D.C.S. OOSTHUIZEN MEMORIAL LECTURE

G.R. BOZZOLI

RHODES UNIVERSITY, GRAHAMSTOWN

1980

D.C.S. OOSTHUIZEN MEMORIAL LECTURE

by

PROF G.R. BOZZOLI

SEPTEMBER 22, 1980

Published by
The Academic Freedom Committee
RHODES UNIVERSITY
GRAHAMSTOWN

This lecture was originally scheduled for 4 August 1980. It was prohibited in terms of Government Notice 1405 dd. 30 June 1980, which declared all meetings of a political nature to be unlawful. The University and the Academic Freedom Committee were advised that this meeting was not of a political nature. Just before it was due to be held the University was informed that prosecution would be a distinct probability if the lecture was held. A declaratory court order was sought to discover whether academic meetings *per se* were political gatherings or not. After taking further legal advice it was decided not to seek the court order. The lecture was postponed to the 22 September in the hope that the ban on political meetings would not be reimposed when it expired on 31 August. After travelling a hectic and difficult road, we can finally present the 1980 D.C.S. Oosthuizen Memorial Lecture.

THE D.C.S. OOSTHUIZEN MEMORIAL LECTURE - DELIVERED AT RHODES UNIVERSITY
BY PROFESSOR G.R. BOZZOLI

"CHANGE IS NOT MADE WITHOUT INCONVENIENCE"

I am immensely honoured by your invitation to deliver the D.C.S. Oosthuizen Memorial Lecture this year and I do so with a sense of emotional recollection of the forty seven years of my life as an academic. Professor Oosthuizen fought for truth and justice, steadfastly and with gentle insistence. Men like him become pivots around which events rotate. South Africa is in great need of men of his calibre and his friendly, modest attitude to the people of the world, particularly at this time when change is the watchword. Everyone is looking for or at change. Those who are opposed to change, even if they recognize that it is inevitable, find it coming much too fast and affecting too broad a spectrum of interests. Those who want it most ardently, see little evidence of real change, and what little they see is considered to be coming too slowly and in too limited a field. What must be realized by both extremes, and equally by the great mass of people falling between them, is that in order that the changes that are visualised do come about, every one will have to sacrifice something - material or ideological. It is for this reason that I have chosen as the title of my address, a quotation by Samuel Johnson, of a phrase attributed to Richard Hooker and used by Johnson in the preface to the "English Dictionary".

> "Change is not made without inconvenience, even from worse to better"

I propose to examine a few of these "inconveniences", some of which may turn out not to be inconvenient at all, while others may mean a complete revision of life style, or abandonment of a cherished ideal. In either case, a most vital issue surrounding change is a quantity well known to scientists and engineers, austronauts and motorists, the quantity known as the rate of change, or alternatively, the acceleration or deceleration. Change comes fastest when great pressures or forces are exerted, either revolutionary forces which are aimed at causing events to move rapidly, or

oppositely, when the forces of authority are exerted to prevent matters from developing at all. These latter cause a deceleration of the movement of events, but both conditions represent high rates of change with the concomitant dangers that flow from the existence of inertia in the system and the people. Inertia in the accelerating condition results in the movement passing beyond control. Inertia in the decelerating condition entrenches those who are opposed to change and blocks all the natural outlets through which internal pressure could be relieved.

Both are dangerous situations and are recognized clearly by engineers in their own systems. They have well tried and successful methods of dealing with the problem, one of them consisting of introducing the operating forces more gently, and another consisting of applying the fundamental principle, widely adopted also in nature, of negative feedback. I do not wish to argue here whether any particular feedback in a social system is negative or positive, but I do want to emphasize that the principle of feedback can be applied successfully in social systems as well, and of course, this means communication from end point to source.

