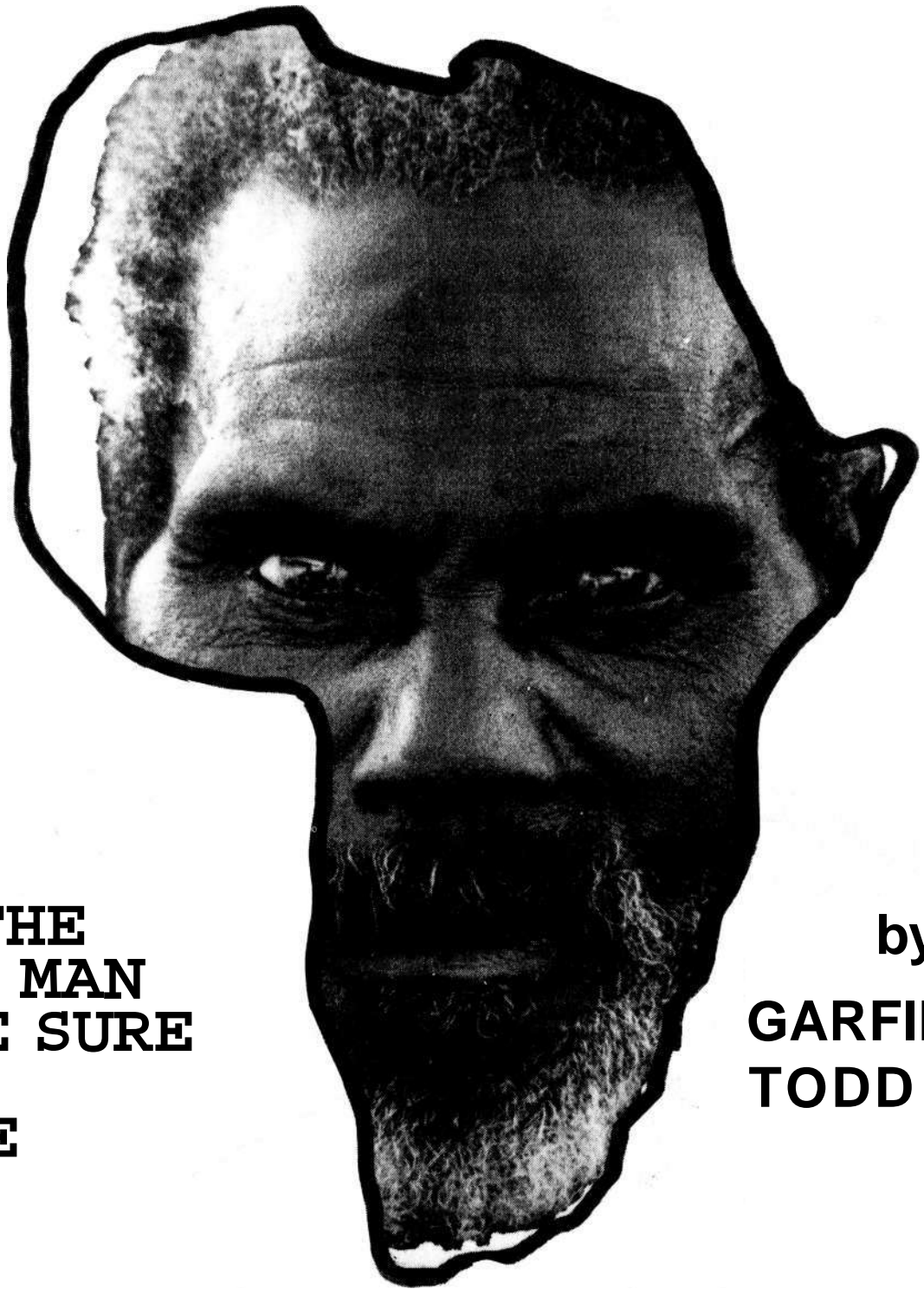


**ONLY THE
BLACK MAN
CAN BE SURE
OF THE
FUTURE**

**by
GARFIELD
TODD**



reality

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A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL AND RADICAL OPINION

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EDITORIALS

i CENSORSHIP AND SELF-CENSORSHIP

The Nationalist Government's Bill to control the South African Press has been dropped — for a year, anyway. The Bill would have put the Press in a straitjacket. The National Press Union, which represents the people who control the Press, and whose meeting with the Prime Minister led to the Bill being withdrawn, has been given this year's respite so that it can "put its own house in order". This it seems to be hastening to do.

