

reality

MAY, 1971

A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL OPINION

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EDITORIAL

1

CHURCH AND STATE

The Prime Minister has in somewhat unctuous terms explained that the numerous recent expulsions of English-speaking clergy from South Africa did not constitute a campaign against the Churches, but that these expulsions were only reprisals against dangerous "foreigners". The Police authorities have also felt it necessary to make a similar explanation, an action which confirms our suspicions that the Security Police played an active part in these proceedings.

That the effect of these actions against ministers of religion has been hurtful to their Churches there can be no doubt. We are uncharitable enough to believe that this was also the intention. The Prime Minister will certainly not interfere with Churches which accept his principles of apartheid, however far they may be from orthodox Calvinism: this we can accept. What matters much more to him than religious heresy is political heresy. The former will not be persecuted, the latter will.

It may be that some vindictive reprisal against the World Council of Churches is intended, reprisal also against those Churches affiliated to it. But we are inclined to think that the real reason for this systematic persecution goes deeper. The expulsion of "foreigners", the withdrawal of passports, the arrest of individuals, are intended to have an intimidatory effect. The Prime Minister must be aware that repeated expulsions will make it more and more difficult to get men from Europe or America to come and work for their denominations in South Africa. This cannot hurt the three Dutch Reformed Churches, but it must hurt the English-speaking Churches: it thus constitutes religious discrimination.

"MISUNDERSTOOD"

No doubt those in authority believe that if the influx of ministers from outside can be stopped, the Churches concerned will fall in more readily with the apartheid policy. They are mistaken, for more and more young South Africans are determined to oppose it. But apart from that, the process of exclusion is part of a whole policy of attempting to turn our country into a Robinson Crusoe island, inhabited by "misunderstood" people who are increasingly cut off from the great movements, hopes and ideals of the world outside. Universities and churches will both suffer in so far as this process succeeds. But what does that matter? The Government in office rejoices at the expulsion of genius, the quashing of passionate religious devotion, the blighting of youthful hopes and the destruction of years of valuable work, provided only that the quasi-religious orthodoxy of apartheid can be maintained. We dare to say that if the Twelve Apostles were landed on our coasts, eleven of them would be expelled as undesirable foreigners within a matter of months. The twelfth would presumably remain as a paid informer.

This politico-religious persecution is no new thing. The Bantu Education Act led to the closing down of high schools and training colleges into which the sacrificial giving of lives and money had been poured for over a century, and their replacement by Government-controlled Institutions. The Group Areas legislation has rendered quite useless churches which were built in all good faith to meet the population needs of the time. Their congregations have been moved by law away from the churches, new churches have to be built, and no compensation is paid.

To take one church only, the gaunt and empty fabric of the Church of Christ the King at Sophiatown, the empty buildings at Modderpoort in the Free State, the closed School of St. Peter's, Rosettenville, the expulsion of three Bishops and the penalisation of other highly-placed ecclesiastics — all this looks and feels like persecution, let the Prime Minister explain it away if he can. Other denominations can tell similar stories.

There are unfortunately not wanting in every part of the Christian Church comfortable, middle-aged ecclesiastics who are determined not to get into trouble and who will do their best to persuade younger men not to take risks. A Christianity which takes no risks in an intolerable human situation is not worthy of its Lord and Master. There are still many in whose hearts courage will rise with danger. *Stat crux dum volvitur orbus* ("The Cross stands while the earth turns round").

EDITORIAL

2

SHAKING THE FOUNDATION

REALITY — and the Liberal Party before it — never devoted much time to criticising or attacking the South African Foundation. It is its duty, however, to draw attention to the nonsense talked by its deputy president, Dr. P. E. Rousseau, at the tenth annual meeting recently held in Durban.

It is to be expected that the Foundation should be a conservative body, and we do not criticise it for that. It is to be expected that it should try to present South Africa in the best possible light, and we do not criticise it for that. But that its deputy president should talk like the president of Antikom, and should see the Communist forces working through the churches, universities, sporting bodies and international associations, in an attempt to "drive a wedge between South Africa's traditional friends and allies" is, **whatever truth there may be in it**, a gross distortion and exaggeration. What is more, in our opinion (which is humble because we are not members of the Foundation), it is totally unsuitable pabulum to be served up to what one assumes was an audience of intelligence and distinction.

RAISON D'ETRE

We have on our editorial board members of churches, universities, sporting bodies, and international associations. Not one of us has ever seen any sign of communist infiltration in these organisations. But perhaps Dr. Rousseau is referring to overseas bodies only. To suggest that the Communists are isolating us from our friends is to ignore altogether the part, and the leading part, which has been played by our own Government in bringing about our isolation. **It may be true that**

Communists try to use the anti-apartheid movements. But the *raison d'être* of the anti-apartheid movement is not Communism but **Apartheid**.

BLAME SHIFTING

It is clear that Dr. Rousseau belongs to the school that ascribes all the woes of our country to other people. It is a well-known psychological state, but it is not a sign of mental health, nor indeed of great intelligence. If external Communism ever succeeds in making South Africa go Communist, it will be because a lot of South Africans want to go Communist. And it is widely believed that people only want to go Communist when they suffer want, deprivation, and humiliation in the society in which they live. Now there are lots of people in South Africa that suffer want, deprivation, and humiliation, but it is not the Russians or the Maoists who are the cause of it. **It is the white ruling class of South Africa that is the cause of it, and the government they elect to govern them, and the laws they let their government make.** But by putting all the blame on the Russians and the Maoists one is able to avoid the unpleasant conclusion that we ought to be doing something ourselves.

