is "too many of our preachers will persist in urging reconciliation between black and white in South Africa". So the cry goes forth "the gap between the pew and the pulpit is rapidly widening but it's high time that preachers realised that when they preach in this way they are not always representing the man in the pew". I hope we will be clear on one thing. It is not the task of the preacher to "represent" the man in the pew. The preacher's task is to interpret the word of God. The real question is not "What is the man in the pew thinking?" but rather "What is the word of God for our time and for our country?". It must be added that preachers must avoid romanticism and never forget that the strongest witness is not in words but in action. The church in all its ministry is constrained to proclaim the reconciling work of Christ. This cannot be confined merely to statements from pulpits or from Synod platforms. What is needed in our own time and in our own country is a turning away from spurious spiritualism and a commitment in word and deed to the Lord who came "announcing good news to the poor, proclaiming release for prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, freeing broken victims and to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour" (Luke 4:18 & 19).

GOVERNMENT

The South African Government has in many ways and at many times declared that its policies rest on a Christian foundation. Therefore the Government must expect its policies to be subject to the scrutiny of the faith it professes. The hallmarks of Christian faith are love and justice and truth and this must be the measure by which we judge the policies of our own country.

Unfortunately the curse of so much of our preaching and teaching lies in its generalities. It is relatively easy to talk glibly about justice

without ever condemning specific injustices which are so rife all round us. It is easy to pay lip service to God's love for all men and at the same time by our silence to give tacit approval to pernicious discrimination on grounds of colour. The word of God is always specific and concrete. This means that the word of God has a specific word to the church in the 20th Century. In the 18th Century this specific word was to a man like William Wilberforce — "free my people" — and through him and others like him, the curse of slavery was outlawed. In the 19th Century, Lord Shaftesbury believed that the word of God to him and his people and to the church was to act on behalf of children who had no voice of their own. Nearer our own time in the catastrophic days of the 1930's and 40's, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and others believed that the word of God demanded that the church should speak a word for the Jews who had no voice. In the latter half of the 20th Century and in our own country in particular **it is surely the responsibility of the church to speak for the voiceless and voteless within our own community.** If this means that the church must be involved in politics then the church has no other alternative. Both the church as well as the state must realise anew that God alone is sovereign. He is the judge of the church and of every social order. He is the champion of minorities whose rights are crushed by men who arrogate to themselves absolute power. So long as there remains a false distinction between worship and life so long will there be room for an Amos who so long ago declared with prophetic fury: "I loathe and despise your festivals; your meetings for sacrifice give me no pleasure. You may bring your burnt offerings, your meal offerings or your thank offerings of fat cattle and I shall not so much as look at them. Let me have no more of your noisy hymns. My ears are closed to the music of your harps, instead let justice roll on like a mighty river and integrity flow like a never failing stream"

(Amos 5:21 —24).

STUDENTS IN THE SEVENTIES

I. S.A. - A *Shifting Spectrum*

by Neville Curtis

The South African student scene includes some 70,000 students who are studying full time at Universities, Training Colleges and Seminaries, at a post-matric level. To cater for their interests there are some 14 national student organisations dividing loosely into faculty, religious, and cultural groupings; and there are various sporting bodies.

The student numbers are spread: about 25,000 at 5 English medium universities, about 28,000 at 7 Afrikaans medium universities, about 3,000 at 4 English Teacher Training Colleges, about 5,000 at Afrikaans medium Teacher Training Colleges, about 6,000 at 5 'tribal' universities, and about 1,000 at seminaries of all denominations.‡ (In addition to these there are large numbers of students studying by correspondence, and large numbers in post-JC colleges of different types.)

DIVIDED

While the education system divides students into three groups — English, Afrikaans and 'non-white' (or in the new nomenclature black), the students through their organisations, tend to form two loose groupings Afrikaans/English and English/Black. These two groupings are not formal but all the major contact or liaison between students in any field tends to be confined to them. Within each of the three however, the major part of student activity takes place.

The South African student community is thus deeply divided. To some small degree there are black students at white universities, English at Afrikaans, and Afrikaans at English; and as a rule of thumb, the closer the institution comes to being State controlled, the more rigid will be the divisions. Thus the Teacher Training Colleges are more homogenous, and the 'tribal' universities, as the name implies are not only racially but ethnically separated. Even the seminaries conform to this pattern of division.

GROUPINGS

But there are the two loose organisational groupings which tend to bridge some of these divisions, and it is worth looking briefly at these organisations before we move to con-

sider the opinion groupings which constitute the dynamics of student affairs.

Within the first group (English/Afrikaans) are to be found mostly faculty groups who de facto accept and conform to the segregationalist ethic. Their membership is either specifically or tacitly confined to 'whites only', and their activities fall within the barriers of apartheid and do little to alter, in fact strengthen substantially, the racial status quo. The organisations are SAFUES (Engineers), AISEC (Commerce), S2A3 (Science), which are all faculty based; SJA (Jewish), SCA (Interdenominational) which are religious; SASCI (contact international); and the newly formed NAFSAS (general contact).

Generally the faculty organisations have not been challenged on the issue of membership. But as the black student population grows in numbers (as AISEC is finding) such challenges will come.

Once they are challenged all these organisations will have to face the dilemmas of apartheid, and their happy state of acceptance may face a shaking up.

The two religious groups SJA and SCA are each in unique circumstances. Neither is actively pro-apartheid, but both succeed in devoting the best part of their time to other things. SJA is inclined to be Israel-orientated and the only demonstrations in living memory organised by SJA were in sympathy with Russian Jewry, a worthy but rather remote concern for human rights. SCA fractured some years ago into its constituent English/Afrikaans African/Coloured parts and remains, broadly speaking both theologically and socially conservative. It has faced but not resolved the dilemmas of apartheid, and fragmented, and now the pieces play different and sometimes ambiguous roles.

SASCI is based at Stellenbosch is bilingual and verligte. NAFSAS, a near relative of SAS-

CI is also Stellenbosch inspired, and I shall return to consider it in detail later.

OPEN MEMBERSHIP

The second major grouping (English/Black) consists essentially of organisations whose membership is open to all students, but who because they actively involve blacks, have lost or never gained Afrikaner participation. The organisations are mostly religious or culturally orientated and to different degrees all face the realities of living with the apartheid which they do not condone: AMSSA (Medicine), NCFS (Catholics), ASF (Anglicans), UCM (Interdenominational), and NUSAS (National Union), and SAVS (workcamps).

