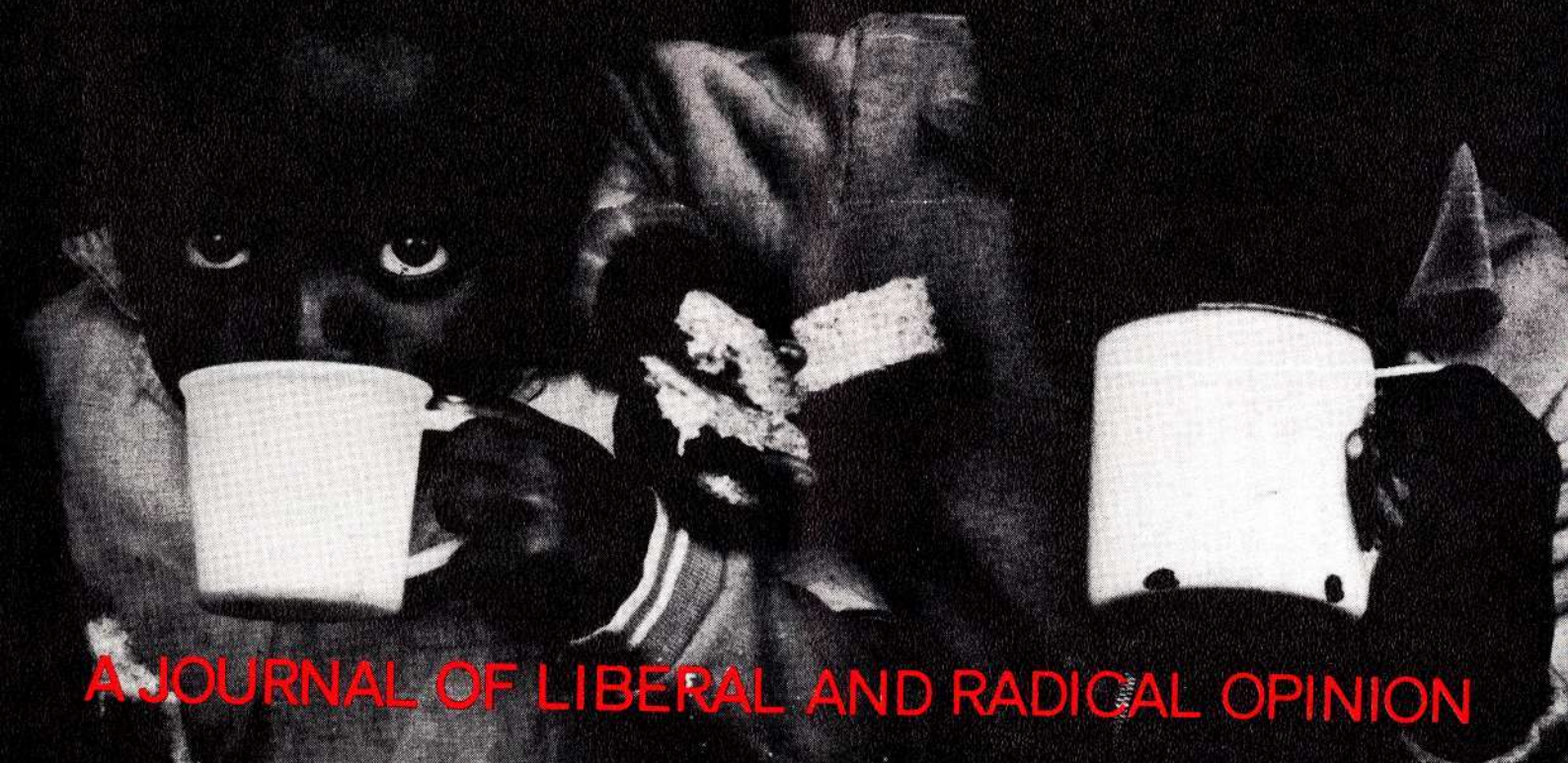




# reality

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# **EDITORIAL**

## **PETER BROWN**

The news that the Minister of Justice will not impose a third five-year restriction on Mr Peter Brown has been received by his friends in the outlawed Liberal Party, and by many other people, with emotions of joy, gratitude, and relief.

The restriction, often called a ban, is provided for in the Suppression of Communism Act. It meant that Mr Brown could not attend any gathering, social or otherwise, or enter any court (unless ordered to do so), or any factory, or any educational institution, nor could he leave the magisterial district of Pietermaritzburg. Nor could he be quoted on any subject whatsoever.

In other words the intention of the ban was to cut Mr Brown off from the life of society and the community,

and particularly from the political life of South Africa. Thus a man who spoke with such clarity and honesty and commonsense on the theme of the reconstruction of our society, both as a moral necessity and a political expediency, and who was the chosen National Chairman of a legally constituted political party, was silenced for ten years. And it is not yet known for certain whether certain restrictions remain automatically in force even after the ban itself has lapsed.

Why was Mr Brown banned in the first place? The official reasons were never revealed. To reveal reasons has been officially declared to be "not in the public interest," though Mr Vorster astonished us all by telling an American audience that there was nothing to prevent a banned person from asking for the reasons for his ban, and from appealing

against it if the reasons were not factually true. This astonished us because we had without exception been under the impression, officially given, that the Minister of Justice was under no legal obligation whatsoever to give any reasons at all, except of course the blanket reason that the banned person was, in the opinion of the Minister, "furthering the aims of Communism".

We are not prevented—legally—and as yet—from guessing the reasons for Mr Brown's ban. One reason was that the Minister, and that means in this instance the head of the Security Police in Pietermaritzburg, was of the opinion that Mr Brown was by his political activities endangering the safety of the State. He had a gift of communicating with and winning the confidence of people of all kinds and conditions, and particularly black people, who constituted the majority of the Liberal Party membership. Furthermore the Liberal Party stood for absolute political equality, irrespective of race, colour, sex, language, and creed. It stood for the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act, the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act, and especially of the Act which was used to silence opposition, namely the Suppression of Communism Act. It was totally opposed to racial classification, to job reservation, to restrictions on trade union organisation. It stood for a common society with a universal suffrage. Mr Brown was the National Chairman of this Party that opposed so fundamentally, and in many individual cases so courageously, the policies and dogmas of the ruling Nationalist Party, which undoubtedly believed, then if not now, that it had been given some kind of divine mission—and to that end some kind of divine omniscience—to rule the destinies of others.

What made the Liberal Party still more unacceptable was that it completely ignored the colour-bar in its own activities. It rejected totally the idea that to be a member of a race was the greatest human duty and privilege. It was devoted to a new nationalism, that of South Africa itself. Its ideal was to create a common society, and to be a member of that common society was far more fundamental and important than to be an Afrikaner or a Zulu or an Englishman.

To many of its enemies it deliberately flouted the noble traditions of South Africa, and it deliberately flaunted its disregard for them. At some of its meetings its speakers were met by the palpable hatred of some of the white members of the audience, notably in a city like Pretoria. Its stand on the Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act was met by an intensity of loathing and contempt.

The Party was subject to the untiring surveillance of the Security Police. Its leaders were met at every airport and railway station. Their movements were known to the last detail. Yet if their cars were smashed up and shots fired through their windows, the offender was never apprehended. It was an ugly time to live through.

Mr Brown's leadership in those years was quiet and resolute. One by one the most important and influential members of the Party were banned. He himself was banned in 1964. More than forty of the Party's leading members were silenced.

In the Party were to be found men and women of intelligence and courage. They fought elections without success. The Party never remotely approached in size or power the status of the two senior Parties. It could hardly be regarded as a danger to the State, which means—make no bones about it—a danger to the Nationalist Party and the Government. Yet it was so regarded. It was subjected to incessant attack. The task of the Security Police was not only surveillance; it was outright intimidation. Finally the Party was outlawed in 1968, when it was made a criminal offence to belong to a racially-mixed political organisation. The Party had the choice of continuing as a group of non-racial bodies not allowed to communicate with each other, or of disbanding. It decided to disband.

That was six years ago, but the name of Peter Brown lived on in the minds of the one-time members of the Party. The imposing of a second ban in 1969 came as a shock to them. The Party no longer existed. Interracial political work was a serious criminal offence. Why was the second ban thought necessary? No one was able to discover.