"WE" AND "THEY"

And what non-governmental body can exert a greater influence than the South African Foundation? But Dr. Rousseau does not tell its members what they could be doing to improve the filthy conditions in which Communism breeds. He has quite another solution, vulgar, overworked, threadbare. He told the Foundation that "we could not afford to be divided on basic

issues." By "we" he meant the white people of South Africa, and by the "basic issues" he meant (although he put it more nicely) what "we" decide to do with "them". This is the parrot-cry that has been heard in the Union and the Republic for sixty one years. But the real truth of it — and a sad truth for Dr. Rousseau — is that "we" still cannot agree. And it is to be hoped that "we" shall never agree, for if "we" do, it is "they" who will have to pay. Surely it is time that the unenfranchised people of South Africa had some say in what is to be their destiny; and not in their mini-national black-blocks either, but in the country in which we all live.

BEDS AND BUSHES

Dr. Rousseau stressed the fact that the South African Foundation is a non-political organisation. Well it had better

watch out, for it is being infiltrated too, by the "we and they" mentality, the mentality that sees a Communist under every bed and behind every bush, the mentality that will never solve any problems because the problems were always made by someone else.

One can only hope that the galaxy of distinguished hearers squirmed when they listened to this deputy-presidential speech. One reads that Sir Francis de Guingand wanted to retire as president, but was prevailed upon to remain in office for another year — and little wonder.

EDITORIAL

OFFICIOUS

UMBRADE

Mr. Frank Martin, M.E.C., did not show up well in the matter of the N.P.A. official who is alleged to have called Chief Gatsha Buthelezi "my boy". In the first place, when he heard or read of the incident, he complained that Chief Buthelezi had not gone to him, but to the Press. Why should the Chief have gone to him?

In the second place, after Mr. Martin had sent for the N.P.A. man and heard his story, he announced that the Chief's account was untrue. Why should it not be true? Was it because the N.P.A. man said it was not true?

Mr. Martin could have handled the whole affair in a better way. He could have invited the Chief and ordered the N.P.A. man to come to his office, and if they had both persisted in their stories, he could have stated that he was not in a position to pass judgement, but would express his regret to the Chief for any unpleasantness that had been caused.

Mr. Martin still lives in the age of the baas and the boy. We cannot afford people like that in public administration.

The Coloured People and The Labour Party of South Africa

by Sonny Leon
Leader of the South African Labour Party



The problems confronting mankind vary from generation to generation, and each generation probably considers that it has been unjustly treated by fate. The problem of the Coloured people in South Africa seems to me to be very difficult, because, although it is much more of an economic problem than people generally realise, it nevertheless involves deep prejudices, which are likely to be revived every time one meets an individual, the colour of whose skin differs from one's own. The colour of one's skin is a source of irritation to the prejudices of other people from the day of one's birth to the day of one's death.

The basic expression of these racial prejudices is in economics. Therefore for a coloured man the fear of unemployment is a dreadful and demoralising fear, not only because it means hunger and suffering for his family, but also — and perhaps above all — unemployment robs a man of his dignity. Dr. J.P. Duminy, former principal of Cape Town University said "The three things that human beings desire most are security, happiness and respect — most of all respect; respect for their persons, their possessions, their feelings, their beliefs, their dignity." These desires are fundamental in each one of us, in every human being, no matter how exalted or how lowly his station, and perhaps this is where the white man has incurred the heaviest blame, because since the day of the slave trade he has so often robbed coloured men of their dignity. They are the voiceless ones, the people for whom decisions are made by others, the people who live in humiliation. That is the tragedy for the whites as well as the coloureds.

I am convinced that the policy of the Nationalist Government must change; but it cannot do so very rapidly, and, as everything about the history of the Afrikaners should remind us, it will not do so under threats and compulsion. A sensible policy would surely be to encourage the change in South

Africa, by the process of a dialogue with groups of people who have the welfare of the country at heart, and those who have made a study of the problems confronting the nation. There is no doubt that South Africa, with her phenomenal industrial development, is faced with a great need of social and economic reconstruction, and the consequent legal and political development based on constitutional changes. Social and political reconstruction cannot be stopped, as the politically less privileged groups demand direct representation in the body politic of the country.

FEUDALISTIC TREATMENT

The coloured people can be regarded as an indigenous plant with roots deep in the soil of South African history. They have, however, been governed, over the past years, by the circumstance into which they have been born namely the feudalistic treatment meted out to them by those responsible for their existence in South Africa. It is important that they should choose to exercise the limited political power now entrusted to them; and it was for this purpose that the Labour Party of South Africa was created.

In 1965 a group of men met at Cape Town and decided on its foundation. Dr. R.E. van der Ross became the first President, Mr. N.S. Kearns, President of the South African Coloured Legion, its Vice President, and Mr. Edgar Dean the Secretary. The Declaration of Human Rights in the United Nations Charter was accepted as a basic principle on which to work.

Since then there have been changes in the composition of the party; those mentioned by name have changed their views; but those of us who have remained have done so primarily because of a complete dedication to the cause of Human Rights, and a belief that the Coloured People's Representative Council has given us a legal platform to present our case to the South African Nation, without which we could expect only the worst.

ACCEPTANCE OF APARTHEID?

Naturally, as it is part of the implementation of Apartheid, the mere acceptance of this institution has been construed by its critics as acceptance of Apartheid; but the contention is — would it have been possible for us to advocate and enlighten our people without this legality? .

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the biggest political blunder of the Nationalist Party has been this creation of a Council without power, yet with a voice that carries far and wide.

As an opposition group, the Labour Party contrives to force Mr. Tom Swartz and his pro-apartheid colleagues to amend motions submitted by us, while trying not to suffer total loss of face with the people. The Government is thereby placed in the invidious position of having either to give some consideration to the amended motions, or else to make it perfectly obvious that the Council is meaningless. The Council itself must also be brought to concede that it is meaningless, since anything decided upon only becomes meaningful if the White Parliament accepts it.

EXPOSURE AND EMBARRASSMENT

The traditional pattern of South African race policies is not going to be changed by decisions made in the Coloured Representative Council. Our objective therefore is to embark on a programme of exposure and embarrassment. We believe it is our duty to humanity to tell the apostles of Apartheid — which, as we see it, is discrimination on the basis of colour — that they are destroying our country. We have a common purpose to protest against any unjust measures perpetrated against any section of the South African Nation.