Unlike the previous group, all the organisation in this group have been challenged, simply by virtue of the fact that their specific interest cuts across, and involves people of different language and racial groups, members of which have been at all times present. Their membership is thus open, and their activities are concerned with the effects of apartheid and discrimination, either as these affect them particularly, or in general. Most in fact have assumed or consciously adopted, an anti-apartheid posture, and are actively and creatively engaged in living and teaching positive alternatives.

However while as organisations these two groups may be clearly defined, their membership does not conform to what have loosely emerged as pro- and anti-status-quo categories. While they provide contact between different groups, and fall into one or other group by virtue of their role, the individual members of each organisation hold views that cut right across the political spectrum. But if one is looking for antagonists or supporters of apartheid one knows approximately where to find them.

STUDENT OPINION

Four organisations emerge as focal points of student opinion — NUSAS and SASO on one hand, and NAFSAS and the ASB on the other. Before examining their roles in detail one might sketch these broadly: SASO could be said to represent the anti-apartheid view of 'blacks only', NUSAS the anti-apartheid view of blacks and English, NAFSAS the pro-apartheid view of English and Afrikaans, and ASB the pro-apartheid view of Afrikaans only.

Both SASO and ASB have restricted membership. In the first instance 'blacks only' in

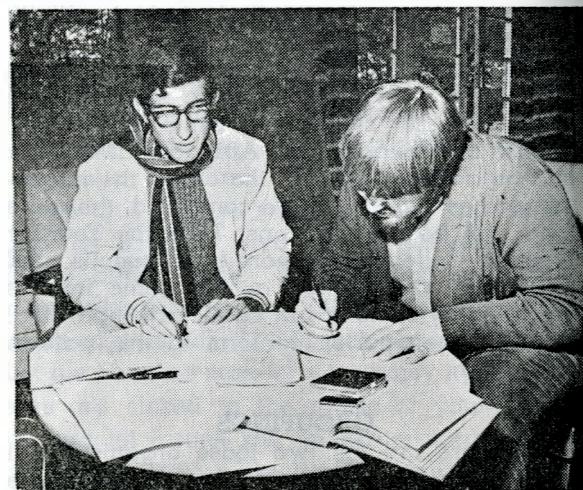
the second 'white Protestant Afrikaners only'. Both have emerged as independent organisations after they have found NUSAS unsuitable for the expression of their particular aspiration in all its respects. ASB in 1936 rejected Nusas totally. SASO in 1970 sees some overlap and some scope for co-operation. From this point on they differ in almost all respects. And the ASB has lost Stellenbosch.

NAFSAS, also a product of 1970, is an offshoot of the ASB, which organisation is too particular; and NAFSAS is in virtually all respects close to the NUSAS of 1936, except that it lacks support, organisation and a constitution. Open membership but in effect whites only, mostly English.

NUSAS is old, but the NUSAS of 1970 is a different NUSAS from that of earlier years, and from that of 1969. The July Congress of NUSAS has restructured the organisation, formed three new organisations, adopted a new constitution and made major policy changes. The open membership remains. The emergence of SASO has challenged but not removed black participation. The challenge of SASO was felt at Congress, but must be seen still on the campuses. The emergence of NAFSAS has ruffled the waters and brought forward a point of view but as yet presented no new challenge.

CHANGE

So 1970 emerges as the beginning of a period of change in the whole student scene. Essentially what has happened is this:



Natal Witness

Students register for 1970 NUSAS conference.

(1) Within each of the apartheid-defined groups (English/Afrikaans and Black) new forces have emerged, which have upset the thinking of these groups, and are beginning to reflect themselves in action.

(2) Consequently, within each of the student defined groups (English/Afrikaans and English/Black), these forces are beginning to change relationships within and between the constituent parts and organisations.

(3) Consequently a new fluidity, a new flexibility, has entered; and what had previously been certain is now no longer; what had previously been acceptable, is now no longer; and in essence what had previously been, in all, is being thrown into an accelerating process of change.

The changes in thinking have been felt for about five years, the changes in attitude concomitant with them, for only a year or two, and the changes in organisations are being felt now.

If one might indulge in metaphor:

The actors are changing; their roles are changing; the sets are changing; and the whole stage is beginning to revolve, but the play itself has not yet changed, goes on in fact all the while, and both audience and players are understandably puzzled.

So, while it is easy to sketch the process which is occurring, it is less easy to sketch exactly what is happening, how and why. But this is the essence, and must be dealt with.

IDEAS — AFRIKAANS STUDENTS

First the ideas. In the Afrikaans student community two ideas have emerged. First, that the drive to Afrikaner Nationalism and preservation has exceeded itself, and become Afrikaner domination; and, that the ideal of Apartheid, separate freedoms, has become the reality of 'petty apartheid', repression. Second, that preservation from the 'swart gevaar' might mean establishing communication (contact) with blacks, and either discussing a solution, or discussing the implementation of the apartheid solution; rather than increasing isolation and forcing the solution. From these two utterly fundamental thoughts, many other things spring.

IDEAS — ENGLISH STUDENTS

In the English student community three ideas have emerged. First, that ideals exist not just to be cherished and reaffirmed, but as living guides to action. Second, that ideals

cannot be served by token gestures, and cannot be achieved by token protest, and can be betrayed forever by the hypocrisy of adherence to a distant ideal betraying it in the immediate situation, to which it is applicable, and where action IS possible. Third, that assent is that which is not dissent, and that acceptance is assent. Again from these fundamentals many things grow.

IDEAS — BLACK STUDENTS

In the black student community the ideas that emerged in the English student were also formulated, but with a variation. A variation which makes a world of difference yet remains essentially the same. The idea of Black, Black as identity. Black as modus operandi. And possibly black as end, as well as means. From the transposition of a negative to a positive identity, much grows. These are the ideas expressed in their essentials.

MEANING

What they mean for Afrikaans students is a questioning of the authority of party or ideology, a move either to make apartheid work, or to reject it, and a move towards contact with English and Blacks (non-Afrikaners.)