Communication demands as a prerequisite, education, so that the essential link in the control chain lies in the schools and universities, and particularly in the universities. If the feedback is to come into play, then the universities must be the places where people learn to process the information. Universities are also the places where real change could originate as history has shown, so that either way, their role is vital. Paradoxically, although universities have, on the face of it, changed vastly over the centuries, and particularly during this half century, yet they have, by and large, retained their democratic character more successfully than any other institution. As I see it therefore, the universities should be and could be, very deeply involved in societal change.

I come now to the crux of the situation in so far as the universities are concerned, because if they are to be able to make their proper contribution to the changing circumstances, they must be free to examine and debate the events of the day as openly as possible, and without fear of suppression. This academic freedom was an issue which was sneered at in the van Wyk de Vries Commission report, but it belongs fundamentally to universities, and whether they exercise it or not, it should always be openly possible for them to act in accordance with it. It must not be thought that the freedom

of the academic applies only to issues which affect his life and that of his institution. On the contrary, the principles of academic freedom are applicable to persons in all walks of life and apply as well to the citizens of a free city as they do to the academics in a university.

The parallels in normal living can be found in every aspect of the citizen's life - the freedom to express one's viewpoint openly about religion or gambling, about education or crime, about hospitals or prostitution, about the government or the opposition - this freedom is precious and is the feedback essential to the proper conduct of these institutions. A free press is the means of giving expression to these viewpoints and is the medium for communication in both directions. Yet these two freedoms, essential for rational change, while nominally present, suffer from restrictions of the decelerating kind which drive the actuating pressures to find more radical routes along which to exercise the freedom, or else cause them to be bottled up for another time and place when they are liable to emerge with explosive force. An unfree press encourages the spawning of surreptitious pamphlets, underground meetings, plotting and scheming. Suppression of student opinion equally drives them into the same areas. No good can result from preventing the expression of opinions deeply held in good faith, whether they are held by an erstwhile prime minister of a neighbouring state or by an retired academic.

There are, however, two freedoms which are not really part of the academic scene, but which affect very deeply the lives of the citizens of any country, and these are the freedom to offer one's services for remuneration and the freedom to withhold these same services for social or industrial reasons. These are, at the present time, issues of great delicacy and impact in our country and I propose to say no more than to emphasize that in the first instance they must exist, and in the second place there must be a high degree of reliable and openly expressed feedback if justice is to be done to both parties involved.

I would like to return for a moment or two, to the matter of academic freedom. Eleven years ago, on an occasion similar to this one, I drew comparisons between the degrees of freedom of universities in South Africa and those in Europe and America. In the matter of autonomy, or self-government, South African universities actually enjoyed a greater degree of freedom than most universities in those countries, and I have no reason to believe that the relative situation has changed, except in the case of the

universities for blacks, where the rigid control of ten years ago has been substantially relaxed. In the matter of academic freedom, the questions of student admissions, staff appointments, censorship and freedom of expression, conditions have changed little. Certainly, permission to register at universities for whites has been granted more freely to black and brown students, but the basic principle of separate education even at university level remains, and there is still no freedom for universities to admit students on academic grounds alone. It used to be said in the early seventies that academic freedom can easily be abused and degenerate into a licence to act irresponsibly and to indulge in that peculiar activity known as "politiekery". It seems to me that so far from restoring to universities the freedom to admit students on academic grounds alone, the present policy of government can be described quite accurately as a licence to exercise discrimination. Certainly the practice of suppressing NUSAS and banning students without trial has by no means ceased. How sensible it would be to decontrol the universities and allow them to float, like the financial rand, and to find their proper level! After all, if each of our 16 residential universities were to grow to an average size of, say, 10 000 students, and each were open to any student irrespective of race, our country would possess a well balanced university system numerically. The 24 million people in the republic would have 160 000 university places plus 50 000 from UNISA, making a total of 210 000 places, which is a very satisfactory ratio in world terms. I have not mentioned, of course, the Universities of the Transkei and of Bophutatswana, which serve, presumably, a different community.