Was the second ban merely meant as a reminder of the power and might and unswerving purpose of the Nationalist Party? Or was Mr Brown banned again because he had been the National Chairman? Or was it the caprice of the Security Police? No one knew the answers.

The outlawing of the Liberal Party left a vacuum in the political life of South Africa. But it also left a vacuum in the moral life. It meant that other people who were convinced of the need for change, and of the need to reconstruct the social order, had to assume new obligations. And they did so. The Christian Institute, SPROCAS, the students of the universities, all committed themselves more vigorously to a non-racial ideal for South African society. The Institute of Race Relations, which had kept its distance from the Liberal Party, became more outspoken.

It would not be wise to write boastfully about the part played by the Liberal Party, nor to encourage arguments as to who did what and as to who did it first. The times are too urgent for that. St. Paul wrote of a society in which there was neither Jew nor Greek, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Scythian nor Barbarian, bond nor free. It was a vision that may be cherished only in the heart. But in the Liberal Party it was made flesh and blood. It was, we hope, a forerunner of what is to come. The part played by Mr Brown in this creation cannot be exaggerated.

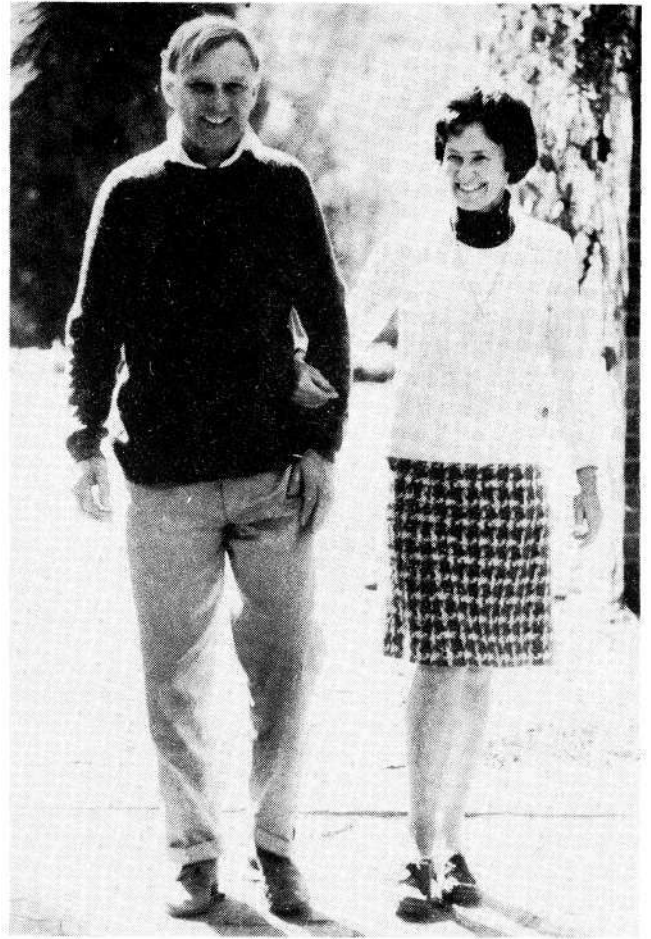
We all feel gratitude that the ban has not been reimposed. Why? To whom should we be grateful? To the Minister for not repeating an action which in 1964 was repugnant to all liberals and understandable only from the point of view of a government that dreaded any challenge to the status quo? To the Minister for not repeating the ban of 1969 which was not only repugnant but was also mean and incomprehensible? Why should one feel gratitude to a government that acted with such ferocity towards a group of people who believed in and worked for a common South African nationalism because they could not believe in or work for any lesser kind?

Yet one does feel gratitude nevertheless, and that is because Mr and Mrs Brown can return to the life of a society, which though far from perfect, is their own, and has been the recipient of their love and service. Strange that it should be a criminal offence to love and serve it in certain ways!

Mr Brown is now returning to this imperfect society. It has changed much since he left it, but the outside world has changed more. All of us know—except those extreme Afrikaner Nationalists and those United Party diehards who neither think nor read, and do not wish to do either—that unless greater efforts are made to create a just order of society in our country, the future—and not just for white people—will be one of grief and desolation.

To what extent Mr Brown will participate in the life of this society, and that means—he being what he is—the political life, we would not presume to say. We do not even know whether such participation would be gravely restricted by the powers that be. It would indeed be calamitous if this were so. At no time in our history have we stood in greater need of the kind of courage and the kind of resolution and the kind of commonsense too, which are exemplified in him. At no time in our history has our country needed them more. But the record of our government in the last quarter of a century does not exactly fill us with hope.

Yet whatever the outcome may be, REALITY extends a welcome to Mr and Mrs Brown, and expresses its joy that they will now be able to live a more human and natural kind of life. This is a good time to remember those for whom this is not yet so.□



Peter and Phoebe Brown after the ban expired.

*The Natal Witness*

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# THE BIRTH OF FOSA

by Pat Poovalingam

And Tim died. And the Church in Carlisle Street, called Bethesda Temple, was packed with mourners attending the funeral service. Black and White, off-white and brown, Indian, African, Coloured and European; Hindu and Jew, Christian and Muslim, believer and unbeliever.

The large FOSA Family was grieving over the loss of one of its most loved members and when members of FOSA gather together, they are persons, people, not members of this race or of that group; they are individuals working together for the common good, each having his own religious convictions, the members often differing widely in their political affiliations.

FOSA—the Friends of the Sick Association—is more than an anti-TB organisation; more than just a welfare agency although it has for thirty-three years been both these with a vigour and a steadfastness that earned it the support and the affection of the community. As I say, FOSA is these things but it is more. In a sense, banded together though they were in a desire to do welfare work, the Fosaites began, thirteen years before the Liberal Party was formed, to live a life together which completely ignored the barriers of race and which made of differing religious beliefs not barriers but bonds.

The Friends of the Sick Association was itself first constituted as a sub-committee of the Society of Servants in South Africa which in turn had been founded here by Harold Satchell on the lines of Srinivasa Sastri's famous Servants of India Society. Harold Satchell was the English-born, India-trained Anglican priest about whom more anon, but first something about the Servants. This was a semi-religious organisation much impressed by the Early Christians and the scholarship of the Hindu philosophers and by Reverend C. M. Doke and by Mahatma Gandhi. They regularly gave discourses to each other, and spent many hours in contemplation and in meditation over similarities in the ancient Jewish and the ancient Hindu religious writings. Sometimes they would giggle over something one or other would say over the exhibitionist self-flagellation of Hindu sadhus, and at the next session they would spend hours on anguish-sharing searchings with St. Augustine in his spiritual fire-walking. Their library, for their Society boasted a well-stocked one, had among its several hundreds of books, well-thumbed copies of the **Rig-Veda**, and the **Artharva Veda** as well as the **Upanisads** in addition to the usual works found in the libraries of such men.

Into this essentially atavistic self-satisfied though searching and not self-seeking group a medical doctor named

Arthur Copley dropped a hand-grenade. The year was 1941, when South Africa, led by that great democrat Jan Christiaan Smuts, had thrown in her lot to save democracy and to fight the purveyor of the Aryan herrenvolk racism. The fact that like South Africa's choicest fruit, Smuts was mainly for export was however well known to the people of South Africa, to those who actually practised herrenvolk racism here as well as those who suffered from it. For that was the time of the great anti-Indian agitation in Natal, led by that great adherent of British Fairplay and Justice, Colonel C. F. Stallard, leader of the Dominion Party who was ably helped along by that exquisitely fairminded journalist, Mervyn Ellis, Editor of "The Natal Mercury".

That was the time when Durban's Town Clerk, one John McIntyre would have liked to see "all the bloody coolies lined up on their damned Indian ocean and shot down like the rats they are". Anti-Indian agitation was so rife, that valiant attempts by Edgar Brookes and by Maurice Webb and by Dennis Shepstone to reason with the Whites proved of little use. And brave forays by Paul Sykes often into the heart of the hostile tribes of the English exposed him, who never learned to like curry, the label of "curry-lover", said with all the sexual overtones as when "nigger lover" is spat out. To all this, General Smuts, being the great democrat that he was, naturally responded with the Pegging Act, which was the forerunner of the Group Areas Act.

Into this miasma of racial prejudice Dr Arthur Copley threw his little bomb. So great was the death-rate from Tuberculosis among Durban Indians, he said, that in 15 years, the Indian Manace would have been taken care of, for unless something was done urgently to halt the spread of TB, there would be no Indians left.