What they mean for Black students, is an affirmation of a positive identity, and thus a and question authority; to find action which is relevant (or to withdraw) and to try and achieve, on whatever level, nonracial existence, while rejecting tokenism or symbolism.

What they mean for Black students, are an affirmation of a positive identity, and thus a positive role which involves both withdrawal and moving outwards on new terms, compromise and rejection of compromise; but action, things to do which have meaning, and a resource to draw on , an independent resource.

NEW SCENE

Behind these new ideas, still limited in their impact and dissemination, the old scene still goes on , but the new is emerging:

The ASB declines slowly, while those who rejected it at Stellenbosch launch a brave (if misjudged) attempt at English - Afrikaans dialogue, NAFSAS, and a frustrating attempt at Coloured-Afrikaans dialogue. SASO is formed and while fighting to resolve its ideas, in order to spread them, finds their ambiguity both useful and threatening, as it withdraws recognition from NUSAS as National Union,

and gains recognition as a body from the authorities at Turfloop.

NAFSAS finds allies in English conservative students and difficulty in reconciling its own forward direction with their backward one. It finds that if it has the courage it would in fact be Nusas, and that the alternative of founding a new organisation might be less viable than that of crediting a discredited image.

NUSAS, more aware than the ASB, appreciates the dangers of establishment; more aware than NAFSAS, acknowledges the meaning of its ideals; but less aware than SASO only understands them when they are thrust in its face, though it had the courage to ask to be kicked. NUSAS, which started a reassessment not sure where it would lead, gambles its existence on the result and accomplishes a minor miracle in surviving, and on a basis which promises to be more viable, and more relevant; but still finds ambiguities.

UNCERTAINTY

The Afrikaans student community as a whole finds heresy in its ranks, and is uncertain. The new fights the old. The English student community as a whole finds hypocrisy and is uncertain. The new asserts itself. The Black student community finds ambiguity, and is uncertain, but the new replaces the old.

If all of these were real communities and not distended, diffuse groups, change would come rapidly. And if all these were free to interact, communication might result. And if labels and stereotypes were broken down understanding might develop in time.

But even if conditions are not ideal, new directions are set. They will find greater adherence within each group, and they will shake up relationships between the groups. Afrikaans student will find it increasingly difficult to ignore; English to passively accept; and Black to indulge in apathy. And change, and the friction that results from rapid change in imperfect conditions, will accelerate.

Thus Stellenbosch desperately seeks friends. Wits marches in defiance. Fort Hare stirs to life again. Thus ASB attacks the conscience clause. NAFSAS tries to find at least an agreed constitution. SASO withdraws recognition from 'piecemeal protest'. And Nusas?

Just as the student scene has often given the lead to the national scene, so NUSAS and the events in NUSAS have often given the lead to the student scene. For 46 years NUSAS

has survived, at least five times it should not have, and it emerged with both the ideals that will always have general validity, and the means to make them particularly relevant. If the ASB pointed to 1948 and the last twenty three years; if SASO points to another future interregnum; then NUSAS still points to the ultimate resolution in a society such as ours, and still holds out the means that might obtain it.

But it is going to be a tumultuous decade.

Between the two polarities of the ASB and SASO there is a vast distance. While superficially from one point of view they may both seem to subscribe to separation, and while superficially from another point of view they may both seem to subscribe to a free, just and equal society, neither point of view is true of both. What is certain is that they represent, both in the student and the national scene, potentially conflicting groups.

NATIONAL SCENE

Whether the progression is to be a dialectical one from Afrikaner domination, to black domination, to a common society is not clear.

It may be a process of fragmentation from one society under Afrikaans domination to many societies under different 'racial' or ethnic domination. Or it may be a progression from Afrikaner domination, to white domination, to individual equality in a shared society.

What is clear is that each alternative is remote, and that the pace of change in society is accelerating. It seems to me that if the rate of change is overfast all hope of a peaceful society emerging thereafter is lost. So also if the rate of change is too slow, chaos in one form or another will be the end result.

The question to be answered then is "Is change possible that will result in the emergence of a just society (or societies?) Or is it too late already and bloody conflict and a long era of chaos due?"

STUDENT SCENE

The student scene offers some pointers, none however conclusive:

(1) The slight but growing and evidently sincere desire (whatever the motive), of Afrikaans students for communication, and their tendency to break away from traditional authoritarian acceptance, might mean a growing flexibility which would be conducive to negotiation.

(2) The growing realisation among Eng-

lish students that they must become active participants and play an active role, wherever they can, might mean that they are able to bridge first, the Afrikaans/English gap and second the Black/White gap, in time to contribute usefully.

(3) The indication that while Black students are resolute about the building up of a base of power, they are still open to communication on the basis of full acceptance as people, might mean both an impetus to change and a possibility of dialogue.

At the same time, however, while these things exist, each is embodied in an organisation (in order NAFSAS, NUSAS and SASO) and the possibilities that on this level (the group rather than the individual), communication might take place, are slighter.

Other changes must come as well, and we can watch for them:

(1) A point of view which is acceptable to all groups either as end, intermediary stage, or simply immediate basis must emerge, and must establish communication (which if not directly across the spectrum must at least

reach both ends), and must emerge over the obstacles of labels, stereotypes and prejudices, and take predominance over the immediate self-image of each group, (at least for communication purposes).

(2) Each point of view must be able to effectively persuade other members of its own group of the urgency, and the need for change.

(3) Leadership must emerge, and must be allowed to emerge, which is able to assess the essentials, discard the peripheral, and exert a positive influence which breaks the current complacency.

(The points might well also apply to the national scene).

In any event, like water on the veld the stream of change is moving, and whether it erodes and destroys, or irrigates and fertilises will be seen soon. But the stream moves

‡ The figures are only approximate and reflect the University of Port Elizabeth as Afrikaans medium, and the University of Natal, Medical school as black.

STUDENTS IN THE SEVENTIES

2. America — A Bureaucracy of Protest

by John Daniel

This has been the saddest of years on America's college campuses. Students died in demonstrations at Kent and Jackson State Universities and at the University of California in Santa Barbara. Three members of the Weatherman faction of Students for a Democratic Society blew themselves up in an explosion in their Greenwich Village home, while a Los Angeles student perished by self-immolation, protesting the Cambodian Invasion.

