

Mdantsane, Zwelitsha, Dimbaza and Sada have developed as towns to accommodate the population explosion. Mdantsane acts as a dormitory for East London but has little economic activity within its borders apart from essential services and retail trade. Zwelitsha has benefited both from its proximity to King William's Town and from being the administrative centre of the Ciskei, but has little more to offer its growing population, Dimbaza, the industrial showpiece, with 28 of the 31 factories in the Ciskei, developed in part in response to the publicity it got as a dumping ground, remains unable to employ many of its work seeking residents. Sada is little more than the pathetic centre of the largely destitute "village of tears" nearby.

Most who become Zeks and enter the Gulag archipelago may well die in captivity, but they do have determinate sentences and can hope to return to a normal life eventually. The "resettled" people have no such hope to sustain them, and many have no confidence that they will be able to stay where they are.

But what, in the long term, is to be done? "An Empty Table?" is a challenge to the Christian and indeed any humane conscience to become more involved; develop and extend caring ministries; strengthen the whole body; and make representations to those in authority. However the reader is left to work out his own alternatives to the iniquitous process of resettlement as there are few concrete proposals about what the authorities should be doing, as opposed to what they should not do. Is it too much to hope that the voice of protest can become the voice of prophesy and authority in spelling out the detailed implications of advocating the claims of the rural poor to a full share in the privileges and duties of all inhabitants of South Africa?

Davenport, Nash and Charton have made it more difficult for us to pretend that we do not know the enormous human cost of the homelands and resettlement policies. Theirs is a roar on the other side of silence — the silence of fear and of the conspiracy of ignorance.

## RACE AND ETHNICITY — SOUTH AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES.

reviewed by Jack Unterhalter.

Edited by Hendrik W. van der Merwe and Robert A. Schrire.

Published by David Philip.

Professor Johannes Degenaar has written an important article for this valuable collection of papers many of which were given at the 1979 UCT Summer School — a lecture

series entitled "Group Identity and National Interests". The title is "Normative Dimensions of Discrimination, Differentiation and Affirmative Action." In examining the problem of the justifiability of the use of the term "Group Rights", he makes reference to the paradigms of liberalism and pluralism and says this:-

"In reading the human rights documents and the interpretation of those documents one is struck by the fact that two main frames of reference are used; a liberalist or individualist paradigm and a pluralist paradigm. These two paradigms rest on a commitment to two basic values which are irreducible to one another; the value ascribed to man as an individual or the value ascribed to a group as an association to which man belongs. In liberalism priority is given to the rights of individuals while in pluralism a concern for the rights of individuals is complemented by a concern for the reality and rights of groups or ethnic communities and for the way in which groups can protect the rights of individuals".

This summarizes the trend in the papers. Dr. Robert Schrire writes of the nature of ethnic identities and gives a detailed definition of an ethnic group some of the elements of which are a self-conscious social grouping, the key criterion for membership being an assumed common descent real or mythical. He adopts Knutson's statement that ethnic distinctions become important when they form part of the individual's or group's strategies for preserving or increasing control of resources, social status or other values in a State. It is important to note the stress on ethnicity because it takes the discussion beyond the groups referred to by Harold Laski in his Grammar of Politics and mentioned by Professor Degenaar as having moral quality.

This is how Laski puts it:-

"The variety of group life is almost bewildering in its profusion. Political parties, churches, trade unions, employers' associations, friendly societies, golf clubs, research bodies like the Institute of France, dramatic societies, are only instances of their place in social organisation. They do not of course exhaust the allegiance of the individual. He is a centre from which — there radiate outward lines of contact with the groups to which his experience calls him. They determine, quite largely, his choice of friends, of opportunities, of career".

It is clear that Laski is concerned with voluntary associations. But ethnic groups are not voluntary associations. Men and women are born into them, and in South Africa legislation provides that membership of such groups has legal and often burdensome consequences that the individual cannot escape. Too often in South Africa membership of a group has meant the denial of human rights rather than the realisation of human values.

This being so one reads Professor Nathan Glazer's article "Individual Rights Against Group Rights" rather grimly. It is a scholarly excursus which poses among other problems, the question as to why do we in effect assert that justice in the face of discrimination is justice for the individual, rather than a new and equal status for the Group. The individual rights approach is seen in the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Australia, whereas the approach in terms of rights for groups is seen in Canada, Belgium, Lebanon, Malaysia and India. The writer says that "one may also add South Africa as a State committed to group rights — though the use of the term will certainly sound ironic here".

The problem of group rights is linked of course with the problem of affirmative action as underlined in the Bakke case. Professor Glazer puts it this way: "there are two notions of justice in conflict here, one which says justice is apportioning rewards to groups on the basis of proportionality, the other which says justice is to be colourblind, to consider only the individual. Bakke can say: 'I don't care how many Black and White doctors there are, I want to be considered for admission on my individual merits, independently of race. I want to be a doctor; it is not the White race that wants another doctor'".

If one accepts the concept of group rights, then, in South Africa, a theoretical foundation has been laid for Group Areas legislation, Homelands, Prohibition of Mixed Marriages, Influx Control, and, indeed, the whole pattern of discrimination in South Africa. There are eloquent and forceful comments on this by Professor Mlahleni Njisane, a former Transkeian Ambassador to South Africa, by Mrs. Ellen Kuzwayo, an original member of the Committee of Ten in Soweto, and by Mr. Gibson Thula, a Kwazulu Government Urban representative and Publicity Secretary of Inkatha. Professor Njisane records among his conclusions that unequal participation in decision-making in an open political atmosphere in which all individuals could be working towards the organisation of a humane and just society, can only continue at the risk of the survival of all. He ends his paper as follows "Finally is it too much to invite all South Africans to accept responsibility for the tragic waste of human talent involved in this long history of denial of justice and opportunity? No nation is so rich in human resources that it can afford to impose artificial restrictions based on race, ethnic affiliation, language or culture."

There is much else besides, of great interest.

Professor Gerhard Tötemeyer writes of Namibia and of the astonishing number of ethnic groups assembled into political alliances. Professor D.A. Kotzé describes structural violence and discrimination in South Africa, Professor Eddie Brown of the Faculty of Theology at Stellenbosch and Cape Chairman of the S.A. Bureau of Racial Affairs, outlines his organisation's philosophy and justifies a policy of racial separation. Mr. René de Villiers, President of the South African Institute of Race Relations, explains the Institute's commitment to an open society; and there are contributions by Professor J.L. Boshoff, Professor Hendrik W. van der Merwe and Associate Professor David Welsh.

Finally, as to international perspectives, there is a description of the use of mediation and conciliation to resolve racial disputes in the USA, this being presented by Mr. Richard A. Salem, the Midwest Regional Director of the Community Relations Services of the United States Department of Justice; and Mr. Lionel Morrison, Principal Information Officer of the Commission for Racial Equality in England, provides a parallel analysis of Government policy designed to improve Race Relations in the United Kingdom.

Professor Gwendolen M. Carter, contributes a broad overview of the major themes and findings of the conference. Scholars will say, that save for passing references by Professor J. L. Boshoff and Professor van der Merwe, there is no discussion of the class system in South Africa and no reference, for example, to the thinking of Legassick and Wolpe. The learning of the latter, today a distinguished sociologist, is of course prohibited from publication because of the provisions of the Internal Security Act. Nevertheless what the Centre for Inter-Group Studies has published in this collection of papers is a series of valuable studies of central importance to South Africa.

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