The Servants were shocked into action, for as Harold Satchell, the Anglican priest was wont to say, quoting Krishna from the **Bhagavad Gita**, "in the right cause, there must be action". The action taken was to form a sub-committee of the Society of Servants, the task of which was to take steps to bring about Community Action to prevent the spread of TB. The sub-committee consisted of five people, and it was called Friends of the Sick. And notwithstanding the five of Cleisthene's **Ebors** or the penchant for **paanch** or **panchayat** among the Hindus, there was no magical or other significance in the number five; this was pure coincidence. But what was of the greatest interest is that these five were in a way representative (if not wholly then largely) of South Africa.

Thus it was that the Friends of the Sick Association, which started off as a sub-committee of the Society of Servants in S.A., was founded by five men, two of whom began its life as a multiracial organisation in March, 1941 and in spite of the terrible happenings in this country since, and in spite of the ruthlessness with which apartheid has been enforced, it retains to this day its multiracial or rather its non-racial composition. Not that "they" have not tried, for they have, in several ways. The most serious was some nine years ago when an emissary came to see me from Johannesburg. A directive had been received "from Pretoria" that the S.A. National TB Association—SANTA, which FOSA had had a part in forming—should be divided up into four national organisations, one for each racial group. It followed logically from that, said the emissary, who was no less than Mr C. H. Greathead, General-Secretary of S.A.N.T.A., that FOSA would have to be restricted to Indian members only.

My answer was clear. If "they" imposed uniraicalism upon FOSA and compelled it to ask longtime devoted members like John Schofield, and Freda Bulkeley and Hans Reyers and Basil and Margaret Cory and Albert Skakane and Gwen Jones and so many others to resign, why, I would resign too, and "they" could damn well take over the organisation and run it and take over the Fosa TB Settlement and run it too. Conceited it perhaps was, my threat then to resign, but not egotistical; it was seriously made for I knew that if on that score I had resigned, hundreds of others would have followed me . . . if I could have, at the crunch, mustered the courage to resign and leave the work to the tender mercies either of officialdom or its nominees.

But man lives by compromise, which is an art in which you insist upon fundamentals while giving way on aspects of it without surrendering the core, so that at some future date you could try and retrieve that which was traded to buy time. And Greathead and I compromised, he later being supported by his Committee and I by mine. We agreed that, for the time being (which in S.A. could be short, or it could be quite long), that "for the time being", S.A.N.T.A. would, as it must, continue as the sole national organisation and that FOSA would, as its largest and most important constituent which was not all-white, be represented only by its White members at all SANTA meetings and conferences and of course cocktail parties and dinners.\*

And so it has been for some years that every time Hans Reyers or John Schofield attends a SANTA conference, we have what we call a "briefing" session together. A Black Power supporter will without doubt condemn this compromise, but when one has spent a lifetime trying to build something, however small, is it sin to try and hold it together?

I have mentioned Albert Skakane. He was not one of the five founders of FOSA. The African founder was in fact Edgar Brookes's erstwhile student at Adams College, one

named Braim Nkonde who later became Mayor of Kitwe in Zambia. Albert is quite illiterate. He was first employed by FOSA as a lowly-paid labourer to mix cement and umgeni sand with which to make concrete blocks. In time Albert became no mean block-layer and plasterer and at a pinch bricklayer and roof-thatcher. This was at the time of the building of the Fosa TB Settlement at Newlands.

The area was "raw", the people there rough. Tshimiyane-brewing was rife, shebeen-queens numerous. The week-day-compulsorily-celibate compound-dweller came out to Newlands on Saturday afternoons and Sundays for liquor and for women.

Assaults at Newlands we had by the score every week. Of murders or homicides there were at least two or three each Sunday, as one could expect of a district in which liquor-selling and prostitution were the chief occupations at week-end and the customers were town dwellers out on the binge.

What has all this to do with Albert Skakane, the labourer who was my friend? You see, on Sundays, Albert was a lay-preacher in a Methodist Church or some Zulu off-shoot of the Methodist Church. And in something like five years, Albert had achieved what all the forces of law and order could not. He tamed Newlands. The "trippers" still came at week-ends but drinking was in moderation. The beer-sellers brewed and sold only tshwala, no tshimiyane (note that gaviné had not been discovered then); and if women of the profession existed and entertained their customers, this was done discreetly, certainly in such a manner that Mr Albert Skakane, the semi-skilled building worker at Fosa who had become the induna there but who on Sundays was the Umfundisi, dog-collar and all, did not get to know of it. He had become the leader, this unlettered man one was proud to call friend, and he "cleaned up" Newlands and made it safe for ordinary folk.

The Fosa TB Settlement was established in December 1942 by the pitching of a borrowed tent on donated land at Newlands by three persons, an Englishman, an Indian and a Zulu. Established to help Indian TB patients and TB contacts, its main staff for many years consisted of full-time voluntary workers. There was a period of eight years during which an Englishman and three Dutchwomen, and two Indians gave such service. And they lived together as part of a multiracial community; in mutual esteem and affection; sometimes quarrelling with each other but most times co-operating together. We lived together and no laws were broken, not even those ridiculous laws which were only to be thought of by fear-ridden, guilt-laden, hate-warped minds much later.

FOSA is pre-eminently a welfare organisation and it has had much success in that field. It has also been, incidentally, a splendid example of continuing multi-racial co-operation for promoting the common weal.□

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\*After ten years, news has just come through that SANTA conferences will be multiracial again.

# EDUCATION IN A MULTI-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA

Opening address to the 41st Annual Conference of the Natal Coloured Teachers' Society held in Durban June 1974.

by Fatima Meer

Almost up to the middle of the present century, 'education' was seen as a purely European exercise—the imparting of European culture, civilization, religion, literature, language, art and technology. It was the great contribution of the European world, to the Non-European—to the conquered races of Asia, Africa, America and the Australias. In South Africa, the word education continues to be used in the European/Christian context and official statistics compile the educational standards of the races entirely on the basis of school attainment in European institutions. Likewise, the compilation of literacy figures is generally based on literacy in English or Afrikaans.

The political liberation of Africa and Asia and the explosion of Black pride in the United States of America have extended the idea of education to include the imparting of other than European cultures and techniques, through formal institutions. This is the second revolution of the previously colonized and enslaved peoples, for it heralds the liberation of their cultures suppressed and nearly destroyed by European domination. The third revolution, liberation from economic domination is yet to come.

In its most general context, this second liberation movement challenges the tyranny of a dominant culture, through formal educational institutions, over subordinate cultures. Consequently, minority groups throughout the world are demanding that the formal educational structure, take into account their differential needs.

Whereas up to the mid-nineteen sixties education in the United States of America involved the processing of all immigrants into 'Americans', today educators are beginning to see 'education' in the context of imparting to Americans the cultures indigenous to their component groups. Thus the system whereby American Indian children are separated from their parents, into boarding schools, to Americanise them and in the process alienate them from their cultures and their parents is vehemently challenged. Likewise, Black Americans have insisted upon, and succeeded in rewriting 'American' history to include the Black point of view, and find eminent positions for Black heroes—

dismissed in the past as inconsequential agitators and quirks.

Asian and African concepts of education, as propounded among others, by Gandhi and Nyerere, are gaining international importance.

The main argument against an educational system that takes into account minority cultures is that it undermines national integration. India has found that her national integration is threatened above all by the repression of minority cultures, that national unity is dependant on the equal recognition and regard for the language and culture of each of her constituent groups, and the United States of America is beginning to learn the same lesson in her relationships with American Indians, Afro-Americans and Chicanos. The great integrator in a multi-racial, or multi-cultural society, is a common educational framework which incorporates all the cultural idioms prevailing in the society and stimulates proportionately equal interest in these. Tensions mount and explode when a particular culture insists on primacy over all others.

An educational framework of this type would increase the differences in the subjects and groups of subjects chosen by students: it would not affect the quality, or the prestige of these subjects or in any way undermine the freedom of the students to study where they choose and what they choose.

The positive aspirations of minority groups within a majority culture, must not be confused with the ethnocentric strivings of aspirant dominators. The Afrikaner agitation for Christian national education, prior to the coming into power of the Nationalists, is of a distinctly different order. It was hardly an agitation for cultural recognition. Christian national education, and the schools that the Afrikaner community set up in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, were political instruments for domination. It is questionable too that the Afrikaners saw themselves as a minority, and more than likely that they saw themselves as the majority White people, and therefore, **the** people—(since Blacks did not count), whose rightful role had been usurped.