To academics, the concept of academic freedom is fundamental to their existence - to the disinterested outsider, the term may mean anything from latitude to, as I have said earlier, licence.

The academic believes that knowledge is universal and not the prerogative of any particular group or class of person. All humans are characterised by the miraculous gifts of speech and intellect and there is no true basis for offering knowledge to certain humans and denying it to others. The test is, and must always be, the ability of the person to understand and absorb the knowledge, for that person to be included amongst those who share and distribute knowledge.

The academics maintain that in a university, where knowledge is stored, taught, shared and uncovered, those who teach and research, and those who

are taught and study should be permitted to join the body of teachers and students on academic grounds only, and should never be selected on the grounds of their race or religion.

In South Africa, academic freedom has a further most important aspect to it. It is argued that the basic requirements are met by providing separate institutions of higher learning for each of the race groups in our country. What does it matter, it is said, if a black student cannot enter a university reserved for whites, provided he has a university of his own to attend? It matters a great deal, because if the racial groups are segregated in their education, in addition to being segregated in their living, they will have no opportunity of gaining that most important knowledge of all, the knowledge of their fellow countrymen. Without such knowledge, what hope is there of mutual understanding and respect, and it is these two latter aspects of life that have the most vital influence on our living together in harmony.

Students in a segregated black university will always believe that the education they are receiving is inferior to that being given to whites in white universities. How much more so is this the case in schools!

The most important freedom to restore to all our universities is to remove all restrictions on admissions based on race. The question, however, is whether all the universities would, in fact, fill up satisfactorily or whether some would be swamped and others emptied. It would have to be recognized that initially, many institutions now existing separately and catering for specific groups on a language or ethnic basis might persist for geographical reasons or because of existing residential patterns, but even if a community were to prefer a culturally distinct university and opted to retain it, it is essential that the other groups should not be <u>denied</u> access to them. As long as the system ensures that all the universities are of a similar standard, it is unlikely that any particular institution would be swamped by persons from another area or cultural group. It has been the experience in the United States after universities were desegregated several years ago, that institutions tended to retain their cultural identity when admission restrictions were removed. Dr. Clark Kerr, sometime president of the University of California, reported this as one of the findings of a Carnegie Commission on Education of which he was the Chairman. The Commission found that a university for whites located in a predominantly white area registered many new black students, but remained predominantly white, and vice versa. They also found that a powerful loyalty grew up in predominantly

black institutions after desegregation, stimulated by obviously increased standards, and that many an apathetic or hostile student body became fiercely proud of the new dispensation. The benefits of integration clearly go beyond those enjoyed by students previously prohibited from registering in the university of their choice - there is, for example, a marked improvement in the universities which might have been considered second rate.

The need today is not only to retain or restore the freedoms, but to change in order to meet the problems to be faced in the future South Africa we all want, despite the inconveniences.

The first and most important change must be in the educational system, now severely under attack in this and other parts of the country. There has been a decade of student involvement in efforts to convince authority that change is essential,and one must acknowledge that there have been very substantial changes in the scale of operation, particularly in the last two years or so. For example, according to the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, the total expenditure on education for blacks has risen from 51 MR in 1969 to 181 MR in 1979 and the pupil teacher ratio has improved from 58 to 47. A recent report from the Department of Education and Training states that in 1980, the expenditure will be 249 MR in the Republic alone that double sessions in schools will be completely phased out by the beginning of 1981, and that adult education courses on a substantial scale were initiated in 1979.

While these changes are significant and lay the foundations for a new deal in the education of our poorest citizens, they are really in the nature of making up a severe backlog in a neglected system. There are aspects of the entire system which need very close attention and many changes are necessary before one can acclaim the dawn of a new education era.

The South African Institute of Race Relations recently set up a small commission to define an education policy which the Institute would find acceptable. The recommendations have been published in a booklet entitled "Education for a New Era" and I believe that the main points in that report are very relevant to the subject of this lecture.