The Government has been threatening the Press for years, promising to pass legislation to make sure that it only publishes what the Government wants it to publish in the way the Government would like it to be published. Nor has it only threatened. It has passed laws, for instance, free reporting on defence matters and prison matters has been made impossible and, in this present Parliamentary session, an end has been put to free reporting in the almost certainly expanding field of what might be called civil

disturbance. At the same time the threats resulted in a Press Code, administered by the Press itself, which, before the Newspaper Bill was introduced this year, had already made many editors much more careful about what they published.

However, this Press Code and the way it has been administered has not been good enough for the Government. Its supporters have kept on threatening new laws to control the Press. A fair proportion of the threats have come from the Prime Minister himself. This war of nerves apparently led to a series of discussions between the National Press Union and the Government which the NPU finally broke off when the Government insisted that it would accept nothing less than legislative control of the Press. This breakdown, we are sure, didn't upset the Government at all. It gave it the opportunity to introduce the Newspaper Bill and at the same time to claim that it had been forced to do so by the unreasonableness and irresponsibility of the Press in refusing to discipline itself adequately in a time of

national crisis. We all now know what the provisions of that Bill were — its definitions so wide and vague that publishing almost anything could have been an offence, its penalties in the best Nationalist tradition. Newspapers could be closed down for a while; newspapermen could be heavily fined, or gaoled, if they were held to have broken its provisions; the right of appeal to the courts was removed.

Not surprisingly the terms of the Bill created an uproar amongst opponents of the Government and in the newspaper world. The Government responded by doing nothing for a while.

It let anxiety build up. It then announced that if the NPU didn't like the Bill it could make an appointment with the Prime Minister to discuss it. This the NPU did. But the Bill was not withdrawn. Its second reading was instead set down to take place two days after the NPU's meeting with the Prime Minister. In this way it was ensured that when the meeting took place the full weight of the threat to the Press was hanging over the head of every NPU man at it.

What went on at that meeting we don't know. What we do know is that the NPU has now produced a new Press Code which seems to us to include, almost word for word, all the restrictions the Nationalist Government's Bill contained. All that is missing is the Newspaper Bill's penalties. There is really no need for them if the NPU accepts the restrictions. Won't brave journalists and editors who ignore them just find themselves out of a job?

Right now it looks as if the NPU has given to the Government what it wanted. Instead of censorship we are to have self-censorship. The Government will be able to continue to propagate the myth that a free Press still functions here and those who want to will believe it.

REALITY is neither big enough nor important enough to belong to the NPU. Even if we were we hope that our policy would be the same as it is now, to continue to report what we see, and say what we think until we either go broke or are closed down. •

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ANOTHER NAIL IN EVERYONE'S COFFIN ?

In the aftermath of last year's student revolt a mass of prosecutions for "terrorism", "sabotage", arson, public violence and other offences is taking place all over South Africa.

One of these trials, which started in early February, involves 20 students from the Zulu University at Ngoye. They are charged with "sabotage" and arson. Most of them were detained in June or July last year and kept in solitary confinement until December, when they were first allowed access to lawyers.

There is another group of students, whose number is unknown, many of whom have been detained for as long as the accused. The members of this group have not been charged with anything nor have they had access to their lawyers, although some of them have been allowed visits from relatives in recent weeks. Presumably they are still in custody because, having had them in solitary confinement and at its mercy for all these months, the State now intends

calling them as witnesses against their fellows.