Their concept of Christian nationalism ignores the ethnic aspirations of other South African groups, and defines a complementary 'nationalism' for Blacks designed to equip them for subordinate roles. This is explicit in the credal statement on Christian National Education put out by the I.C.N.O. in 1948, that the educational system should be rooted in the values of the Bible, and that it should inculcate the appropriate type of 'nationalism' in each group—Afrikaner nationalism, English nationalism (though these are being allowed, for political reasons, to converge into White nationalism), Coloured nationalism and Bantu nationalism. In 1948 the Afrikaner apparently had no concept of the Indian. Since then the credo has included Indian nationalism.

With regard to the Coloured, the credo states that he should be Christianized so that he will be protected from foreign ideologies and thereby not diverted from 'real happiness' to an illusionary one.<sup>1</sup>

Whereas the purpose of this credo is to imbue the Afrikaner 'with the love of one's own, especially one's own language, history, and culture', to equip him for domination, its purpose for the non-Afrikaner, specifically the Black, is to undermine his personality, his history, his language, his culture, so that he will be equipped for the role of the dominated.

The difference between differential education for domination, and an educational system that accommodates the differential value and culture needs of its component racial and ethnic groups may be summarised as follows:

**Education for Domination in a Multi-Racial Society**

**Education Incorporating the Different Cultural Needs of Minorities in a Multi-Racial Society**

1. The system is inflicted from the top by the dominant group on the subordinate.

The demand for such an educational system comes from those who have had little or no control over the planning of their education.

2. Its primary, if not only function is to maintain the power of the dominator, and keep the subordinate groups perpetually servile through the myth of racial superiority.

Its primary function is to revitalise or resurrect the values and culture—religion, art, technology of the dominated, which were repressed or destroyed.

3. It is designed to infuse shame, helplessness and hopelessness in the dominated and prevent their unity.

It stimulates self-awareness and awareness of one's historical roots and replaces shame, helplessness and hopelessness with pride in one's self, one's community and culture. It consequently inspires unity.

4. It makes the dominated dependant and servile, so that he accepts the authority and leadership of his master and sees him as a redeemer, who lifts him out of his animal state of non-culture or non-civilization and who maintains him there by his grace.

It revolutionises the attitude and consequently the relationship of the dominated to the dominator so that he no longer sees him as all powerful and all wonderful, but as just another kind of human with another kind of culture, which albeit different, is not superior. He no longer sees his dominator's culture as all beautiful and his own as worthless.

5. It constricts the educational system, and blocks out a whole range of ideas and skills which are the cultural tradition of the dominated.

It widens and enriches the educational system through the addition of new concept and skills.

6. It suppresses the general economic development of the country, since in order to privilege the dominators, the skills and talents of the dominated are deliberately repressed.

It contributes to the general growth and vitality of a country, since it stimulates and trains the innate talents of all sections of the nation to contribute to the common weal.

7. It breeds hostility and suspicion among the subordinated minorities who, contemptuous of themselves, are contemptuous of each other. It provokes inter-group violence, and racial riots.

It stimulates inter-cultural and inter-group respect and promotes inter-group understanding and social peace.

8. It undermines national integration, thwarts the emergence of a common nation, and makes the country vulnerable to attacks from outside.

It integrates the multi-cultural units into a single nation and invokes loyalty in the face of foreign danger.

9. The Government is forced to maintain a large army and police force, both secret and obvious, to maintain its power, for no matter how apparently effective the inculcation of subordinate roles, the dominated are in a state of tension and await the first opportunity to break through their bonds. The main purpose of the army is to anticipate and suppress such outbreaks.

Social control is through consensus. Public censure complements the police in keeping law and order. The army exists for defence against foreign attacks.

<sup>1</sup> Article 14 of the I.C.N.O. issued in 1948. The I.C.N.O. was established in 1939 at a conference in Bloemfontein convened by the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organization, an offshoot of the Broederbond.



Racial schools have always been the rule in South Africa. There were some multi-racial schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but these were exceptions. The educational structure began with three distinct types of schools—slave schools, Hottentot schools and Government schools. The first two were taken over by missions and were overwhelmingly Black, the Government schools were predominantly White, those designed to anglicise Afrikaners, being closed to Blacks. The mission schools did not teach African languages and culture. There is no record of a trophy or a medal ever being awarded for a poem or a literary thought in Hottentot or slave language. The function of the mission schools was to christianise, civilise and industrialise the three concepts, having approximately the same meaning and function for the White administrators. The mission schools did not aim to make the Blacks Christlike—they were already too Christlike, with their implicit faith in the bounty of the good Lord, and their consequent relaxed lives, their repugnance for over-work in order to save or hoard, and their love of gambling on the beaches and whiling away their time in story telling and moralising. Their main aim was to ‘domesticate’ the Black and harness him to the white plough. Thus Dr Dale, Superintendent General of Education in 1891 described Native education as a ‘border pacification system’ and said:

‘... if for that reason only £12,000 a year is given to the schools in the Transkei, Tembuland and Griqualand, the amount is well spent, but that is not the only reason—to lift the Aborigines gradually, as circumstances permit, to the platform of civilized and industrial life is the great object of the educational vote’.<sup>1</sup>

Since they were to be lifted to that platform to serve and not partner the White man, education rarely went beyond Standard I. In 1860 there were 14,265 pupils enrolled in 123 mission schools and just a little over 4,000 in 102 Government schools. Less than 6,000 of the total enrolment of 38,389 pupils in the Cape mission schools in 1883 were White.<sup>2</sup>

School curricula were formally separated towards the beginning of the present century in the Cape, Transvaal and the Orange Free State and towards the end of the last century in Natal.<sup>3</sup> The African population suffered the most drastic separation; the Coloured the least. The Nationalist Government completed the process of separation by placing the education of each group under distinct and different administrative systems.

The Nationalists knew all too well that this separation was not prompted by any inherent differences in the responses

of the different races to a standard educational system. Thus the Government Commission set up under Dr Eiselen<sup>4</sup> to investigate the need for Bantu education, prior to the passing of the Act, stated categorically that:

‘The Bantu child comes to school with a basic physical and psychological endowment which differs so far as your commissioners have been able to determine from the evidence, so slightly, if at all, from that of the European child that no special provision has to be made in educational theory or basic aims.’

Bantu education had to be created in order to fit the African child into his appointed position in the racial hierarchy, and this was made explicit by Dr Verwoerd, who said in 1953:

‘Racial relations cannot improve if the wrong type of education is given to Natives. They cannot improve if the result of Native education is the creation of a frustrated people who, as a result of the education they received, have expectations in life which circumstances in South Africa do not allow to be fulfilled immediately, when it creates people who are trained for professions not open to them, when there are people who have received a form of cultural training which strengthens their desire for white-collar occupations to such an extent that there are more such people than openings available. Therefore, good race relations are spoilt when the correct education is not given. Above all, good racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself, if such people believe in a policy of equality, if, let me say, for example, a communist gives this training to the Natives. Such a person will, by the very nature of the education he gives, both as regards the content of that education and as regards its spirit, create expectations in the minds of the Bantu which clash with the possibilities of this country. It is therefore necessary that Native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the state’<sup>5</sup>

and

‘I just want to remind Honourable members that if the Native in South Africa today in any kind of school in existence is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake’<sup>6</sup>

and

‘There is no place for him (the Bantu) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... for that reason it is of no avail

<sup>1</sup> P.A.W. Cook in Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa, edited by Ellen Hellmann and L. Abrahams, Oxford University Press, p.351.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> A special curriculum for Africans was introduced in the Cape in 1922, and for Coloureds and Indians in 1923. A separate scheme for teaching Coloureds and ‘Natives’ reading and writing of English, arithmetic and other subjects in 1903. The Government also issued a special code of instruction for elementary Native schools, and appointed a special inspector and a superintendent of Native education. An organizing inspector of Native education was set up in the O.F.S. in 1924. Coloureds were incorporated into Native education in the O.F.S., and Indians into Coloured education in the Cape, because of the smallness of their numbers respectively in these Provinces (pp.353–54).