There are two ways of drafting an ideal system. The one would be a purely academic one, based on certain ideal fundamental principles, and paying no attention to time scale, nor to the financial or political practicalities.

While this would be a valuable exercise, it could not point the way to success because of the insurmountable problems associated with any sudden change in any system. The second way would be to assume that the system would be changing any-way, and it would then be necessary to assume the direction and rate of such change and to devise a system of education which could replace an existing one by degrees, and with far less disturbance than a sudden change would cause.

It was decided to follow the second course, but yet to state the ideals upon which a desirable system would be based, and there are six fundamental principles which no reasonable person would refute.

First, there should be equality of opportunity in every respect, that is to say, for different geographical areas, different sexes, different social groups and different ethnic groups. There is no sensible reason for discrimination between any persons on any of the above grounds. On the contrary, there would be good reason to allocate additional resources to groups which have suffered, and still suffer, from particular disadvantages.

Second, there should be no laws or regulations laying down enforced separation of the various language and race groups. Rather, every effort should be made to integrate educational institutions at all levels.

Third, however important it is for the system to teach the basic language, mathematical and scientific skills, it is equally important for pupils and students to be stimulated to a critical scrutiny of society, and also important for them to understand and appreciate the religion, art, music, literature and history of other groups within the South African society besides their own. Children must not be led to believe that their own particular society is perfect and is not capable of improvement by change. There is an apparent conflict here between the natural and correct desire to build up in children a patriotism and love for their country, and yet to stimulate them to develop a critical approach. I believe that there need be no conflict, since pride of one's country can rest substantially upon a firm belief in fairness and equity.

Fourth, there should be a comprehensive programme of adult education in cultural, political and vocational fields to enable those with ambition to improve their knowledge and experience, as well as programmes to improve literacy and numeracy.

Fifth, education for the entire country should fall under a single ministry, provided a system is devised which would permit all interested parties at national, regional or local level to participate in decision making and the

management of education.
Sixth, the value of independent (i.e. non-state) educational institutions should be recognised, as they are often centres of excellence and innovation, and such institutions should be encouraged and supported, while nevertheless being subject to scrutiny in broad terms.

These basic principles are regarded as essential for a sound system of education, yet in South Africa it is difficult to find more than a few points of coincidence between them and the existing systems. To switch over suddenly to a system incorporating these ideals would be, however, politically, socially and financially unmanageable. If future political events could be foreseen accurately, it would be possible to devise a system progressing at a rate commensurate with these developments. In the absence of such precise forecasting it is nevertheless possible to design a transitional system on one assumption, namely, that there will be substantial positive change in South Africa towards a national policy which could embrace many of these ideals.

The proposals that follow are an attempt to modify the existing system of education in South Africa wherever such modification is possible or is likely to become possible very soon, so as to benefit the education of black people quickly and at an increasing rate. Three vital areas affecting the education of blacks at present are the areas of segregation, allocation of resources and control of management and I shall refer to each in turn.

Desegregation - The separation of South African children into distinct schools for whites of each language, for blacks in each ethnic group, for indians and for coloured people is probably the most powerful factor militating against the proper preparation for school leavers for their adult careers in the broader South African society. Those least affected are the white children, except that their separation on language grounds largely separates them for ever socially, and maintains a difficult gap in commerce and business. Those most affected are the black children whose schooling is almost totally divorced from the kind of adult life which many of them will hope to lead, leaving them quite ignorant of the attitudes and social habits of white children, and with a poor command of their language. The fact that white children are even more ignorant of the attitudes and social habits of their black fellow countrymen, while a poor reflection on the education of whites, tells mostly against the black children when they finally leave school and begin to enter the educational or business or industrial world, and find an utter lack of understanding facing them. This

persists right through the university system and shows itself when black graduates begin to enter the more senior clerical, administrative and managerial positions. Employers frequently express their concern about the difficulties which black graduates appear to face in notching into a predominantly white business or industrial environment at these levels, and while there might be some justification for criticizing the university courses - and the universities for whites are not exempt - the problem really goes right back into the segregated schools and segregated life styles.