We should seize every opportunity, however small, to help South Africa towards peace, productivity and good human relations.

The Coloured people in South Africa must realise themselves. This they can only do when they are no longer passively prepared to live within the framework of institutions whose architecture is not of their own choosing. It is a fact that our people have up to now been content passively to accept the framework of those institutions; not from considered approval and conviction, but from blind acceptance of the Whites' policy. We must remember that no social or political system is able to endure unless it remains forever susceptible to change, and prepared at all times to modify the pattern of its institutions to conform with the demands of fresh ideas and altered circumstances. It is for this very reason that the coloured people must in their own interests be prepared to accept this adjustment from within.

It is only through constant change and amendment that present institutions have been able to survive and endure. The political, economic and educational changes confronting us today should be challenged at all times, so as to ensure that standards are achieved which are indeed acceptable to the people. The golden principle of equal opportunity concedes the right of self-realisation to all the people, instead of limiting this right to those who by inherited or acquired power could dominate others.

EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION

The value of our political, economic and cultural institutions must be measured by their service to the prevailing democratic aim of equal opportunity for all in realising the good life. The coloured people must evince a deep faith in universal education which must be free, as enlightened mass decisions can only emerge through widespread educational opportunity. It is on this educational foundation that universal suffrage and the active participation of the Coloured people in the Government of South Africa will ultimately be realised.

The Coloured Persons Representative Council is an institution that can never be accepted to provide the expression required by the people. Practical representation in the central parliament must be provided; and only then can the required reform be affected in an orderly way. This is practical democracy which, in a country like South Africa with its complex problems must give rise to a large assortment of political techniques. These techniques must all be calculated to make the Government increasingly responsive and sensitive to popular control, as they should all be conducive to active participation of every adult in public affairs, not only as a privilege but also as a duty.

Let it be said without bitterness that the coloured man is sick and tired of the cheap superficial talk of Whites, who, without taking the trouble to know the circumstances, readily condemn the coloured man as lacking in desire to achieve. People who make themselves guilty of such insinuations forget that the general welfare of South Africa can only be achieved by steady growth of ordered advance towards freedom, and the complete emancipation of the coloured man from the shackles and shadows of his past.

PUBLIC EXECUTION

by Jonathan Crewe

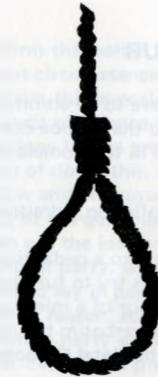
(Being the first paper in a new series of 'Readings in Modern South African History!')

INTRODUCTION

Some of our readers, especially, perhaps, among the older generation of historians, may be surprised at the method to be adopted in this series. Unlike most conventional histories, this series of papers will deal with what *will* happen rather than what has already happened. There is nothing really new in this approach, and we believe that the future is a subject of more avid interest than the past. It is our aim to rescue the future from the crystal-gazers, almanac-writers and other charlatans who rely on so-called prophecy rather than logic for their results. It is universally accepted that there is such a thing as 'the inexorable march of events', or, in other words 'the ineluctable process of history', and once one has accepted this one need no longer feel any inhibitions about writing the history of the future. Once the determinist process has been discerned in the past it may be seen leading on into the future - 'inexorably' or 'ineluctably'. To the future, then, we turn.

1. 'CRIME AND PUNISHMENT' - A SOUTH AFRICAN CASE HISTORY

After prolonged agitation by various social and cultural organisations, Parliament passed the **Enlargement of Constitutional Privileges Act** (No. 36 of 1978), making public execution mandatory for offences against public morality. Drug-pushers, certain categories of rapists, those who 'harboured, disseminated, uttered or otherwise circulated' material likely to cause offence, and any other persons deemed by the Minister "to have acted in a manner prejudicial to public order or morality" came within the purview of the Act. The lone Progressive M.P. (Mrs. H. Suzman, Houghton, the 'doyenne' of the House), objected to the sweeping terms of the original Bill, but the Minister assured the House that the police could be relied on, and that nobody with a clear conscience need feel threatened in any way. At the Committee stage the United Party had pressed for execution 'within four walls', but the Minister pointed out that one of the prime motives behind the Bill was to compensate citizens for the loss of international sporting fixtures, which had been wholly curtailed owing to the activities of the Leftists. 'Let the drug-takers pay for what their friends overseas have done' said the Minister, 'now it's their turn to suck the hind teat.' (Laughter, cheers.) It was also laid down that offenders would be held *incommunicado*, but that they would be entitled to the services of a clergy-man, nominated by the Minister, in the 'final event'.



PROBLEM ESSENTIALLY ADMINISTRATIVE

Public protest against the Act was negligible. The President of N.U.S.A.S. described the Act (just prior to his own arrest under it) as 'a violation of civilised standards' and 'an affront to human decency'. The Bishop of Messina (Latterly Robben Island) said 'this Act is intolerable to the Christian conscience'. However, the broad will of the electorate seemed to be in favour of the Act, and attention soon turned to the problems of administering it.

The question of venue presented no difficulties, since every major centre was equipped with a commodious stadium, a relic of the days in which international rugby was played in South Africa. It was decided to execute (or 'minimise', to use the term coined by the English sub-committee of the Vaktaalburo) in batches of 30 and every major centre would be entitled to one minimisation per annum. Smaller centres might, if they supplied their own 'subjects', hold a minimisation once every three or four years.

THE INTERESTING PART

There was a good deal of debate about the most appropriate minimisation-method to be used. Tradition pointed to the gallows, but it was objected that the 'interesting part' would then take place *below*, the trapdoor, and would not easily be seen by spectators high up in the stands. There were those who favoured lynching (arguing that it, too, was traditional) because Audience-participation games rather than spectator-sport were recommended by leading sociologists and educationalists. This method was reluctantly rejected by the authorities on the grounds that it was undignified and potentially dangerous: just as spectators had been kept off the field during rugby matches, so they should remain off the field during minimisation. Furthermore, there was a danger that during the mêlée, one or more of the subjects might escape, thereby actually depriving citizens of their constitutional privileges. The auto-da-fé was opposed by the three Afrikaans churches on account of its traditional connexion with Rome, and the guillotine was rejected because of its association with revolutionary terrorism. Finally tradition and modern technology were united in a characteristically South African solution: a gallows of transparent perspex was erected on a stinkwood base in the centre of every designated venue.