<sup>4</sup> Government Commission appointed in 1949 under Dr W. M. Eiselen to report on education for Africans as an ‘independent race’.

<sup>5</sup> Hansard, 17 September 1953, Col. 3576.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Col. 3586.

for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community. . . . Until now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own country and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze'.<sup>1</sup>

In keeping with the motive of Christian National Education of Afrikaner cum White domination, Africans, Indians and Coloureds have been removed from the main educational stream of the country. Through a vastly disproportionate expenditure on the education of the four 'races', and the deliberate repression of Black talents, the Government succeeds in keeping Whites relatively highly educated, and Blacks under-educated. Thus in 1970 almost 23% of Whites had matric and post matric education, as against 3,3% of Indians, and 0,9% of Coloureds. No figures were reported for Africans, but it may be assessed that the proportion so qualified among them, would be lower than for Coloureds. 90 890 Whites had degrees: 2 400 Indians, 1 130 Coloureds.<sup>2</sup>

Bantu education is of course the most blatant design for under-education. The Government does not envisage the overwhelming majority of Africans proceeding beyond the lower primary school, that is having more than four years of schooling. The Eiselen report consequently advised that the primary course be rounded-off and made complete in itself.<sup>3</sup> Since the bulk of these schools work double shift, schooling is reduced to an average of two and a half hours a day. In upper primary classes two hours a week are spent on such tasks as planting reeds and grasses,<sup>4</sup> and making useless articles of waste wire, old boxes and beads, etc. This is designed no doubt, to arrest competitiveness and aggressiveness, and thereby prepare temperaments capable of complementing the White man's command and mastery over everything.

Professor Edgar Brookes has said of Bantu education:

'Bantu education is a unique system—the only education system in the world designed to restrict the productivity of its pupils in the national economy to lowly and subservient tasks, to render them non-competitive in the economy, to fix them mentally in a tribal world, and to teach them in Dr Verwoerd's phrase that "equality is not for them".<sup>5</sup>

South African Blacks, and liberal minded Whites with some commitment to integration should bear in mind the fundamental intentions of Bantu education, ere they allow themselves to be misled by the incidental and quite

inconsequential promotion of 'tribal' and 'group areas' cultures that the system appears to foster. The invigoration of tribalism pursued by the Nationalists, must not be confused with European respect for tribal cultures. They have used the anti-nationalism potential of tribalism to divide and weaken the African people. They have also abstracted some tribal ideas—like the subordinate status of women and communal land tenure and integrated these into their modern administrative codes for Africans, not out of respect for these, but because of their effectiveness in racial domination.

The sinister motives of the country's educational system are exemplified in the roles carried out by Blacks in the country's economy.

The huge profits accruing to local and international White investors in the two key sections of the economy, mining and agriculture, are mainly dependent on an abundant supply of docile cheap labour. Such labour must of necessity be uneducated, or under-educated. The undulating terrain of the Natal sugar lands is not conducive to mechanization, and there is understandable fear that if channels of sophistication are generally opened to the Africans, this labour will disappear, profits will fall, the White standard of living decline. Already approximately 35% of agricultural labour and three-quarters of African mine labour is imported from outside the country. Political changes in these territories may well affect this precious import. There is a real threat that Mocambique,<sup>6</sup> the greatest single contributor to South African mine labour, may withdraw its manpower from the Republic. This could well result in further repressions in the Black educational systems, in order to step up the necessary supply of 'brawn'.

The education of Coloureds and Indians is geared to supply the middle range, largely semi-skilled needs of the economy. In their paranoic fear of their nemesis, African power, Indian and Coloured labour is used in preference to African, whenever possible, thereby exposing both these groups to potential African hostility. Economic planners, despite the fact that Africans have the highest natural growth rate, calculate lowered future employment rates for them than they do for other groups. In Metropolitan Durban, for instance, researchers projected an employment growth of 6.6% for Coloureds, 4.3% for Indians and 3.1% for Africans during 1960–1980.<sup>7</sup> The use of African labour in cities is freely spoken of as a stop gap measure, until there is a sufficient supply of other kinds of labour. Thus the Chairman of the Cape Chamber of Industries requested permission to use 3 000–4 000 Africans as a 'bridging action', until Coloured workers were available to fill vacant jobs.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Statement to Senate, June 1954.

<sup>2</sup> M. Horrell, 1972, op. cit., p.359.

<sup>3</sup> The Report of the Commission on Native Education 1945–51, presided over by Dr W. M. Eiselen, recommendation

<sup>4</sup> Edgar H. Brookes, *Apartheid—A Documentary Study of Modern South Africa*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, p.60.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p.57.

<sup>6</sup> Mocambique supplies 28,2% of South Africa's mine labour. South Africa supplies 24,2%. Other contributions come from Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana and Malawi. Power, Privilege and Poverty, Report of the Spro-cas Economic Commission. Spro-cas Publication, No. 7, Johannesburg, 1972, p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> L. Schlemmer, *The Spatial Distribution of the Present and Future Population of Metropolitan Durban*, Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, Durban, 1968, p.397.

<sup>8</sup> *Star*, May 19, 1971.

The Government, and leading Nationalists have stated categorically that they will not tolerate industrial expansion at the expense of apartheid, more specifically at the expense of dividing and isolating the African people into tribal homelands, doomed to perpetual poverty. The Department of Bantu Administration has instructions to curb the issue of work permits to Africans seeking employment in White areas, and labour intensive industries, employing large numbers of African workers have been induced to move to the borders of the homelands so that industrialization will proceed without the risks of urbanization and consequent labour sophistication, demands for higher wages and labour unrest.

The pursuit of a rational economic policy, one which takes into account the welfare of the general public and not simply the maintenance of the present high standard of living of Whites, must according to South African economists, plan a higher economic growth rate. But this in turn is dependant on a sufficient supply of managerial and technical skills to complement the unskilled and semi-skilled labour it would absorb. The Government continues to block Blacks from attaining these skills, for fear that this will undermine White domination, shrink the racial gap and reduce White affluence. Thus one Government Commission decides that there is no need for a faculty of engineering for Africans, (1957) and another, in 1966 reports 1 000 vacancies for engineers in South African firms.<sup>1</sup>

Blacks continue to be concentrated in primary school classes and only fractional percents in each of the three groups write and pass matric. Facilities for technical and commercial training continue to be feeble. The number of African children in such institutions barely exceeds 3 000 the number of Whites is 44 000. When economists warn that the Government must train Blacks to man managerial and skilled posts or face recession, the inevitable reply is, not at the expense of apartheid. 'We expect people to respect the social pattern of the country. We do not want this shoulder to shoulder business and mixed working conditions'<sup>2</sup> and 'No White worker will be replaced by a Non-White and no White will be allowed to work under a Non-White'.<sup>3</sup> 'In the political sphere, the Government will have to continue taking steps which will keep the position of White workers in South Africa entrenched in law—and in saying this I believe I am speaking on behalf of every White worker in South Africa'.<sup>4</sup>

Job reservation takes care of those Blacks who escape the educational network and qualify for 'White' jobs. They are pushed back into the 'Black' fold, and will be drawn out of it, only in a crisis until the right colour of labour is found to replace them. Such concessions, though mount-

ing to one or more thousands in a single year, do not challenge apartheid, but on the contrary, bolster it.

Other Blacks seeking achievement beyond their circumscribed field, are mercilessly cut back by passport restrictions. Many Blacks, Indians, Africans and Coloureds have been prevented from pursuing academic careers overseas, because of non-existent facilities in the country or because of the repressive conditions have been refused passports. Others have been forced to give up their birth rights. Mr Boleu, a brilliant student from the University College of the North, was given a scholarship to study atomic physics in Sweden, but the Government, petty and vindictive, refused him a passport so that he was forced to take an exit permit.<sup>5</sup>

So the Nationalist Government looks elsewhere for labour—to White immigration, to the greater use of White women, and when these are not forthcoming in the required ratio, it viciously curbs the economic growth of the country and plans for mass unemployment of Africans rather than sharpen Black skills and raise the living standard of all South African citizens. Accordingly it has planned an economic growth of 5,5% for 1970–75, although economists have warned that this can only absorb 2,75% of the expected 3,5% increase in the African working population.<sup>6</sup> A vast unemployed African population is in the interest of apartheid. It guarantees a constant supply of labour in the reserves, cum homelands, to counteract labour unrest in White industry in the White towns.<sup>7</sup>

The racial educational system effectively complements the policy of job reservation, the suppression of African Trade Unions and the consolidation of the tribally based reserves, the so-called homelands. It is the sort of system which makes possible the sort of political institutions the Government designs for Blacks, institutions in which the aspirants are doomed to be the agents and administrators of apartheid, acting against themselves, against their people, against their historical roots, and against their God given destinies. The sort of platforms that these institutions provide and the dialogue that they may make possible, no matter how impressive, or how exhilarating, cannot compensate one iota for the deprivations, national, economic and spiritual that they inflict.