In principle, therefore, there should be as little separation of ethnic and language groups as possible, and while one cannot envisage a sudden desegregation of all educational institutions in South Africa at this stage, there are certain steps which can be taken immediately and efficiently.

One knows from experience, that small children experience no natural problems in integrating with children of any race, and in fact, pick up other languages exceedingly quickly. However, racial prejudices in South Africa are still so powerful that the nationwide integration of nursery schools or primary schools could not be contemplated now. Furthermore, the particular cohort of children who would be so integrated would not leave school for another twelve years, and South Africa needs to offer careers to young black adults today, and not in 1992.

A step more likely to succeed would be to integrate all the universities, because not only is this already on the way to becoming a fact, but it would also produce black graduates with a broadened education in a few years. As is well known, the English language universities have, by and large, never segregated their students and some of the Afrikaans language universities have recently desegregated at least at the graduate level and in some instances at the undergraduate level. Further, the universities for blacks and brown are, one by one, shaking off the restrictions on them which prohibit the admission of whites. The benefits of this degree of desegregation could be felt immediately, if, for example, some black graduates with a three year BA or BSc or BCom could move directly into a white university to complete the honours year, acquiring thereby a substantially broadened higher education, although the full fruits could not be enjoyed unless the entire undergraduate course were also to be so completed.

The next step would be to desegregate the private schools where there is already a degree of desegregation and where the only difficulty would be the cost to be borne by the parents of the black child. Many private

schools have demonstrated their willingness to take this step and instead of being hindered in their programmes, they should receive every encouragement and support for they would be performing a vital national service in spearheading desegregation in schools. State schools must ultimately be desegregated as well, but this will depend upon the direction of further change.

Allocation of resources - Apart from the present inadequate total allocation of public funds to education, the distribution of financial resources amongst the four educational entities is anything but equitable. In 1977, the expenditure on education for whites was no less than twelve times that for blacks, reckoned per head of population of the two groups; the percentage of matriculated teachers in white schools was five times the percentage in schools for blacks; the teacher/pupil ratio was two and a half times better in white schools than in black schools and the percentage of white pupils in Standard X was eighteen times as great as the percentage of black pupils in Standard X. These figures in indian schools and schools for coloured people were very appreciably better than those in the schools for blacks, but still very much poorer than those for whites.

Under present circumstances, it would be economically unrealistic to equalize the per capita expenditure on pupils of all races except by drastically reducing the expenditure on white pupils. For example, the total expenditure on education in 1977 was R1337 million If the expenditure on whites were to be reduced to the figure spent on indian pupils at present, and the expenditure on all other groups were raised to the level of the indians, the total cost in 1977 would have been R2109 million, a manageable increase. However, the total annual expenditure that year, representing about 4½% of the GNP is low compared with the expenditure on education in developing countries in Africa, which in some cases reaches 25%.

The S.A. Institute of Race Relations believes that because of the immense backlog of educational endeavour to be faced in our country, the expenditure on education should be raised to at least 8% of the GNP, which would raise the average expenditure per capita of the whole population to R100 per annum. This figure is about half that spent on white children, is roughly 25% more than that spent on indian children, but represents a six-fold increase for black children This must not be taken as a recommendation that the expenditure on whites should be halved, but the lesson to be learned is that if educational institutions for whites were to make some sacrifices - suffer some inconvenience - like sharing playing fields, libraries, laboratories, and the total expenditure doubled, this could bring about immense improvements in the educational pattern

for the underprivileged. Such a change could create a situation in which education of equally high standard could be offered to children of all groups and universities.