FULL FLAVOUR

No non-whites were to be admitted to minimisations, but the Minister promised that in due course separate facilities would be made available in the homelands.

To combat inflation, admission would be free.

Before going on to a pedantic summary of the results of minimisation, let us try to turn back the pages of history; to get the actual flavour of a minimisation from one who was present. We quote verbatim the report of Hugh Grinaker, sportswriter for the Natal Carbonado:

"On a beautiful, crisp June afternoon, with shadows lengthening over the hallowed turf of Newlands, the fourth and final minimisation of the 1979 season took place before a capacity crowd of 90,000. Not even standing room could be found; the touchline was packed with women busily engaged in knitting; and several hundred spectators were turned away at the gates. After the usual curtain-raisers, minimisation began punctually at 3 p.m.

WORKMANLIKE PERFORMANCES

The first subject showed a regrettable lack of class, but being the first, a certain nervousness was perhaps excusable. Furthermore, his youth induced spectators to be tolerant of the embarrassing display which preceded his exit, and which one would charitably overlook but for dedication of this newspaper to scrupulous truthfulness. However, the next half-dozen performances redeemed a poor start, and a heartening degree of workmanlike stoicism was displayed. The highlight of the afternoon was provided, paradoxically enough, by a woman, whose 'going off' (as the Bard might

have said) was accompanied by a truly feminine pathos and delicacy. In contrast the relative grossness of the male subjects showed up badly.

Taken as a whole this minimisation was characterised by doggedness rather than the brilliance we witnessed earlier in the season, but most of the subjects with the temperament for the big occasion went out earlier in the series. The crowd, however, was more than satisfied, and jubilant cries of 'Vrystaat' echoed round the stands long after the final subject had been despatched.'

MORE STRENUOUS

Finally, in tabular form, the results of minimisation over the years 1978 - 81.

	1978	1979	1980	1981
Drug pushers:	50	74	87	134
Sex criminals:	13	31	40	78
Others designated by the Minister:	57	93	188	697
TOTAL:	120	198	315	909

These are the only years for which reliable figures are available. (Subsequently information has been classified under the **Extension of Public Information Act**.) It will be noticed that minimisation appeared to have no **deterrent** effect, and this was brought to the notice of the Minister during the Parliamentary session of 1980. However, the Minister pointed out — unarguably — that if the law were repealed there would be an unimaginable further increase in the number of crimes committed, and that, if anything, more strenuous measures would be necessary.

THE SPRO-CAS REPORTS

A Preliminary Analysis

by Edgar H. Brookes

"Spro-Cas" — the Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society — seems likely to move more and more to the centre of the South African stage during 1971. At the time of writing this Analysis, three preliminary Reports* have been published — No.1 on the Anatomy of Apartheid, No.2 on South Africa's minorities, and No.3 on Directions of Change in South African Politics. It is understood that eight more are to come out during the year, so that any survey at this stage must be preliminary and tentative. Even so it can already be seen that the project has been worth while. The thinkers who have been brought together by the able Director of "Spro-Cas", Peter Randall, cover a wide range of opinion — a rainbow showing such diverse shades of academic colour as Alan Paton and Dennis Worrall.

The three studies here under consideration are scholarly in the best sense of that term, readable and thought-provoking. In a sense a study of South African race relations must be scholarly to be valuable — reasonable, adequately documented, and not violently partisan. But in another sense the scholarly

approach has proved inadequate. For four decades the South African Institute of Race Relations has used it with conspicuous fairness and ability and has touched the Universities, the private schools, some of the top echelons of mining, industry and the professions — but never the man in the street. One

cannot blame "Spro-Cas" for using the same approach, but its Reports are obviously addressed to thinkers and intellectual leaders. Others must undertake the task of translating its view into terms understood by the masses and much will depend therefore on the coverage given to its Reports by the daily press. Just every now and again the Spro-Cas Reports tend to fall into an error not shared by the Institute of Race Relations Publications. They tend sometimes to be too "wordy".

APOCALYPTIC VISION

What should be the aim of the Spro-Cas Reports? Called into being by two specifically Christian bodies, both of them with some international affiliations, it would seem that the writers and Commission members should at least present the Christian attitude on race relations as fully and in as forthright a manner as possible. But the very nature of their mandate compels them to recognise that they live in an Apartheid society, and must take this fact into account. Alan Paton in Report No.3 expresses himself thus : -

"A person like myself must reject the claim of separate development to be a just and practical ideal Belief in a common society, in one country South Africa, belonging to all, in whose government all persons participate is the apocalyptic vision which is an essential element in the Judaic and Christian traditions. Spro-Cas, whatever else it

does, should in my opinion affirm this belief. I do not believe, however, that in present circumstances it is possible to do more than proclaim this apocalyptic vision and to try to live one's life in such obedience to it as is possible. This was all that was done by the great Hebrew prophets. There are many ways of doing this, but political ways of doing it are few and circumscribed and they incur the intense hostility of the governing power. One cannot, for example, again use the instrument of the non-racial and multi-racial political party, which is now prohibited by law. I should like to say in passing that I cannot, from the point of view of reason, accept the political importance of an all-white party working for a non-racial qualified franchise. Even if the process were begun it would be halted when the possibility of a non-white majority became real, unless certain massive changes had meanwhile taken place."