The operative system of multi-racial education is pernicious, evil, and inhuman. It must be destroyed and replaced by a new system which will take into account in proportionately equal measures the economic, cultural and spiritual needs of South Africa's peoples, and constitute them into a single nation.□

<sup>1</sup> The Rand Daily Mail, 21, 22 June, 1966.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 11 September, 1971.

<sup>3</sup> Marais Viljoen as Minister of Labour, Star, 9 September, 1971.

<sup>4</sup> Nationalist M.P., Star, 19, 22 March, 1971.

<sup>5</sup> Star, 26 March, 1966.

<sup>6</sup> Muriel Horrell, op. cit., p.198, 1971.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p.280.

# POETIC FRAGMENTS

by VORTEX

## Conscience Money

Those who give money to ease their consciences  
do at least **have** consciences  
of a sort—  
which is better than nothing,  
infinitesimally better,  
perhaps.

## White

Hard hearts,  
thick minds,  
lodged in self,  
stuck firm  
in the rightness of today and yesterday,  
what wind,  
what waters  
can make you sway?  
What fire  
can melt your lead away?

## Those who are aware

Determination renewed again and again,  
Undramatic sacrifice, psychic strain,  
The persistence that doesn't make poetry,  
An attempt to give some meaning to fidelity:  
This is their song.

## A Thought

In this land  
all is tainted—  
the light of sun on trees,  
the shaping of man's art,  
the talk of friends,  
the intercourse of lovers—  
all is tainted  
by the regime of the beast.

## Story

He was born  
in an advertisement for Johnson's Baby Powder,  
grew up  
moving happily from hoarding to hoarding,  
found his every desire answered  
in some colourful depiction and promise,  
for his lovemaking  
popped into Lux or Macleans or Devonshire Stockings;  
but when the time came for him to die  
could find no appropriate place:  
no advert pictured a grave.  
He wandered around lost and forlorn,  
searched low and high  
and at last stumbled, fell and was drowned  
in a big, big Coke.

## Meditation of a White Liberal

Living in a land of greed and exploitation,  
I am half-accustomed to the merry grin,  
the jeer of moral knowingness  
upon the face of one of my several selves.  
Yet still my hope  
that some of the parts I play  
may have some minor meaning in the final scene,  
and still my fear  
that leaving this crowded tragic stage  
may mean to lose the single role  
assigned me by the irony of God,  
have not been utterly dispelled  
by the clear light of common sense,  
which tells me: Leave these dreams,  
these dark and dangerous unrealities,  
this no-man's-world  
of false power and false hope.

## Another Thought

Like a leaf  
like a flower  
like a tree  
like a mountain,  
one makes one's contribution  
to the sum of life—  
life that is beyond one's reach,  
beyond one's power to hold or force—  
then falls back  
silently  
without remorse.

## Prayer

Give core to our caring;  
give drive to our drifting;  
give grip to our groping.□

# BUILDING A HERITAGE FOR THE FUTURE

## OPENING ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE 51st CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS.

by Manas Buthelezi

Your organisation has consistently expressed concern not only for the solution of the problems that distinguish our country in the world community of nations, but also for the building of new structures that will shape the South Africa of tomorrow. You are one of those who believe that South Africa needs radical change in its presuppositions and goals if we are to move successfully from the violence of the present structures to a peaceful future. If one takes into account the realities of power politics, yours is a minority point of view, but if one thinks of the total population of South Africa, it is correct to say that your point of view is shared by approximately 18 million other South Africans.

When I decided to speak on **Building a Heritage for the Future** I had a two-fold conception of your present role as students. As members of white segregated institutions you symbolize the present heritage of South Africa. In terms of the radical ideas you have tried to articulate, you represent a growing number of those among whites who are beginning to believe that South Africa should offer future generations something better than the structures of racism and injustice.

In other words, you symbolize both the ugly present and the possible future heritage.

### I. UGLY ASPECTS OF THE PRESENT HERITAGE

We are familiar with the messianic claims South Africans very often make, namely, that South Africa is a christian country in both background and direction and that it has a duty of protecting the values of Christian Western Civilization in Africa. Many unchristian things have been done under the cover of this noble consciousness of duty.

The "South African way of life" is not just a means of preserving the "christian heritage" but has also become a

heritage worth preserving in its own right. The two have become so confused that to preserve the "South African way of life" seems to mean the same thing as preserving the christian heritage.

Hence the enemies of the South African way of life are sometimes described in one breath as communists, atheists, leftists and liberal theologians of the World Council of Churches. This is very much evident in Pike's book, **Religion: Red and Rotten**, in which the WCC and its agencies get a savage rapping as see-through communist fronts.

You can understand the complex problems that arise as soon as matters of social and political order are mixed together in one big pot with questions of religious belief. You then get people with fixed dogmatic views on politics, economics and social order. For them to abandon these ideas is like the sin of apostasy.

I will look closely at two of the pillars of the South African way of life from the vantage point of a black man.

#### 1. White Leadership

This is the belief that the white man's destiny in this country is to lead. Only the white man is best equipped to safeguard the values of western civilization and christian tradition. This is, however, more than just leadership of merit; it is leadership of race and colour.

It is needless to mention that no self-respecting black man nowadays believes this myth of white leadership, and yet its painful consequences are still with us. The average black man always meets the white man in some position of leadership; he meets him as his teacher, doctor, employer, etc. This is artificially designed to perpetuate the myth of white leadership. In order to emphasize this point Dr Verwoerd said: "I want to state unequivocally

that South Africa is a White man's country and he must remain the master here. In the reserves we are prepared to allow the Bantu to be the masters, but within the European areas we, the White people of South Africa, are and shall remain masters."

Both the black man and the white man stand to lose from the perpetuation of this myth. The black man is taught to despise and underestimate his potential in relation to that of the white man. This creates in him a slave mentality: "I need the leadership of the white man." The white man on the other hand, develops a "master-complex," as is evident in Dr Verwoerd's remarks. He either overestimates his worth or underestimates that of the black man. He remains incapable of gaining anything from the black man whom he despises. He will not respect the views of the black man since, according to the myth of white leadership, only the white man can initiate ideas and set things in motion. White leadership is therefore a myth and heritage of impoverishment.

## 2. Injustice

According to the South African heritage, some 3 million people decide things that affect 18 million people who can not vote. Whites meet in Cape Town every year to discuss among other things what to do with black people. Although other whites are allowed to oppose the government, black people who are the ones affected are not given the same liberty to voice meaningful opposition. Those who try, do so at the risk of being banned.

This is an example of a heritage of injustice. How else can one understand this? One can cite many other glaring examples of injustice. But this should suffice.

## 3. Violence

Part of the South African heritage is the violence built in the social, economic and political structures. Many people tend to think of violence only in terms of inflicting fatal bullet and stab wounds. They, as a result, overlook the violence that is rampant among us. Let us look at a few examples from our glorious South African heritage.

a) **Violence to the family:** The system of migrant labour about which much has been said and written has wrecked many an african family. Husband is forcibly separated from wife and father separated from children. Most working married men can be with their families on the average, for only two weeks in a year. If one considers the fact that the average man works until his physical age limit, this means that this man does not taste the fullness of married life till very late in life. This is a heritage of violence.

b) **Violence to Communities:** During the last twenty years groups of africans have experienced being removed from one place to the other. From the present look of things, we can expect even more of this in future. People and communities tend to develop emotional ties to their places of birth and origin. These places of origin add a certain dimension to their sense of community. We are told that these massive removals are a necessity; they are certainly a necessity in the context of the South African heritage of Group Areas; a South African phenomenon of violence.

c) **Economic Violence:** Paying people just enough so that they are able to survive is another face of our heritage of violence. No satisfactory explanation has been given why a white man should get more than a black man doing a similar job. The obvious reason is to keep the black man's standard of living lower. For many blacks work has become a medium of exploitation and dehumanization. Through their cheap labour black people have subsidized the economy of South Africa.