Even if this policy were to be adopted, however, there is still a need for special attention being devoted to those who have been disadvantaged. There is a strong case for allocating extra moneys to underprivileged groups and regions in order to make better progress in equalizing educational opportunities. The payment of incentive bonuses to teachers who are assigned to special tasks and difficult areas would be one method. Another might be to require all newly qualified teachers to complete a period of service in remote or deprived regions. This kind of "affirmative action", however, requires some kind of yardstick whereby the needs of schools and colleges in critical areas could be reliably assessed. The problem has already been tackled in Australia, where the Karmel Commission was set up to quantify the present standards and future needs of schools, based on the principle of equalizing educational opportunity. A similar investigation in South Africa could be most valuable and there already exists the Human Sciences Research Council, which is equipped to carry out this kind of investigation. The National Education Council would be the correct body to launch such a study.

Control and management - The essential and basic need in our country is the vesting of overall control of education in one central Ministry of Education. Only in this way could the odious comparisons now being drawn between "white", "black", "indian" or "coloured" education be avoided. There is, of course, only one kind of education, and that is "proper" education, irrespective of who teaches or who is being taught. However, despite this insistence on one overall ministry, it is equally essential to have a high degree of decentralization on a geographic basis so as to make provision for local communities to become involved in the execution of the nation's education policy. Decentralization on an ethnic or racial basis, as now occurs, should be avoided utterly, and the present geographic divisions into provincial departments of education are not really the most effective. It was most interesting to read a few days ago about a proposal to divide up the country into 8 zones since this could form the basis of a new rearrangement of educational authorities.

Self-governing tertiary institutions like universities or technikons are a special category of institution which should remain autonomous and fall

directly under one central Ministry of Education. All other educational institutions in a particular region, however, should fall under the same regional authority, with due regard being paid to the basic principle of participation by the community. The regions envisaged are not necessarily provincial, and subdivision into a greater number of smaller and more nearly equal local authorities is clearly possible. Huge educational organizations become impersonal and grow further and further away from a proper understanding of the community's needs and wishes as the system expands.

Overall central control will always remain necessary in order to monitor standards, and also to ensure that the broad policy with regard to resources and expenditure is followed. To do this properly, an efficient inspectorate is essential, and in addition to their normal functions, the inspectors should act to prevent the local authority from introducing ethnic or other forms of discrimination and to control regional spending in accordance with the principles of the national education policy. The existing National Education Council, as an advisory body, could well be retained, except that its composition and its sphere of concern should be extended to provide for all the people in South Africa, a move which in fact started some years ago.

The implementation of these proposals, spread over a number of years, will introduce a new life style in South Africa, and it is likely that finding the necessary money will be one of the lesser problems to be faced. The major opposition to the proposals will come from the parents of white children and students, and not so much from the white children and students themselves. Yet we have only to look northwards to Zimbabwe, where this kind of change was introduced less than a year ago, with virtually no disturbances. It is undoubtedly in the schools and universities where change can originate, and particularly in the universities.

The inconveniences can now be readily assessed. The first would be a levelling out of funds provided for white schools, while the enormous backlog in the education of blacks is made up. The second will be the acclimatization to a new life style in which one's children, black or white attend the same schools or universities, although this is already being experienced in private schools and in universities, and is accelerating at a fair pace. It is my belief that once these two "inconveniences" have been accepted, the problem will no longer exist. There will also be inconveniences on the other side - for example, these changes, however much they may be speeded up, can only improve conditions for current generations of pupils and students, and will

leave great numbers of black adults in much the same position they experience today, unless a most vigorous effort is made in the area of adult education and up-dating education. For this reason I welcome the report issued by the Department of Education and Training last week, to the effect that over 200 centres throughout the country in 1979 ran adult education courses for 60 000 adults.