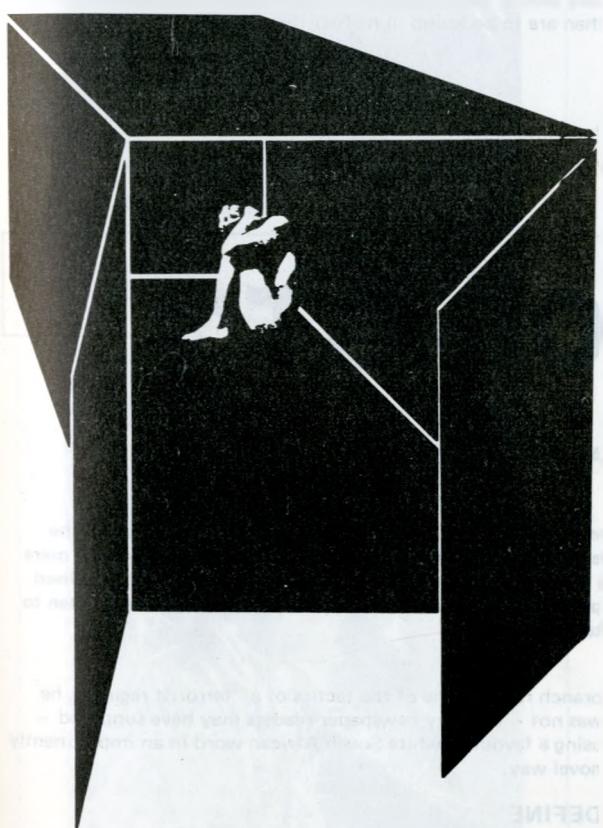
For a Liberal to criticise Alan Paton is almost as shocking as for a Communist publication to criticise Karl Marx. But if even Alan Paton can write as he writes, what can be expected of the less committed members of Spro-Cas? All of us know how deeply Alan Paton's whole life is devoted to the ideal of non-racialism, but we have not this reassurance about all the members of Spro-Cas, and certainly it may be said of some of them that they have been too concerned to conciliate moderate white opinion. It is true that white opinion in present-day South Africa is synonymous with electoral opinion, and if one is to rule out bloody revolution as the means of transforming our society surely electoral opinion must be converted.

The word used is "converted" and this does not mean "pandered to". Nor must a Christian report undervalue the bloodless revolution which could lead to a wholly transformed white opinion. John Wesley succeeded in this very task in eighteenth-century England: has twentieth-century South Africa no hope of following his example?

Will the Spro-Cas Reports, liberal, reasonable, humane, based on research, satisfy black South African opinion? This very obvious question must be put, lest by an attempt to satisfy white opinion, Spro-Cas moves too far away from African, Coloured and Indian intellectual leadership.

WHITE AND BLACK POWER

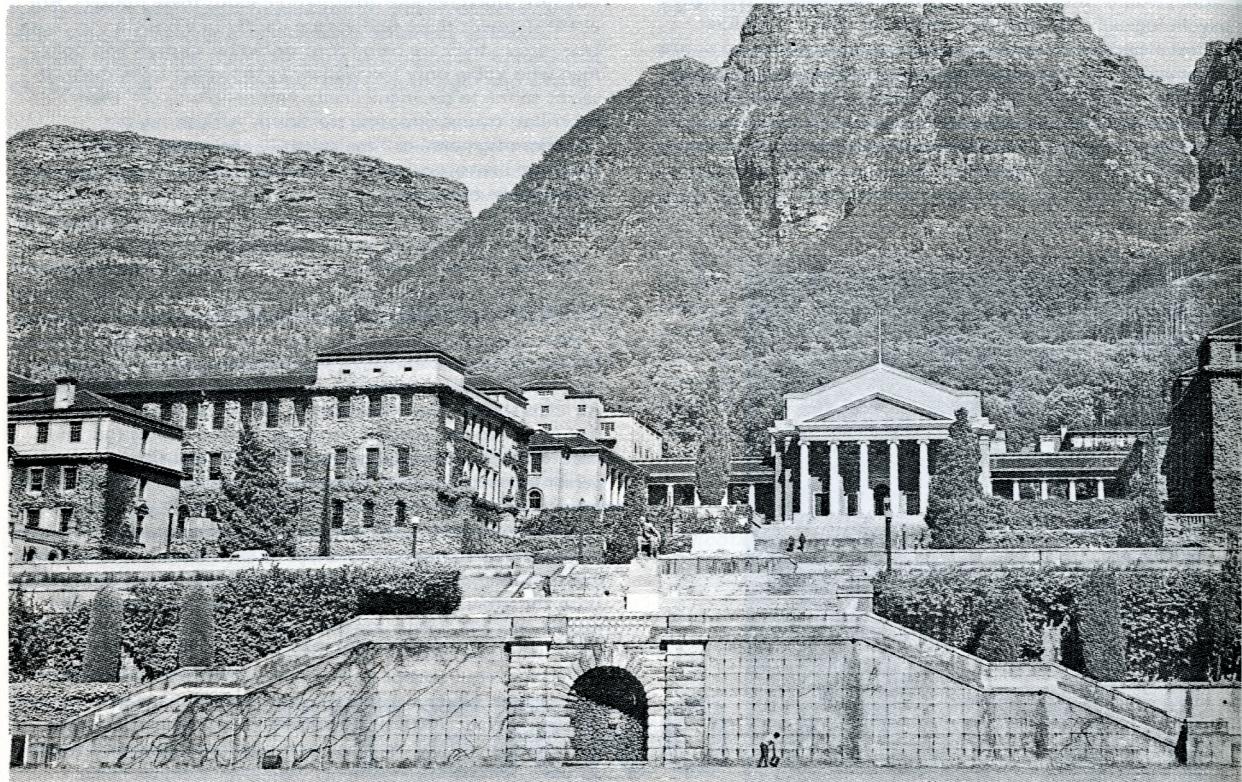
The task of the true Liberal in South Africa becomes more and more difficult. Liberalism must surely, if it is to be true to its fundamental principles, aim at integration within a non-racial State. The Spro-Cas writers are well aware of the difficulties inherent in this task, but have they taken sufficiently into account the increasing objection of black South African leaders to integration? The formation of "Saso" (The South African Students Organisation) on "black power" lines is a sign of the times. The Liberal, at any rate the Liberal of the older school, feels often as if he were standing on a rapidly shrinking isthmus battered by the waves of white conservatism on the one side and black power on the other. At times there seems little hope for the realisation of the older Liberal ideal. When at last we have persuaded the whites to accept integration, the blacks, one fears, will have moved far beyond it.