Interestingly, this act, as well as a similar suicide by a Columbia Student before the U.N. Building in New York in 1969, was ignored by the same news media which had so lavishly lauded Jan Pollack's anti-Soviet protest in Czechoslovakia.

While most students protested peacefully, some gave vent to their feelings by putting buildings to the torch or detonating bombs. The multi-million dollar branch of the Bank of America was burned to the ground in Santa Barbara, dozens of buildings belonging to the

Department of Defence's Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) were damaged or destroyed while at the University of Wisconsin — the most consistently volatile of all campuses — 6 bomb blasts caused over R200,000 of damage and University President Herrington resigned in despair the day after meeting with President Nixon.

DEMONSTRATIONS

Even graduation ceremonies, once times of joy and optimism, were plagued by boycotts,

walk-outs and other demonstrations. At scores of colleges, students dispensed with their official graduating robes and donated the rental fees to a fund which raised R50,000 to support anti-war Congressional candidates in the November election.

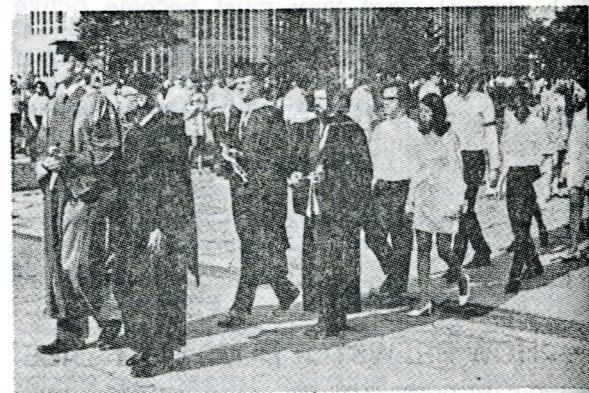
Most of the more than one thousand campus demonstrations related to the Indo-China War but some protested the treatment of Black Panthers or the seeming injustice of the Chicago 'Conspiracy' Trial, while environmental pollution spluttered briefly as a cause for protest. Five major demonstrations during the year stand out above all the others: SDS' 'Days of Rage' in Chicago, Moratorium Day on October 15, the massive anti-war rallies in Washington in November and April, and the May Day rally in support of the Black Panther Party at Yale University.

By South African standards, these demonstrations were massive in size, protracted, sometimes violent, but overwhelmingly informal. However, despite their loose appearance, behind each lay different, highly-motivated organisations. This article attempts a description of the rapidly proliferating bureaucratic maze of student protest groups in the United States.

N.S.A.

In South Africa, rarely does a student demonstration occur without Nusas having been involved in its planning, and Nusas, thanks mainly to the statements of Mr. Vorster and the Security Police, is a household word. In the United States, Nusas' equivalent, the National Student Association (NSA), receives scant attention from anyone, and most universities are not affiliated to the organisation. It has none of the stature of the NUS in Britain, which has close links with University Administrators and frequent meetings with Ministry of Education officials. For its obscurity, the NSA has only itself to blame.

During the 1950's and early 1960's, NSA appeared more interested in the course of the 'Cold War' than with the concerns of its student constituents. It dominated the International Student Conference (ISC) and dutifully supported non-communist National Unions. In 1967, **Ramparts** magazine shattered the Organisation's complacency by exposing its CIA affiliations, revealing that many of its office-bearers had been CIA agents and most of its donors CIA-sponsored organisations. Expulsion from the ISC was accompanied by bitter



UPI NEWSWEEK

Students graduate without gowns at Oberlin, Ohio.

attacks from the newly-emerged radical groups who assailed NSA's collusion with the CIA, lack of activity in the field of civil rights and moderate stance on Vietnam. Today the organisation is rallying from a point of near collapse. Its current President, Charles Palmer of Berkeley, has infused new life into the organisation — articulate, forceful, able to reach both moderates and radicals, Palmer is bringing NSA into tune with the times. Black Indian and Mexican Americans have been brought into the organisation and NSA was prominent in directing protests after the invasion of Cambodia. Still the hard fact is that, despite its current militancy, most students remain unaware even of NSA's existence.

SDS

On the other hand, everyone in America appears to have heard of the SDS — a remarkable feat for a group which has always spurned the trappings of formal organisation and which today barely exists in an institutional sense. SDS had its philosophic origins in the 1962 Port Huron statement drafted by, amongst others, Tom Hayden, then editor of the campus newspaper at the University of Michigan and recently a defendant in the Chicago 'Conspiracy' Trial. The organisation itself grew out of the Free Speech Campaign at Berkeley in 1964, committed firmly to the concept of "participating democracy". It briefly embraced the notion of "Student Power" and then discarded it as narrow and parochial, adopting, instead, the view that the struggle for democracy on the campus could not be

separated from the same struggle within the wider society.

SDS's positive contribution to American political thought should not be minimised. It deserves a good deal of the credit for turning opinion around on the war, for forcing the universities to re-appraise their role in society by re-examining their connections with the giant corporations, governmental, military and espionage agencies, and to re-evaluate the quality and relevancy of the educational curricula it had offered students for generations. There is still room for much improvement but, under student pressure, the Universities are beginning to change. They are now operating more democratically, more openly and offering a better quality education.

ACTIVISTS

SDS recruited to its ranks only a small band of activists on each campus but they frequently were the brightest and most successful academically of the students who could mobilise large numbers in support of their aims. From the outset, SDS opposed the Vietnam war, arguing that American involvement in the war was no costly accident, as many liberals claimed, but instead the logical result of the anti-communist containment doctrine pursued by Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy, coupled with the drive of the multi-national corporations for access to and control of the economic resources of the under-developed world. SDS argued, and few students now disagree, that the war was nothing but an imperialist misadventure. SDS was in the vanguard of the teach-in phenomenon which began at the University of Michigan in 1965, and soon swept the country, a movement which gave way to the sit-in as a tactic of confrontation. At its peak in 1968 and 1969, SDS had 70,000 paid-up members but, perhaps, half a million sympathisers amongst the young who basically agreed with their condemnatory analysis of American society. While Columbia, Berkeley, and San Francisco State stole the headlines, hundreds of other campuses erupted in protests, which were remarkable for their apparent lack of visible leadership. In fact, however, purposeful leadership was often not required. The issues were clear and tactics developed on one campus, relayed to the country that night on television, spread across the country giving visual proof to Marshall McLuhan's 'the medium is the message' thesis. The arrest of SDS's national leadership did nothing to stem the flow of protest; for what

enraged politicians could not grasp was that SDS was not an organisation in the traditional sense but a loose, informal confederation of independent chapters linked by allegiance to a common ideology.