I would like to say a little more about technical education for black youths, partly because this is an area in which I am today involved, and partly because it can provide quicker answers to some of our national problems than far-reaching changes to our overall system of education. Black youths are emerging from high schools with Standard X or matriculation in increasing numbers - at the end of 1978 for example, 4 395 blacks passed matriculation and 5 730 gained the school leaving certificate and these numbers will be greatly exceeded this year. Despite the deficiencies of the system they have been educated by, a considerable number will be sufficiently well prepared in science and mathematics to benefit from technical courses at tertiary level. Industry is today ready and willing to employ black technicians in large numbers, trained in service on a sandwich basis, in collaboration with a technikon. This will inject many well trained black youths into industry, in jobs requiring engineering skills of an order comparable with those demanded of graduate engineers. This can happen at once and there are no bars to the employment of black technicians from any quarter, including the trade unions.

Their training is given in the newly named technikons, they become immediately useful to industry and they command a satisfactory salary scale. There are many technikons for whites today, and one each for coloured and indian students and a private one in KwaZulu is currently nearing completion. All technikons should fall under the same Ministry as the universities and must be stimulated and encouraged. Technikons are now nominally open to students of all races and form perhaps the spearhead of a new era in education. The technician is a most important person in industry today and is in great demand. Not only is his training less costly than that of the engineer, but it takes less time, and while he is trained to a high level of knowledge and skill, these lie in a narrow field so that the training is less demanding than the broad and rigorous courses that an engineer has to follow. The opening up of the technician employment area to black youths entails no sacrifices and no inconveniences, and is, in fact, one of the most promising educational prospects available.

I have dwelt at length on the question of education, partly because I am speaking to a university audience, partly because it is the field in which I have been immersed all my life and still am, but mostly because I am convinced that education can provide the key to the solution of South Africa's problem. However, important it has been to use national and international sport as a lever to bring home an awareness to South Africans of the reasons why the world no longer accepts us, it will be education that will provide the wherewithal to re-establish ourselves amongst the nations of the west.

But education is by no means the whole story. At a recent meeting in Johannesburg, the leader of the Opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, who was your invited lecturer on this occasion two years ago, outlined a plan for a future South Africa. His plan, to match the Prime Minister's, has 12 points, all of which constitute a change, but although the changes are really quite drastic, it is surprising how few of these would entail real sacrifice or even just inconvenience.

Those of his proposals that would result in no sacrifice and little or no inconvenience are the following :-

1. A commitment to making plans with others, not for them.
2. The appointment of an anti-discriminatory advisory board.
3. "It is impossible to solve our housing problem by building sub-economic units for every family - rather assist families to build their own houses."
4. Effective negotiation is only possible with the effective leaders of the communities.
5. The inclusion of people in negotiations in all fields, no matter how tough or difficult, rather than confrontation.
6. A refusal to tolerate violence or subversion - whether from the left or from the right.
7. The use of land as a factor of production and not as a basis for solving constitutional deadlocks.
8. Eradication of the tendency to talk about reform and then do nothing or not enough.
9. (a) devising of concrete and manageable reconstruction programmes in housing and community development.

The proposals that would entail sacrifice or inconvenience or perhaps only loss of face would be the remainder :-

9. (b) devising of concrete and manageable reconstruction programmes in education.
10. Acceptance of full citizen rights for all South Africans.
11. The use by government of the benefits of economic growth to combat

inequality.

12. The acceptance that minorities have a legitimate fear of domination.

On balance, these proposals do not impose great strains on our society, except where education or political rights are concerned. These are certainly areas of serious difficulty in our racially conscious society, but unless and until that consciousness fades considerably, the problems of change remain. In reality, one other change would reduce all the bother to nothing and that is the change in people's attitudes towards other people, their beliefs and their way of life. It is tolerance that we require to build into our national character and the only question now left to ask is -

Who could undertake this mammoth task and by what means?
Would leadership achieve it?
Could the churches bring it about?
Is education the answer?
I put my money on number three, provided the Race Relations Institute scheme is put into effect.

G.R. BOZZOLI

4 August 1980