And the way in which the word "terrorist" is being bandied about is an interesting example of irrationality. I have tried to show that the present white South African usage is inaccurate and improper. But if one peers below the conscious layer of most "white" minds, one suddenly realises why the word has become so popular. The fighters are "terrorists" not because of what they do but because of what they represent — not in their actions but in their very existence. "Terrorist" is not an objective description : it indicates a purely subjective reaction. In their innermost selves most white South Africans know that the present political and social system is both morally and

physically vulnerable; and a head-on challenge, a challenge which dodges their rationalizing talk and probes the realm of their nightmare recognitions, fills them with terror.

The real problem for most white South Africans, then, is not the "terrorists" without but the terror within. How does one remove an inward, largely subconscious terror? One tries to bring it to the surface, and then to face it in honesty and humility. One attempts to find out if it has a cause. And if one finds the cause, one tries to assess it and then to dissolve it coolly and sensibly.



STUDENT VOICES IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL DIALOGUE

by H.W. van der Merwe
Director, Abe Bailey Institute of Interracial Studies, University of Cape Town

In an attempt to promote greater knowledge, contact and understanding between the various population groups, the Abe Bailey Institute of Interracial Studies held its first inter-university research workshop at the University of Cape Town from 18th – 23rd January, 1971. Our theme for study this year was student activism in South Africa.

To this end, we drew together student leaders from all the main student organizations in the country: the "conservative" ASB, the "liberal" NUSAS, the "moderate" NAFSAS, and the "militant" Black South African Students' Organization (SASO). In order to make our discussions as fruitful as possible, we also invited a number of academics from South African universi-

ties to provide a framework for discussion. The student leaders set out their views on race relations and student politics in South Africa and participants discussed and criticized the papers delivered. Attending in their private capacities and not as delegates from their organizations, participants exchanged frank views.

OPENNESS

The term "workshop" carries with it the idea of openness and willingness to reassess one's own interpretation and one's own standpoint. While we did not necessarily expect to upset any participant's basic convictions, we intended the workshop to be a learning experience through exposure to widely differing viewpoints and participation in academic debate. This kind of interracial contact is sadly lacking in our country where meetings across the colour line are frowned upon because such contact might lead to real friendships with far-reaching results. My defence is that I would rather accept the consequences of knowledge and friendship than live in isolation and ignorance — the unfortunate fate of the bulk of our population.

How can one respect the man who resents foreign critics because they have not visited the country, lived here, or learned Afrikaans, but who argues that for him a face-to-face encounter with a Coloured man is unnecessary since he can get to know him well enough by "contacting the Department of Coloured Affairs"?

Over the past two years we have regularly brought together academics from the three Western Cape universities in evening seminars at my home where papers were delivered, discussed and criticized, prior to revision by the authors and subsequent publication. And so it was that the idea of the workshop grew

What did we all learn from our experience?

BETTER UNDERSTANDING

One thing became increasingly clear: that while it is hoped that better understanding will contribute toward better relations, this is not always the case. This became very obvious when we heard the diametrically-opposed thoughts of the Afrikaans students and the Blacks. Here there was so little common ground and even less willingness to compromise that greater tolerance was hardly a consequence of the juxtaposition. At least one participant stated clearly that his views could not be changed by this type of discussion. The conflict of interests is much too great to be resolved by mere dialogue. Still, one cannot say that this confrontation was worthless. It was of inestimable value for its very rarity — in few other situations would one be able to put forward such truly opposite views around a conference table in South Africa. Furthermore, their very opposition clarified their respective positions, delineating them carefully by contrast.

But politics and power were not our only concern. We covered a wide range of interpersonal relations in the fields of education, religion, culture and social life. South Africa is, and will remain, a multi-national integrated society, regardless of the measure of residential and territorial segregation which may be achieved in the future. Our lives are bound up with members of all racial groups. Because of this, we desperately need dialogue. As one participant put it: "... there will be Afrikaners for us all to live with even after the Afrikaners' disappearance from the seat of political power as he occupies it now. The thesis of this paper is therefore important for human relations in South Africa even beyond the present position of crisis".

BLACK VOICES

The two Black voices, pleading for greater Black consciousness, received prominence in both the English and Afrikaans press. Their voices came "as something of a revelation". "Not since 1960", wrote Gerald Shaw in the *Cape Times*, "when African political expression was effectively silenced, has White South Africa been given such acute insights into the state of intelligent African opinion in this country". While the workshop was primarily academic, no-one was barred from attending and giving publicity to the talks of the various participants with their permission. Consequently, I was very happy that the wider public could also hear these ideas on the political aspirations of Blacks. The airing of these voices forced many people to betray their woeful ignorance; a sad reflection on our society where the voices of the masses are not heard.

Though these two Blacks by no means represented all the Blacks in South Africa, they spoke with a sincerity and urgency reflecting the feelings of millions of urbanized Africans who no longer belong to any homelands, and of Coloureds and Indians whose future is equally gloomy.