Unfortunately very little credit is given to this aspect of the black man's contribution. This is because the contribution comes as a result of exploitation which is another name for economic violence.

## II. THE HERITAGE OF THE FUTURE

### A. Nature of the Heritage

1. It must be a heritage built by all the peoples of South Africa. It cannot be emphasized strongly enough that the white man is just not equipped to be the only one who frames the lasting solutions of the future. One basic weakness of the proposed solution of Separate Development is that it has been framed and sanctioned by white people and only forced on black people. It may solve the white man's problem by clearing "white areas" of the black menace, but that in itself does not automatically transform "homelands" into an appealing paradise. A unilateral solution of this kind cannot be entirely free from the taint of selfish motives.

2. It must be a heritage that promotes and encourages positive values. It has been rightly or wrongly suggested that one basic difference between the American and the South African situations is that whereas in the U.S.A. the force of the law is against the segregationist and one who discriminates against others on the basis of race and colour, in South Africa the force of the law does not only condone those who preach discrimination, but it also censures severely those who advocate civil rights and racial justice. We are reminded of the fact that one thing the hundreds of banned people have in common is that they are people who believed and fought for civil and racial justice.

It is necessary for all South Africans to pause and think whether there is no element of truth in saying that positive values have sometimes not received sufficient official support. Think of spontaneous attempts to encourage fellowship between black and white families, between black and white school children, etc. Under normal circumstances these would be positive and constructive efforts. But are they in South Africa?

### B. ROLE OF WHITE YOUTH

1. Black people think that the older you get the more alienated you become from black people. I very often admire the natural and human relationship that is evident between white babies and black nannies. If a white baby develops a sentimental attachment to its black nanny, this should be seen as something positive which may serve as a solid base for future more meaningful relationships. Unfortunately as the baby grows older this foundation of human relations is removed by the South African heritage.

I refer to this in order to emphasize that the moment you are in now as students, when you have not as yet

accumulated many unwithdrawable stocks in the apartheid enterprise, is the time of freedom—freedom to build the new South African heritage.

2. This is even of greater importance because tomorrow you are the ones who will live with the consequences of the actions of today. It is said that the “test of the pudding is in the eating”. You are the ones—of all white South Africans living today—who will truly experience the meaning and implications of the policy of Separate Development—be they good or bad. You will taste its bitterness and its sweetness whatever the case may be. Therefore when people embark on marginal instead of radical solutions to fundamental problems in order to avoid what it costs, those half-solved problems which will have become worse will confront you and you only. Therefore whatever is postponed is postponed for and to you. You must remember that if you do not play your part today your children will curse you for the awful heritage you will have transmitted to them, and if you die before they curse you, they will spit on your grave.

3. There are some encouraging aspects in the present day activities of some University students. You know that there is a need for good will between blacks and whites

in South Africa today. Good will, like love, exists as it is transmitted. What we need in South Africa today are media for channelling goodwill between the races in South Africa during a time when there is so much emphasis on keeping the races apart. I know that you are concerned about this problem too. How will the black man know and believe that the white man has good things up the sleeve for him? How do you enable the black man to have confidence in the white man who makes laws for him? By saying that blacks and whites should not study together, should not eat together, should not meet socially? What a negative method for trying to achieve something positive!

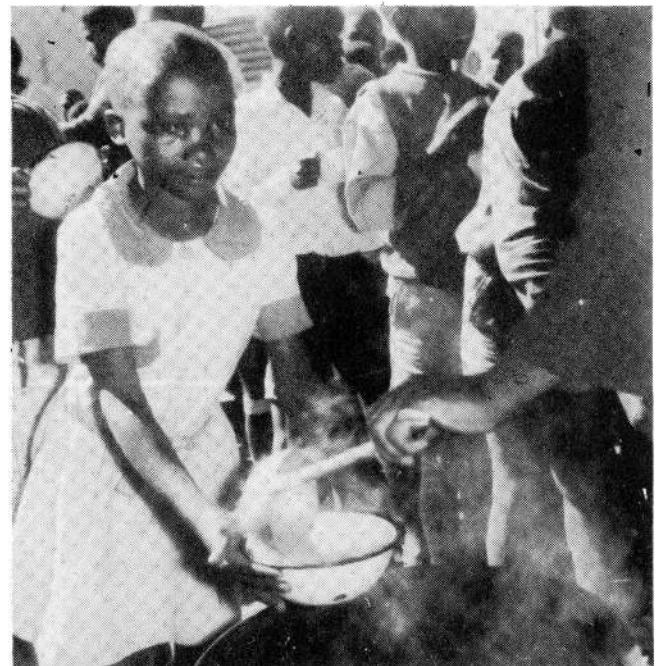
I know that some of your leaders have paid a heavy price for having dared to suggest an alternative to the present South African society. I believe that things like that do not happen in vain. As a result of the banning of your leaders many white people in South Africa were made aware of what banning is. This mass banning was a shock to many white people. Sometimes when words are no longer able to convert people, prophets may be called upon to preach through sacrificing something of their lives. It may very well be that this is the only way in which you can hope to build a heritage for the future.□

# THE EMOLWENI SCHOOLS FEEDING SCHEME

by G. de Wet

Approximately twenty-five kilometres from Durban, the villages of Kloof and Hillcrest are sprawled across a narrow plateau which falls away dramatically into the valley of the Umgeni River. The lush vegetation of the plateau rapidly changes to thornbush and scrub, and on these dry, eroded slopes live many of the Africans who work in the neighbouring residential and industrial areas.

One of the features of this valley is the number of simple school buildings scattered along its length and breadth. Each one of these schools is symbolic of triumph over adversity, for education is not a matter of course to these people. School attendance is not compulsory and the schools themselves are not provided by the State. It is the parents who have to take the initiative, who have to raise the funds and erect the first classroom. Only then is there a chance of a second classroom being built by the State.







The working day begins very early in the valley for the men and women who must take the buses to their places of employment. In most instances there is no morning meal for the children who are left behind to make their way to school.

It was in 1962 that the headmaster of the Emolweni Lower Primary School, concerned about the number of children who were fainting from hunger or falling asleep at their desks, appealed for assistance. Mrs Anne Hotchkiss of Kloof and a group of her friends met to tackle the problem and the Emolweni Schools Feeding Scheme was born. Now, twelve years later, more than three-and-a-half thousand children at thirteen schools benefit from a daily high protein meal. The packing and transporting of food for so many children at schools which are scattered over a wide area of difficult terrain involves much planning and effort on the part of a dedicated band of voluntary workers.

The Feeding Scheme "bakkie" is a familiar sight in the valley—almost every schoolday it can be seen making its way along the dusty roads, carrying a weeks' or fortnights' supply of Pronutro, soup powder, fortified biscuits, skim milk powder, wholewheat bread and peanut butter. Distances make it impractical for more than two or three schools to be visited on one day.

The cost of feeding each child for a term is approximately one Rand but this does not include running expenses such as transport and packing materials. Parents contribute forty cents per term for the first child in the family at school,

twenty cents for the second child and any others are fed free. The balance is raised by the Scheme itself through voluntary donations.

Bill Matthews of Cowies Hill, one of the voluntary helpers, soon became aware of the need for first-aid and medical attention at the schools. In 1965, with the help of one trained nurse, he started a first-aid section for the four hundred and fifty children at one of the schools. So poor was the condition of these children that it was necessary for the school to be visited twice a week. Today Bill Matthews has a team consisting of four men and twelve trained nurses; and two thousand, five hundred children at nine schools have access to the Clinic every week. For three days of every week of every term Bill Matthews can be seen in the valley—in nine years he has hardly missed a day—working his way through a long line of patients. Always cheerful and ready for a joke with the children, he is an example to all who come in contact with him.

It became apparent that financial assistance was urgently needed with the building of classrooms and, thanks to the generosity of donors, the Feeding Scheme has been able to finance many classrooms, a hall and the levelling of a playing field.