It is a fairly safe assumption that every student against whom the Security Police had any evidence at all, real or imaginary, of involvement in last year's outbreak of violence at the university, has either been charged or is still being detained by them, either as a potential witness, or for some other purpose. It would be quite out of character for the Security Police to let go anyone they felt they had the slightest chance of associating with those events. Yet there is still another, much larger group of students, who were presumably not implicated at all, or who did not know enough to warrant detention, whom the university itself has decided to punish with quite drastic severity. There are said to be over 500 of them, who, having committed no offence sufficiently serious to fall within the ambit of our mass of security legislation, the university authorities have refused to allow back at Ngoye. This decision seems to have been taken as a result of some kind of internal inquiry conducted at the university at which the students concerned were neither present nor represented.

What are these students to do? Earlier this year the Principal of Natal's White university offered to take in Black students who couldn't get into Ngoye this year because of lack of accommodation. Whether he would have been prepared to take these students who have been refused readmission we don't know. In any case the question is academic because his offer was turned down by the Department of Bantu Administration on the grounds that "such a deviation would be contrary to government policy".

Some of the expelled Ngoye students have apparently succeeded in getting into the other Black universities at Turfloop and Fort Hare, but a large number (said to be 264) are said to have been refused admission there too. So where do they turn now? To the University of South Africa (UNISA), South Africa's only correspondence university? But UNISA has a regulation which lays down that it may not accept any past student from another university who

does not bring with him a "good conduct" certificate from that university. If past experience is any guide this is something the 264 Ngoye students are not likely to get.

Does this mean that the university authorities at Ngoye, supported by the Government, have put an effective end to the university careers of over two hundred students for offences which do not warrant their being charged in court, which are unspecified, which may be based on gossip, or false information, and of which the students have had no opportunity to prove themselves innocent?

That is how it looks.

If this is so one can imagine no act more calculated to turn these young people into even more bitter and intransigent opponents of the present regime than they were before. Anti-Whiteism will have been given an understandable boost and the prospects for peaceful change yet another blow. •

MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOLS ON THE MOVE

By Jonathan Paton

I was very fortunate indeed in being able to spend four months of my sabbatical leave in the United States (September to December 1976). Most of the four months was spent in Massachusetts. I was also fortunate in being appointed an Associate of the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University (HGSE). At the latter I spoke to several educationists who were researching into ways of solving school integration problems in the United States, and particularly in the Boston area, I shall be discussing their views on these problems later in this article. I also visited many schools, both private and public, and was a teacher and observer for fairly extended periods in two of these schools.

Greater Boston - Boston, Cambridge, Waltham, Brookline, Somerville, Milton — must surely contain the highest percentage of brainpower in the United States, perhaps in the world. In Greater Boston are situated Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston University, University of Massachusetts and Brandeis University, to mention only a few of the universities. In addition Greater Boston also contains many colleges, teaching hospitals and several outstanding schools, both private and public.

Ironically, it is also Boston that has provided educationists with one of America's most serious educational headaches — how to integrate successfully schools in poorer areas like South Boston and Roxbury.

I shall deal first with my favourable impressions of school education in Massachusetts. Two points in particular impressed me. The first was the degree of freedom that exists in many of the leading schools in the state. The second was the emphasis on administration by *local* authorities in the public schools rather than by some narrow-minded bureaucrats in some distant, verkrampste state capital. After the South African experience one is astonished after spending only a few minutes in many of these schools. Pupils are free to dress as they wish and no one is concerned about the length of boys' hair. American teachers were astonished when I told them that at several South African schools pupils were punished if their hair was longer than the length stipulated by the school authorities. The teachers were also shocked when I told them that corporal punishment was administered at a high percentage of South African schools. In the classes I visited there was, on the

whole, an atmosphere of trust and respect. Pupils were not afraid to voice their opinions and to express disagreement with the opinions of their teachers. Of course, sometimes pupils expressed foolish opinions and in most cases teachers tactfully pointed out the foolishness. Yet not once did I hear comments like "Rubbish, you idiot" or "Sit down, you intellectual spastic", comments which I have heard teachers make in South African classrooms.