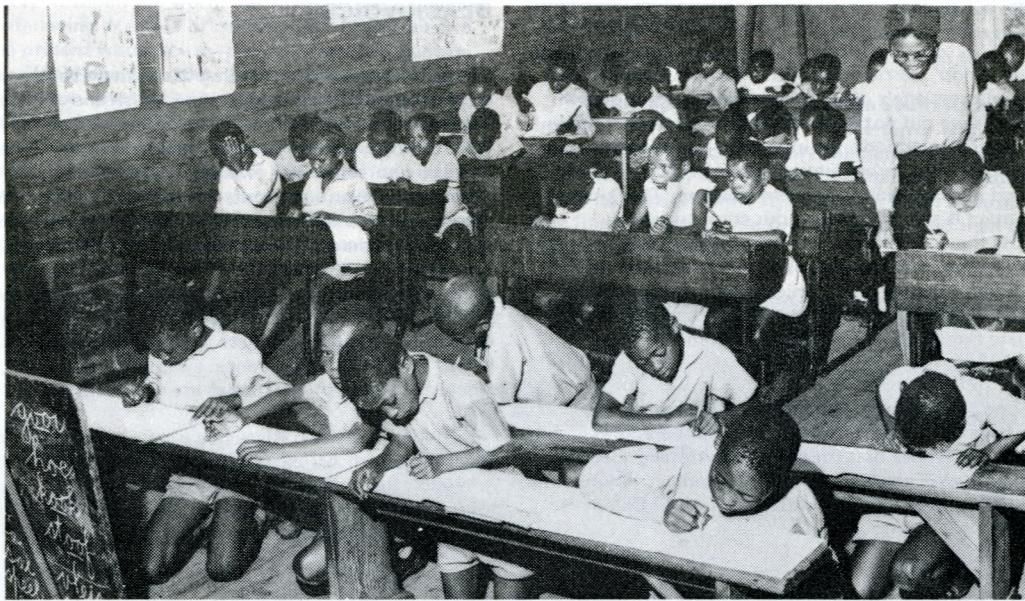
IDENTITY

This emphasis on Black consciousness harked back to my own experience in America, where the Blacks are so deeply concerned with the problems of their own identity and their relation to White American society. In the U.S.A., consciousness centres around the notion of a distinct ancestry and culture. In South Africa, the term Black has for many a political meaning, and embraces the divergent cultures of all the "oppressed peoples". For this reason, many Coloureds, whose culture is of White and often specifically Afrikaans derivation, are forced to find a political home in the Black community. White racism which causes such a thing to happen, has of necessity given rise to Black racism. What struck me was the frank admission by the Blacks that the racism they advocate, while necessitated by a racist political system, was morally indefensible. No other group admitted with such candour that any part of their policy was anything approaching "morally indefensible".

DEPLORED

This preoccupation of students with the political system is often deplored by the adult world, no less in South Africa than in other countries, probably largely because of the youthful arrogance which accompanies them into battle. Recently, Dr. J.P. Duminy wrote in the *Cape Times*, making a strong case for student protest, but pleading that the time, place and manner adopted be chosen discreetly. He argued that the militants, who are unable to distinguish between the trivial and the significant, between courage and bravado, should "be taken care of". While it is obviously a reasonable request that those distinctions be made, our problem comes when the line has to be drawn between the various qualities he outlines. Where is the line to be drawn between the trivial and the significant, and by whom?

It is my hope that the publication of a book on the workshop will help to clarify the ideals and the aspirations of both the Black and the White students represented at it, and will make many people more aware of the contribution students can make in the larger society as well as in academic life.



THE DISMAL STATE OF AFRICAN EDUCATION

— by FENELLA ROBBINS —

(Reprinted from *NUX*)

It has become common practice for the Government to pat itself on the back whenever referring to African Education and speak of the 'great strides' it has made in this field. A look at some of the facts and figures involved shows that this reputed progress is largely mythical.

The Government spends on an average in Natal:
R285.85 on each White child at school,
R 14.48 on each African child at school.

(These figures were quoted in Parliament on 20th February, 1970 in reply to a question asked by Mrs. Suzman. See Hansard 1970, col. 1529).

The disparity in the figures speaks for itself. The proportionately small amount spent on African Education is reflected in the dismal conditions in African schools: too few teachers; too few classrooms; very little equipment; and too many children clamouring for education having to be turned away.

URBAN CHILDREN NEGLECTED

Race Relations News carried out a snap survey of the national scene at the beginning of 1970. They found that while the Government is prepared to spend money on education in the 'homelands', it continues to shrug its shoulders over the needs of the urban African child. Soweto, and other townships on the Witwatersrand, were particularly badly affected.

"In some schools there were 100 or more in each class. One Higher Primary School had an overflow of more than 500. Occasionally classes were being held in the open air, in some

cases without benches or blackboards. In a township near Vereeniging 1800 children were admitted to a school with a capacity for 500.

Now and then principals refused to speak to the press. One said a Special Branch man had interviewed him after he had given a report to a newspaper about his school. The Department of Bantu Education also remonstrated with a Principal who had spoken to a reporter.

It was impossible to get an accurate figure of the number of children turned away from schools on the Witwatersrand, but it must have run into many thousands."

COME TO A HOMELAND?

The survey carried out in Durban showed that the demand for accommodation in schools far outstripped the supply. For example, one school built for 400 had an enrollment of 900. The Government has, however, declared the Urban townships of Umlazi and Kwa Mashu in Durban to be part of the homelands. Presumably any school crisis there will therefore be more swiftly met because of the new status the townships enjoy as part of the homelands. "Surely the answer then is for Soweto also to be declared part of the homelands?" asked a leading article in *The World*. "Only this way can we see its schooling problems being solved."

Exceptionally large classes make teaching very difficult for the African teacher. In 1968 the Department of Bantu Education reported an average of one teacher for every 59 pupils (some of these teachers were privately paid by parents). For White schools in the same year figures given by the Minister of National Education reflect a teacher: pupil ratio of 1:21.(1)

Poorly qualified teachers must bring about a lowering of standards. A decline in standards is shown by the fact that the number of teachers without a matric or any professional qualifications whatsoever jumped from 7% in 1961 to 19% in 1968. Standards at Teacher Training Colleges are too low since the minimum qualification is a third class Junior Certificate pass. Of 41,000 African teachers, less than 700 have both degrees and professional qualifications. (2).