FRACTURED

At its summer convention in 1969, what little formal organisation SDS possessed, fractured in three directions. One group, the Maoist-oriented Progressive Labour Party, headed by John Pennington of Harvard, established headquarters in Boston. The Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM) remained in Chicago and took over the SDS national office. Amoeba-like, the RYM itself divided into factions. RYM 1 — the Weathermen—headed by the charismatic leader of the Columbia uprising, Mark Rudd; RYM 11 headed by the SDS national secretary, Michael Klonsky. RYM 11 advocate the building of a worker-youth alliance, while the Weathermen believe in the destruction of the old order through violence. They take their name from a line in Bob Dylan's song "Subterranean Homesick Blues" — "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows."

It was the Weathermen who staged the four-day violent confrontation in Chicago to coincide with the opening of the Chicago Conspiracy Trial. The "Days of Rage" resulted in scores of injuries to demonstrators and police alike, dozens of arrests and many thousands of dollars worth of property damage. The Weathermen are now underground and are probably responsible for the rash of bombings throughout the country. In April, the FBI indicted twelve Weathermen but so far only one has been arrested.

OTHER GROUPS

While SDS was rending itself apart, other groups were meeting in the summer of 1969, and from these gatherings emerged two organisations dedicated exclusively to the immediate ending of the Asian War. They were the Vietnam Moratorium Committee (VMC) and the New Mobilisation Committee to end the war in Vietnam. (New Mobe)

The core of the VMC consisted of veterans of the 1968 McCarthy and Kennedy crusades, led by Harvard students Sam Brown and David Hawk. With its slogan 'no business as usual', it hoped to bring the nation to a standstill on October 15, 1969, so as to force every strata of society to face up to the issues created

by War. With the 'movement' almost bereft of new techniques of protest, the novelty of this idea fired the imagination of young and old, rural and urban America, and with the enthusiastic co-operation of the news media, the scope of the protest exceeded the organisation's wildest dreams. Wall Street staged its first anti-war rally, civil servants emerged to express their dissent and everywhere millions marched, prayed, sang, screamed or debated to a common theme, 'Peace Now'. Everywhere the idea struck a responsive chord except in the place where it counted. President Nixon affirmed that he would not tolerate policy being formulated in the streets, while Vice-President Agnew denounced the VMC for the support it had received from Hanoi.

The New Mobe was a re-incarnation of an earlier mobilisation committee and reunited veterans of earlier campaigns — the Freedom Rides in the South and the 1967 March on the Pentagon — and fused them with new, radical student groups somewhat contemptuous of the 'Peace, please' tactics of the VMC. David Dellinger, Rennie Davis, Dr. Spock, Rev. Coffin, Sydney Peck and other radicals, young and old, formed the rump of the leadership which called for a massive rally on Washington on November 15. The result was the largest single political gathering in American history — over 600,000 demonstrators — and the results were negligible. President Nixon watched football on television while his troops occupied every federal installation in the city. Attorney-General Mitchell was later quoted as saying that the demonstration looked to him like the Russian Revolution.

FAILURE

Both groups were eminently successful in organising cohesive demonstrations, but they failed to achieve their basic aims. Claiming the support of a 'silent majority', Nixon continued the war and, in mid-April, Sam Brown announced the dissolution of the VMC. Only a week later, the President announced that he had ordered U.S. troops into Cambodia. The protest movement exploded into life again with thousands of new sympathizers bolstering its ranks. The New Mobe held a spur-of-the-moment protest rally in the nation's capital and then announced the following day that it, too, was switching its emphasis to Congress.

Since then, numerous other groups have sprung up, specialising in lobbying on Capitol Hill, producing computerised data on the vot-

ing records of congressmen and working in election campaigns. The Coalition against the War (CAW) embraces Project Purse Strings — a group of former Peace Corps Volunteers — Dartmouth Students against the War, the Continuing Students for Legislation Co-ordination. CAW is primarily a lobbying group, rallying support for the recent rash of Congressional amendments designed to curb, in one way or another, the Indo-China War.

PRINCETON

The National Coalition for a Responsible Congress represents six Eastern Colleges' efforts to lobby against the War, campaign and raise funds on behalf of peace candidates. One Eastern College not a member of this Coalition, but which has lately become a hotbed of political activity is Princeton. Before Cambodia, Princeton had not had a riot or demonstration of major proportions but, in a few weeks, it has taken the lead in initiating nation-wide political programmes.

Three major new organisations have their base at Princeton. Potentially the most important is the Movement for a New Congress, headed by Professor Gary Orfield of the Political Science Department. With over 350 branches, the Movement has enlisted the talents of thousands of College students. A computerised data bank on Congressional voting records has been established to help identify 'hawks' and 'doves' and students are mobilising support for peace candidates in dozens of states.

The second organisation is the Speakers Bureau which is organising faculty and students to take the fight to Mr. Nixon's silent majority: the Rotary, Kiwanis and Lions Clubs, Chambers of Commerce, Alumni groups, etc.

The third group is organising nation-wide opposition to the draft. The Union for National Draft Opposition offers information, moral support and legal aid to draftees who feel they cannot serve, and lobbies for an expansion of the concept of conscientious objection and other reforms of the draft law.

PRINCETON PLAN

Yet another Princeton initiative spreading across the country is the so-called 'Princeton Plan'. The 'Plan' envisages a re-organisation of the academic calendar in the Fall Term of 1970 so as to provide a two-week recess immediately prior to the November elections so that students can, without penalty, participate

directly in the last weeks of this year's election campaigns. Even a University as conservative as my own has adopted this scheme.