The Feeding Scheme would not be able to function without the active co-operation of the African principals and teachers who play an important part in the running of the scheme. The health and welfare of the children in the valley is the common goal.□



# ASSUMPTIONS: A REBELLIOUS MONOLOGUE

by Edgar H. Brookes

In the long years of controversy about South Africa's racial situation there is nothing more annoying than the way in which arguments are based on unproved assumptions and slogans are allowed to take the place of reason. Such assumptions are found all the way along the line which separates Nationalism from Communism, sometimes among those who are so mild that they hardly count as colleagues, sometimes among those who are so ferocious that they would be almost more acceptable as enemies. There are, for instance, those who assume that always, everywhere and in all circumstances force is wrong, which may conceivably be a good tactical argument to put up under examination by the Security Police, but leaves one ashamed to think that such men can decorate themselves with the name "Liberal" borne by Hofer and Garibaldi or the name "South African" borne by John Vorster or Christiaan de Wet. Their assumption is that rebellion must be wrong because St. Paul so taught a struggling Christian Church in the mighty and law-preserving Roman Empire. Even more annoying are those who meet the most indefensible bannings with the remark, "Where there's smoke there's fire." The assumption here is that the Security Police never take action without good reason, are never misinformed and never make a mistake. And yet, even if all these assumptions are true, can any Liberal defend punishing a man for his opinions, and that without a fair trial?

But further along the Liberal spectrum there are those who, while protesting vigorously against this flouting of the rule of law, rather inconsistently assume that the South African situation can never be put right except by force. It may be said that this assumption underlies a very large proportion of the anti-apartheid movements in Great Britain. It may regrettably turn out to be true, but at present it is pure assumption. Other remedies have never been given a fair trial. Moreover (and this one finds peculiarly annoying) it must always be someone else's force. Freedom fighters are vigorously supported by students and well-to-do professional men who have not the slightest intention of joining them and who (incidentally) would be far from welcome if they tried to.

A writer on French politics cites the case of a Frenchman who voted Communist. His friends who knew him to be

an anti-clerical bourgeois supporter of the very individualistic French Radical Party asked him why he voted Communist. "Well," he said, "I have always voted for the most extreme and now **they** are the most extreme". There is much of this striving after the reputation of extremism for its own sake and for one's own glory in certain circles among young South Africans. "No enemies to the left" is an ideal which requires some sort of defence before we can all accept it. It is a slogan based on unproved assumptions, and historic liberalism is based on a courageous use of reason, not on slogans.

Can it be expected that South Africa's affairs are capable of solution without bloodshed unless some sections of South African whites can be led to change their opinions? Yet there are those who will neither use their abilities to convert their white fellow-citizens nor their strong right arms to assist the freedom fighters. They prefer to win a reputation as valorous leftists by unconciliatory speeches and ineffective action.

On the Government side there are plenty of apologists who argue that we are not so bad after all because there are other sinners. What would a priest make of a penitent who said, "Father, I have sinned by my fault, by my own fault, by my own very grievous fault, but Mrs Jones has done a lot worse"? But what a **gaffe** we have fallen into here! We are actually quoting religion as if it still mattered, as if it could ever be anything but a bourgeois opiate for the masses! Well this is a pure assumption too. Are men like Trevor Huddleston and Ambrose Reeves not to be honoured among Liberals? Or are they to be accepted with the reservation that, strong-minded in everything else, they are weak-minded fanatics about religion.

Imagine a religious revival in the N.G. Kerk which led it to pronounce against apartheid. One does not necessarily suggest that this **will** happen, but if it **did** happen it would quite obviously be more valuable than blowing up twenty pylons or stopping forty rugby matches.

Let us come back to the question of other people's sins. I do not think that General Amin in Uganda is any better than Mr Vorster in South Africa, but can one imagine an S.R.C. in any South African English-speaking University

passing a resolution condemning General Amin? There is undoubtedly a double standard of judgement in international affairs. We as South Africans have no right to grumble. We deserve the criticisms which are passed upon us. But on what basis is colour differentiation worse in itself than arbitrary executions, the throwing overboard of the rule of law, or the imprisonment of political opponents? This is one of the many assumptions. It may be provable but it should be proved.

Or is it assumed that things which are wrong if done by a white man become noble if done by a black? We all know if we have studied the Africa of the 1890's or 1900's that white men have been responsible for much evil. But has the liberation of Africa made evil good if done by black men? This is another unproved assumption.

It is further assumed that no amount of honest talking in a friendly atmosphere can produce worth-while results. Why not try it? It is assumed that South Africa with its large white population of three centuries' standing must go essentially the same way as Zambia or Tanzania. Is this so?

Quite undoubtedly we cannot heal the ills of our country lightly. A high price must be paid. No window-dressing in

the Transkei or elsewhere will carry conviction. The white man has to learn to be a fellow-servant of the South African community, not its master. Alike as regards the franchise and as regards wages immense changes have to be made. We Liberals must not underestimate the difficulties of our task. But why make those difficulties greater by unproved assumptions and undigested slogans and an attempt to link up our terrific struggle with theoretical leftism?

The writer of this querulous monologue may claim to be a Liberal. Since he has publicly more than once advocated a common roll with no loading of the franchise, he may claim to be a Radical. Though Socialism is a permissible creed for a Liberal he has no ambition to be a Socialist, and nothing in the world will make him a Communist. His Liberalism is deeply rooted in history, and he would make his own those lines of Robert Browning written in reply to the question, "Why are you a Liberal?"

"But little can or do the best of us.  
That little is achieved through liberty.  
Who dares hold, emancipated thus,  
His brother should continue bound? Not I  
Who live, love, labour freely, nor discuss  
A brother's right to freedom—That is why! □

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## MEMORANDUM ON THE PASS LAWS AND INFLUX CONTROL

The Black Sash has issued a revised edition of their memorandum. It is a reference book of great value and can be obtained from the Black Sash, 37 Harvard Buildings, Joubert Street, Johannesburg, for 50c.

The following is the introduction to the memorandum:

The pass laws are being evermore rigidly applied and more and more people are being affected by their implementation. Government policy is to reduce the number of Africans residing in the "prescribed areas" and to ensure that as many as possible of the workers needed in the metropolitan areas are migrants. In the year July 1970 to June 1971, 615 075 people were prosecuted for pass law offences; that is, an average of 1 685 prosecutions per day.

We are deeply concerned about the effect these laws are having on the African people, morally, socially and economically. We are concerned about the discrimination, the injustice, the breakup of family life, the increase in crime, the poverty, the insecurity of all urban Africans,

and the breakdown of the whole social fabric of the African community.

The system used to control the use of African labour has dehumanised the official, the employer and the African worker. It has made authority a monster, and the worker a labour unit. *The pass laws are inhuman laws and they cannot be administered humanely.*

This Memorandum is based on the knowledge gained from the work in the Black Sash Advice Offices in Johannesburg and Cape Town. The examples given are factual, from information given to us and they are typical of many similar cases in the files. Names have been changed to protect the privacy of the people concerned. For every person who comes to the Advice Offices for help, there are hundreds more who are in the same predicament.

## **Black Sash**

# PHOTOGRAPHIC COMPETITION

### **"POVERTY AND PRIVILEGE IN SOUTH AFRICA"**

**Prizes:**

**1st R100**  
**2nd R50**  
**3rd R25**

#### CONDITIONS OF ENTRY

1. The competition is open to all South African photographers.
2. Exhibitors may submit four separate photographs or a panel of four relating an incident.
3. Entry fee is R1,50 per entry.
4. All correspondence and requests for extra information to be addressed to Miss Jill Orpen, Box 1104, Pietermaritzburg.
5. Entries received without fees will not be eligible for participation nor will they be returned.
6. Closing date for the competition will be January 15th, 1975.
7. The judges will consider not only compliance with the theme but also the technical quality of the prints.
8. All P.O.'s and cheques which must include exchange must be payable to the "Black Sash Photographic Competition" P.O. Box 1104, Pietermaritzburg.
9. Although every possible care will be taken, no responsibility will be accepted for any loss of, or damage to any entry.
10. Unless otherwise specified the organisers will assume the right to reproduce entries for any purposes and to exhibit the originals.
11. The exhibitors name and address and the title and number of the print should appear on the back of the photograph. Please type or print in block capitals.
12. Printmounts should not exceed 16 x 20 inches (40 x 50 cms) and the maximum size of the print should not be less than 10 x 12 inches.
13. The Judges will be Mr D. Moon ARPS, APS (S.A.)  
Mr F. A. Morris and  
Mr E. Heintze APS (SA)
14. Their decision will be final and no correspondence will be entered into.