TEACHER'S SALARIES

African teachers' salaries are much lower than White teachers' salaries. In 1969 an African teacher with a University degree and a professional certificate received on an average a starting salary of:

R100 a month for male teachers,
R 90 a month for female teachers.

White teachers with the equivalent qualifications started at:

R250 a month for male teachers,
R220 a month for female teachers.

It takes 9 years for a White male teacher to reach a maximum of R385 a month. It takes a male African teacher 18 years to reach a maximum of R210 a month.(3)

The Government seems to have a convenient theory (convenient for the State that is) that the African will appreciate education more if he has to bear some of the cost himself. Fees vary from 40c a year in lower primary grades to R4.00 a year in high school.

Other costs include a levy of 20c a month for school buildings in urban areas, contributions towards the salaries of privately paid teachers, and books and stationery costs. It has been conservatively estimated that parents have to pay:

R17 a year to maintain a child in lower primary school,
R28 a year to maintain a child in higher primary school.

R48 — R65 a year to maintain a child in high school.

(However it should be remembered that many students wishing to continue their studies after J.C. have to attend boarding schools which are situated in rural areas. Boarding/hostel fees add considerably to the amount quoted above.) (4)

Since it has been estimated for example that 70% of Soweto families live below the poverty line, it seems that poverty is a major cause of the high drop-out rates in African schools. (Of the 2.7 million African children attending school, 95% will leave school at or before Standard 6.) (5).

STATE BOOKS

It is thus obvious that the State should make a much bigger contribution towards books and stationery for these are a heavy drain on the pockets of African parents. (White school children are supplied with free books and stationery: the Government obviously does not think it necessary for them to 'appreciate' education by having to struggle for it: it is their due.)

These then are the facts and figures. They present a decidedly different picture from the one drawn in the Department of Information's glossy 45-page brochure "STEPPING INTO THE FUTURE — EDUCATION FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S DEVELOPING NATIONS" in which propaganda is laid on with a palette knife.

Dr. W.G. McConkey in his booklet "*The failure of Bantu Education*" has described this brochure as a "classic example of the art of using figures to conjure up erroneous impressions" In his article he shows how this has been done and gives us an insight into the actual situation.

On the inscription to a picture in the brochure of a smiling African child which reads 'Bantu child poised on the threshold of learning', he comments "He hasn't had Bantu Education yet! "

Dr. McConkey says in conclusion to his article "Bantu Education is failing to prepare the great mass of South Africa's people for effective citizenship in their rapidly developing country. This failure is not the fault of the teachers or the officials, many of whom are working minor wonders with the wretched resources at their disposal. It is the fault of the political leadership which deliberately holds Bantu Education at a low level by making funds available only at a low level."

"What future but one of bitter frustration and resentment can lie ahead of the over two hundred thousand African children now leaving school every year after one, or two, or three years in crowded Bantu Education classrooms, illiterate, for the most part, in three languages, semi-articulate in one? In the year 2000 the early leavers of 1969 will be about 40 years of age, in the middle of their working lives and at the peak of their domestic responsibilities.

What kind of a living for themselves and their families will they be able to make in the increasingly sophisticated, automated South African economy of the year 2000? Will they be grateful for the doles which our children may have to pay them because we have neglected to educate them for productive participation in an advanced modern economy?" (6).

REFERENCES

- (1) See Hansard 1970, columns 1197-1198.
- (2) Figures taken from an article in the Financial Mail, October 9, 1970.
- (3) Taken from *Survey of Race Relations* 1970, pp. 221 pp.215 and 233.
- (4) Taken from the Financial Mail.
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) Dr. W.G. McConkey: *The Failure of Bantu Education*.

INTER-RACIAL CONTACTS STILL PERMITTED BY LAW



Acknowledgement to The Black Sash.

ALTHOUGH RECENT LEGISLATION has considerably restricted contact between White and non-White, there is still scope for meeting between the races. Proclamation R26 of 1965, which re-enacted Proclamation R25 of 1960, substituting "place of entertainment" for "public cinema", and the recent Prohibition of Political Interference Act have made many of the public unsure of what is still lawful, so that they are hesitant to invite members of another race to their houses, or to arrange interracial meetings. It may therefore, be helpful to say what it is still lawful to do.

Generally speaking, while many contacts between individuals and groups of different races are still lawful, what is forbidden is mixed public entertainment, and eating or drinking together in a place of public entertainment. Provided these things are private they are lawful.

The following gatherings are "private" and therefore lawful:

1. A sit-down meal in a private home, or a social party or gathering such as a wedding, not open to the public, is lawful without a permit; so too, a sit-down meal in what is normally a public restaurant, provided that on that occasion it is closed to the public, that is, entirely taken over by the host for his multi-racial guests. But a racially mixed gathering cannot sit down to a meal in public i.e. in a restaurant not closed to the public or in a club, whether as a member or as a guest.
2. Private gatherings or functions, open only to members by invitation, are lawful. These include concerts and plays held in private places or in what are normally public places but have been taken over for the occasion by an individual, provided the guests are there by invitation.
3. The meeting of a society, even though open to the public, is lawful provided it is not entertainment.
4. Cake sales and morning markets are lawful, although they may be open to the public, provided there are no side-shows for entertainment.

5. Private tennis matches, on private courts or courts hired for the purpose, are lawful, and so, according to a recent decision, are soccer and other matches played on school fields, if they are not intended for public entertainment.

Public multi-racial meetings are lawful except that where a meeting is in support of a political party or candidate, it would be unlawful to address such a meeting if the greater majority of the meeting belongs to race groups to which the speaker does not belong.

It is lawful to attend as a member of the audience, a political (or any other) meeting at which the audience is composed of one or more race groups.

It is lawful to have discussions and consultations with individual members of other race groups.

It is lawful to distribute printed matter on a multi-racial basis.

It is necessary to obtain a permit for any multi-racial form of entertainment that is open to the public, such as a fête with side-shows, a sporting event, parties, a circus or fair, and Carols by Candlelight.

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