Finally, a moment should be spared for the conservative and moderate college students. While many students remain apathetic, it is true to say that the politically moderate conservatives are disappearing as significant factors on campuses. Years of frustration have driven the moderates into the ranks of the radicals while sheer weight of numbers has cowed the militant conservatives. Their only organised group, the Young Americans for Freedom, boldly announced an anti-SDS offensive at its summer congress last year. Nothing has been heard from it since, bar an appeal from their President for support for

Nixon's Cambodian invasion — a statement which hardly boosted the ranks of an already minuscule group. The truth is that the American college population is moving rapidly to the left politically and amongst this generation of students there is the highest degree of unity on a wide spectrum of issues ranging from the persecution of Black Panthers at home to the evils of American imperialism abroad. The maze of student organisations described in this article testifies to the fact that today's students are also the most politically energetic generation in American history. Liberal observers of South Africa's campuses will find this an enviable situation.

John Daniel.

Our Silent Contributors

by Edgar H. Brookes

We cherish the hope that our readers approve the fare which "Reality" provides for them by its limited number of writers. But behind these is a vast number of potential contributors who do not write for "Reality" because they dare not. Let their silence also plead our cause.

It is difficult for those who have lived in South Africa to realise the immense pressures, direct or indirect, exerted by Authority upon opponents of apartheid. Banning, the withholding of passports, and intimidation generally, are the penalties to be feared by those who are too forceful or too successful and indeed by many who are neither. Let us consider the inhibited groups.

AFRICAN COMMUNITY

First of all, perhaps most important of all, is the whole African community. Scarcely any African dare publish under his own name an article critical in any way of fundamental Government policy. So skilful are the Security Police that he is hesitant to write even anonymously. Although many of our writers are frequently in touch with Africans, and not ill qualified to interpret African thought, this is not the same thing South Africa ought to know from Africans themselves what they and their friends are really thinking. Ignorance of

this is a national danger, yet the Government does its best to suppress all views which disagree with its own.

The largest educated African group consists of school teachers. Since almost all African teachers are directly or indirectly Government employees, a journalistic "indiscretion" may cost them their whole livelihood. With modifications this is true of white teachers in Government schools. They are not, indeed, quite so likely to suffer dismissal, but they are almost sure to be denied promotion and to have a black mark set against them for the rest of their careers.

CROSS-SECTION

There are men and women of outstanding ability in the Government schools and in the course of their work they deal with a wider cross-section of South Africa than do the teachers in Church or other private schools. Their loss to us is an impoverishment to our columns, but since many of them privately

support us, let their silence plead for the causes which we espouse.

The question may be raised by some whether silence is in the last resort cowardice. This is a matter which every man must decide for himself, without reproaching others. When a leading African or an outstanding Government school teacher takes his courage in both hands and risks in doing so personal liberty and the loss of his livelihood, anyone who values the right must be thankful. But have we the right to demand heroism, and is a system which makes martyrdom the reward of heroism one to be approved or even tolerated?

CIVIL SERVANTS

Civil servants have been inhibited from participation in political discussions long before the political revolution of 1948, and in many countries beside South Africa. In many respects this is a right and necessary prohibition. It would not be desirable for an official of the Department of Agriculture to write an article countering from inside information the Department's policy on foot and mouth disease, nor for an official dealing with immigration to reveal to an interested world (but how gripping such a revelation would be!) the principles on which passports and visas are issued or refused. But it might be conjectured that a favourable review of one of Alan Paton's books by an officer of the Inland Revenue Department, though it disclosed no information affecting that Department, would possibly lead to the writer being disciplined and would almost certainly affect his chances of promotion.

For help from this vast number of potential contributors — and in few countries is the proportion of Government servants to the total population higher than in South Africa — we have to wait until their retirement on pension, and by that time reticence has often become second nature.

PROFESSIONS

There are other professions which ought in theory to be free, but which in fact are not. A young curate may find himself at loggerheads with his Rector or his Bishop, or both, if he is at all indiscreet. A lawyer getting to the stage when he might reasonably expect

promotion to the Bench will find discretion the better part of valour. A bank employee will be frowned upon, and perhaps more than frowned upon, if he embarks on a public discussion of polemical politics. A rising industrialist must say good-bye to the hope of Government contracts if he publicly opposes Government policy.

COURAGE

The question of courage arises again as we consider these categories of silenced persons. In some cases, at any rate, valour is possible and brings its own reward. Once again, however, we must say that it is repugnant to us to stigmatise as a coward everyone who does not rise to the snowy summits of heroic devotion. Action in these circumstances is a matter between a man and his conscience. Two things, however, we can and must say. The first is that a system which exercises such pressure on free expression is a bad system. The second is that, whether it ought to or not, this widespread intimidation does in fact prevent scores of good potential contributors from filling the columns of **Reality**.

On those of us who are able, either by the presence of courage or by the absence of the grosser forms of intimidation, to write for "Reality" rests a great responsibility. We must learn what we can from those forced into silence, and express it in their name and our own. And we and our readers must recognise that behind the names signed to **Reality's** articles there are scores, hundreds, yes even thousands of potential contributors, whose silence is not the result of contentment with things as they are, and whose self-effacement is instinct with gratitude and support for those who do come forward to write in their name.

An Open Letter from a Springbok Cricketer to his Uncle John

My Dear Uncle John,

I must say I was astonished to learn that you had written me an open letter, published in a magazine called **Reality**, which describes itself as a journal of liberal opinion. It seems a strange method of writing to one's close relatives, and one can only assume that it is some kind of liberal oddity. It seems to me still stranger that my dear uncle, who quite obviously regards his views as extremely weighty, and who equally obviously wishes to rescue his nephew from wrong-doing, should leave the communication of these views to the operations of chance. If this is the way liberalism works, then it is no wonder that it has made so little impression on South Africans, who are probably the most purposeful, systematic and intelligent people in the world.

APOLOGY

First, let me apologise for writing to you in this way. I am much younger than you, and you have always been revered in our family because you are our learned relative. I am sure that if there had been a Springbok team of professors of education, you would have made it; and even if it had been all-white, you would have gone abroad with it. However I am compelled to write very frankly to you, because you have more or less insinuated that we Springbok cricketers are a lot of yes-men, who will keep quiet about the claims of others so long as we have it good for ourselves.