Some South Africans may gain the impression from the description I have just given that at the schools I visited the academic standard was low and that discipline was non-existent. On the contrary, the academic standards were high, the pupils and teachers were hard-working and the atmosphere was relaxed. I must admit, however, that I have been talking about private schools and wealthy public schools, schools in which the teachers were highly paid and well qualified, in which the facilities were superb and in which a wide variety of courses was offered. The schools were also co-educational (there are very few single-sex schools left in the United States) and were situated in affluent white suburbia. An increasing number of black pupils are attending the private schools but they are still heavily outnumbered by whites. A small percentage of black pupils attend the wealthier public schools. A handful of these live in the area while a larger number from the poorer areas of Boston attend under the auspices of METCO, an organisation which I shall discuss later. There is no official busing of pupils to the outlying suburban schools.

I return to the point I made earlier about the local administration of public schools. As far as I could ascertain there are no syllabi laid down by central authorities, no restrictions on textbooks, no public examinations in Massachusetts. Teachers salaries are negotiable and are to some extent dependent on sums voted by local taxpayers. Though there are no official inspections of the kind carried out in South African government schools, many public schools request an evaluation every ten years from panels of experts. These evaluations are extremely thorough and schools spend months and years in bringing about improvements based on the recommendations of the evaluation committees.

I have dealt so far with the credit side of secondary education in Massachusetts. On the debit side, the City of Boston faces many serious problems, particularly in regard to the provision of quality education in the poorer areas. I am not concerned here with the failure of the City of Boston to desegregate many of its public schools for twenty years after the **Brown versus Board of Education** decision of the Supreme Court in 1954. Nor am I primarily concerned here with the racial unrest that has occurred at some Boston schools in recent years, particularly at South Boston High School. My chief concern here is with the decision of the Federal District Court in June, 1974 in which Judge Arthur Garrity ordered the Boston schools "to begin forthwith the formulation and implementation of plans which shall eliminate every form of racial segregation in the public schools of Boston." The court ordered implementation of the Racial Imbalance Act passed by the Massachusetts legislature in 1965 in which a school was to be declared racially imbalanced if it contained more than 50% black students. But as Ron Edmonds, Director of the Centre for Urban Studies at HGSE, has pointed out, racial balance is the worst possible form of desegregation "since it makes demography more

critical to decision-making than probable educational consequences." Edmonds has also stressed that in order to eliminate school segregation there should be "improved schooling first and desegregation second." This view has enjoyed considerable support from many black educators, including several Harvard professors.

Before I discuss the issue of quality education more fully, let me outline the existing situation both in the City of Boston and in suburban schools. The City of Boston's school population is composed as follows: 51% white, 36% black and 13% other minorities. Under the rulings set down by Judge Garrity 25% of the city's pupils were bused to 137 schools in Phase I of the programme to achieve racial balance. Phase II involving another 200 schools came into operation in September, 1976. Two areas have been of particular concern to the authorities. One of these has been South Boston, a predominantly Irish area. There have been several violent incidents at South Boston High School where white students have reacted with hostility to the black students who have been bused there. The other area has been Roxbury where the population is predominantly black. Many white parents have refused to bus their children to Roxbury High School. The school remains overwhelmingly black and has an attendance rate of not much above 60% .