BAFFLING

You regard demos as public-minded serious people. It is this attitude that baffles all right-thinking South Africans. No wonder people liken liberals to ostriches. You are apparently quite unable to see that the Communists are using these gullible youngsters. You think that students all over the world are rebelling against the evils of war and poverty but you fail to grasp that Communists seize on dissatisfaction wherever they find it, whether on the campus or in church or among black people or among people who think they are poor, but have no conception of what real poverty is like. This dissatisfaction is intensified by the Communists, and they make students, priests, non-white South Africans and even professors of education, into their tools. When our Prime Minister points this out, or General van den Bergh, or discerning visitors brought out here by the South Africa Foundation, you scoff at them. You say they are drawing the red herring of Communism across the trail. You, my affectionate uncle, should go down on your knees every night and give thanks to the Prime Minister and General van den Bergh and the South Africa Foundation, because it is thanks to them that you sleep safe in your bed at night. Sometimes I could scream with frustration that a member of my family can be so obtuse; I go cold when people say to me, **is this Macquarie fellow really your uncle?**

You clearly do not set much store by law and order. You think it is justifiable, in the interests of liberty, to circumscribe the liber-

ties of those people who are almost without exception quiet, sporting, and law-abiding, who want to watch cricket. Your inconsistency is monumental, and yet you were a professor of education. It is shocking to think that you once entrusted with the task of shaping young minds. You are obsessed by the colour bar. Do you know that the first written code of the game of cricket was written in 1744 and that it has been revised and amended many times since, and that on no single occasion has there been any mention of race or colour? It is people like you who have dragged them in. It is this beautiful game that you are out to destroy. Is there any more wonderful sight than a cricket ground under a cloudless sky, with the stands gay with the white and red and blue clothes of the spectators, in whose minds there is no thought of protest, violence, or hatred, and on the field the white-flanneled contestants, carrying no placards, no stink-bombs, nothing but bat and ball and a determination to play the game. Yet all this can be spoiled for me by one thoughtless fellow who comes up to me and says, **is this chap really your uncle?**

D'OLIVIERA AND ASHE

You make a great song and dance about D'Oliviera and Ashe. Do you not know that D'Oliviera was at first not selected and that only after he was selected for political reasons, did our Prime Minister cancel the M.C.C. visit? Do you not know that Ashe has attacked our traditional way of life, and it was be-

cause of that, not his colour that his visa was refused? Do you never read the bulletins of our Information Department or listen to Current Affairs? These services are provided so that the true facts may be known by all, but I hear on good authority that you do not read the first or listen to the second. When I was at school, while you were still a professor of education, we were taught to listen to both sides, but to you and your long-haired associates, this is outmoded advice. Do you know what the political affiliations were of this Japanese jockey? Do you know that Communism is growing in Japan? Of course not. Like all liberals you see and hear only what you want to see and hear.

AMBASSADOR

It was my great ambition to be a worthy ambassador for our country abroad and to point out to people that they do not understand our conditions, and that they must leave us alone to solve our own problems. But you and your liberal friends have made this impossible. Yet you regard yourselves as lovers of South Africa. It leaves me speechless. My mates say I must not worry about you, that you are not worth worrying about. But fortunately for them they are not your nephews.

In conclusion, I would be glad if you would keep Aunt Emma and the Black Sash out of your public letters. She is at least a lady, which is more than I can say of you.

Your nephew,
Jim.

The Death of Apartheid

a reply by Denis E. Hurley, O.M.I.

REALITY's July editorial does not agree that the 1960's saw the death throes of apartheid. It points to White South Africa's fear of political sharing and any change in White privilege, wealth and status, as a symptom of the continued vitality of apartheid.

This powerful force must not be discounted, and it will surely make for a turbulent time ahead; but, in my opinion, it cannot resuscitate an apartheid policy already succumbing to rigor mortis. It will be noticed that I distinguish between the segregation mentality and

apartheid as a political policy. The former I accept as very much alive. It is the latter whose obituary I write in the company of such eminent experts as the Stellenbosch Bureau of Economic Research.

For over three hundred years White South

Africa has pursued a social system of segregation. For 22 years it has thrown everything it could into the final paroxysm of separation. And what is the result? An economy clamouring that, unless the labour aspects of apartheid are mitigated, the country is doomed.

LOGIC

Afrikaners have inherited some of the continental European logic which is held in such deep suspicion by the British tradition. British South Africans would have preferred muddling along with a less rigid formulation of segregation. Afrikaner logic saw that this was impossible. It had to be all or nothing. They threw everything into the last fling.

And now in their own ranks significant economists, business men, trade unionists, journalists, writers and theologians are saying that the game is up, all-out apartheid is impossible.

Of course many who counsel moderation and mitigation still believe in the principle of separate development — or they think they do. They haven't yet seen what Albert Herzog sees so clearly: that you dare not doubt the absoluteness of the apartheid vision and still believe in apartheid.

Apartheid has always had two principal implications: the implication of plain white baaskap and the implication of territorial separation. The politicians in their realism have been mainly concerned with the baaskap implication. They have been able to carry the church and the intelligentsia along by allowing them to indulge in the dream of territorial separation with justice. The magic of Doctor Verwoerd consisted in his ability to create the impression that territorial separation was political realism.

The economics of the 1960's has proved beyond any shadow of doubt that it isn't. So nothing is left for apartheid but baaskap, and I don't think the church and the intelligentsia can stomach it.

CRUMBLLED

As I see it, then, the Afrikaner united front on apartheid has crumbled. The politicians will continue to make apartheid noises for some time, like a wave spending itself on the shore with the under-tow killing its impetus.

The under-tow is the economy, an under-tow that cannot be eliminated without a serious weakening of the international and military position of South Africa, an under-tow that, irrespective of political and defence considerations, few can bring themselves to want to eliminate, because economics is always the most powerful incentive in human affairs.

How long the politicians can keep up the pretence that a viable economy is compatible with an apartheid ideology, I do not know. Maybe three or four years more. Maybe less. The image they are creating by their last-ditch efforts is probably responsible in large measure for this comment of André Brink:

"In the course of a single year of absence something vitally new has emerged above the surface of Afrikaner thinking: an urgent desire to question, to re-assess, to examine past and future, a refusal to be dogmatic any more. In normally staunch Nationalist circles, I have heard people defend the party 'for the sole reason that it contains that rare virtue, the germ of its own destruction'".

(The Daily News — 19/3/1969).

CONVULSIONS

This does not mean that the segregation mentality is extinct. Far from it. It will cause many a convulsion yet. But apartheid as a political formula is dead. It is caught in this complete and inescapable dilemma: either it disappears directly with the sacrifice of ideology to economics, or it disappears indirectly with the sacrifice of economics to ideology and the jeopardising of White South Africa's prosperity, international relations (what is left of them) and military position.

More and more White South Africans are realising this and hand in hand with the realisation goes a growing sensitivity to international criticism and boycotts, and (thank God) a growing sensitivity about human dignity.

This is why I believe that the 1960's saw the death throes of apartheid as a political policy.

How and when and in what form a Phoenix will rise from the ashes, I do not dare to prophesy.

FROM UNION TO APARTHEID

A Trek to Isolation

A Review of Margaret Ballinger's book

by C. de B. Webb

FROM UNION TO APARTHEID: A Trek to Isolation.

(Juta and Company, Cape Town, 1969. R6.30.)

After acquiring Mrs. Ballinger's book, I eyed it circumspectly for several months. The prospect of reading it was like the prospect of a marathon charity walk: something that the concerned South African of 1970 knows he should do, though the only pleasure he expects from the task is the joy of the final moment when he can softly sigh to himself 'I've done it'. 500 pages looked to me a fatiguing course; and when a glance at the Contents revealed that the starting-point was not Union in 1910 but General Hertzog's racial legislation of 1936, I nearly shirked the challenge. A long course, set within the limits of the stony terrain of South African politics in the last thirty years, seemed more than I could manage.

Having gritted my teeth and made a start however, my qualms began to dissipate, for along the route there were long periods when absorbed interest in what I was reading completely dispelled any concern about reaching the finishing line. Perhaps, when I turned the last page, a sigh did pass my lips; but it was a much, much smaller sigh than I had believed it would be.

Mrs. Ballinger writes a firm, lucid prose that makes sustained reading a comfortable task, and she has marshalled her complex subject-matter with a skill that considerably assists the reader.

RECENT RACE POLITICS

Her book is a history of recent race politics in South Africa, told in four parts. In the first,

she traces the Parliamentary story from her entry into the House of Assembly as an Independent Cape Native Representative in 1938 until the end of the Smuts era a decade later, and, in the course of her narrative, lays bare the tragic failure of White South Africa to adjust to the changed conditions, domestic and international, created by the Second World War.

With Part II, the focus shifts to the contemporaneous history of the Natives Representative Council, a body that started in hope, but became so frustrated in its purposes, that by 1949 it was ready to terminate its existence. The years 1948-9 are thus shown as a turning point in Black politics as well as White.

In the third section, the reader is taken back to the Parliamentary arena, and the grim story is told of the troubled and bitter years during which a constitutional state was bludgeoned into the submissiveness, perhaps one should say the senselessness, required by those attempting to make a reality of Apartheid ideology.

The legislative programme of these years included so many draconian measures that Dr. Verwoerd's abolition of all Native representation in the central Parliament attracted less public attention than would probably have been the case ten years earlier. Yet it marked the close of an era. For the Africans of the Cape, it meant the end of any semblance of the franchise rights that had been theirs for a century; and for Mrs. Ballinger, personally, it meant the end of a career of Parliamentary service. The last section of the book is thus an Epilogue — a survey of the course of colour

politics in the muted years after Parliament had shut out the voice of the African.

SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

Though she recounts events that must often have been bitter and saddening experiences, Mrs. Ballinger never jibes, and seldom snipes, at those who were her critics and enemies; nor does she type-cast her opponents as villains, thugs or fools. Wherever possible, she allows those who feature in her narrative to speak for themselves. The effect at times is chilling; at others it is saddeningly funny; more often, it is bleakly depressing.

This concern to detach herself from an episode of history in which she was deeply involved is to be admired; but it has deprived her readers of what might have been a rich and piquant feast. Repeatedly I found myself yearning for a glimpse of the men behind the speeches that she quotes.

What sort of man was R. V. Selope Thema whose presence was so significant in the Natives Representatives Council? What were his personal qualities? What were the sources of his strength and appeal?

And what of others? What of Dr. Verwoerd? What was he like at certain given moments? What was he like, for example, at that start-

ling moment in May 1953 when he seemed to deny Mrs. Ballinger her Parliamentary privilege, declaring across the floor of the House: 'Now I just want to say this to the hon. member. As Leader of the Liberal Party, that hon. member has not the slightest right to ask anything that concerns the principles of the apartheid policy.'? What were her impressions of this strange, but powerful, man?

More important than that, what were her impressions — and what are they now — of the under-currents moving below the surface of South African politics?

In venturing opinions in answer to such questions, Mrs. Ballinger would have invited criticism; she would also, however, have shed illumination and encouraged new debate.

As it is she has given us a masterly survey of recent race politics in South Africa. For this we must be grateful. An informative coherent and dispassionate account of a complex and critical phase of history has great value in itself. But, having performed this task so well, perhaps she could now be persuaded to keep her pen busy, so that we may be given some record of her memories and opinions about men and movements in South African politics in the years covered by her Parliamentary career.

This South Africa

TWO CHINESE families in Kimberley have a group area entirely to themselves, while another seven families in Uitenhage have one as well. But Port Elizabeth has a Chinese group area occupied by 60 families.

Mr Japie Basson (U.P., Bezuidenhout), in whose constituency the Government has settled Chinese families, asked: "Can the Minister tell this House why the Chinese Consul-General is brought into the picture when it concerns South African citizens?"

Mr. Coetzee: "Because there is the closest contact between me and the Chinese Consul-General about the position of Chinese in South Africa."

An Opposition member: But how . . . ?

Mr. Coetzee: What is wrong with that?

Mr. Vause Raw (U.P., Durban Point): But they are South African citizens.

Mr. Coetzee: Don't talk nonsense.

Rand Daily Mail.

"DIFFERENT races perform best in their own idioms." This was the reason given by Mr. N. J. Naude, the head of the S.A.B.C.'s public relations department, for the barring of four Non-Whites from a Beethoven music contest.

Mr. Naude said each person performed best in his own idiom. This was why different music competitions were held for the various race groups.

,"Seeing the idioms are completely different it would be unwise for a composer from Soweto to compete against a top White musician." he said.

Mr. Naude added: "In the same way the Negro spiritual is completely different from a composition by Shostakovich."

Rand Daily Mail.

SOME OF OUR CONTRIBUTORS

The Rev. Dr. A. L. Boraine is Youth Organiser for the Methodist Church in Natal.

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