In the affluent outer "suburbs" (i.e. in the Kloofs, Bryans-stons and Constantias of Boston) integration problems have not arisen. (The schools discussed earlier are situated in these areas). The public schools in these areas were not affected by Judge Garrity's ruling and have remained predominantly white. However, a small percentage of black students from Boston are now attending some of these suburban schools under the auspices of an organisation called METCO (Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity). METCO was founded in 1966 and is at present busing 2,400 black students from Boston to suburban schools on a voluntary basis. However, in no suburban school do the METCO children constitute more than 10% of the total school population. I spoke to the METCO organisers at the Lincoln-Sudbury High School, a public high school attended by about 2,000 students, including my two sons. The organisers were enthusiastic about the programme and claimed that the METCO pupils received a good education at the school in spite of the many hours spent on the school bus each week. But the superintendent (principal) of the school had a different view. He told me that the black students found it difficult to form friendships with the affluent white students and that the black students were in too much of a minority to compete seriously with the white students. In an article entitled "Racial Balance or Quality Education" Professor Charles Willie of HGSE states: "My own studies of community organisation suggest that minority participation of less than one-fifth in a democratic and free organisation tends to have little effect upon institutional decision making. A school desegregation plan should attempt to have a racial majority (Blacks, browns or whites) in each school of not more than two-thirds of all students. "Another reservation about the METCO programme has been stated in a report drawn up by a committee of Boston's black community: "For as long as the Boston schools remain pathological, it will be impossible to tell whether black parents participate in METCO to avoid Boston or because they like suburbs."

Plans to achieve racial balance alone are clearly not going

to solve the educational problems of the City of Boston. It is not only the fear of being a minority that keeps white pupils away from schools in black areas. Another important reason is that the standard of education in many of the poorer areas of Boston—with certain notable exceptions—has been poor. The exceptions are schools in black areas with outstanding educational programmes. These schools have been attended by whites from all over the city. The problem now, as many Boston educationists see it, is how to provide quality education in a larger percentage of the inner Boston schools. Charles Willie was one of a panel of four "masters" appointed by Judge Garrity to make recommendations to the court for improvements to education in the City of Boston. In the article referred to earlier Willie states that the panel began by pointing out that busing was "a phony issue". The concern of the panel was to "refocus attention from transportation to education."

One of the recommendations of the panel was to "magnetise" some of the schools which offered poor educational programmes. One "magnet" school would be paired with one of Boston's leading colleges or universities. This college or university would then be responsible for implementing an "extraordinary educational programme" in that school. Magnet schools would be open to all pupils in Boston as long as their composition conformed more or less to the composition of Boston's school population as a whole. Students who did not wish to go to the magnet schools could go to a school in their community district. The ratio of black to white pupils in the community schools would be similar to the ratio in the local community. As Willie puts it: "The choice would be between a magnet

school with extraordinary educational offerings at a considerable distance from home and a less illustrious school relatively close by." Some of the recommendations of the panel are now being put into practice.

I have no doubt that in a culturally pluralistic society there can never be both separate **and** equal education. If we wish to provide equal educational opportunity in South Africa then we will have to begin to integrate our schools. But quality education must accompany that process of integration. Willie quotes a **New York Times** editorial: "Integration must be made synonymous with better education." In the first section of this article I described education in suburban private and public schools. There is no doubt that these schools provide quality education for the white students and certainly for some, though not all, of the black students. I am convinced, however, that the percentage of black students attending these schools will increase in the next few years and that the problems I referred to earlier will increasingly disappear.

Obviously educational reform in South Africa is going to be a much tougher undertaking than in Massachusetts. And there is not much hope of radical reform under the present verkrampte regime (in spite of Dr. Koornhof.) Nevertheless educationists should be prepared for the great day of change. Let them begin devising educational systems in which there will be far more freedom for teachers and pupils alike, and far less bureaucracy. And let me quickly dispel that pessimistic note which I sounded a moment ago. Perhaps the great day *has* dawned . . . Strength to the courageous Catholic schools. •

MOFOLO-PLOMER PRIZE 1977

1. The Mofolo-Plomer Prize (named after two distinguished South African writers) will be awarded again in 1977—8 for an unpublished novel or collection of short stories by a writer resident in Southern Africa, or a Southern African writer living abroad. Entries must be in English.
2. Two type-written copies of each entry must be submitted to the Mofolo-Plomer Prize Committee, c/o Raven Press, P.O. Box 31134, Braamfontein, Transvaal, 2017, by 31st May 1977.
3. There is no age or other limitation for the 1977 prize, although the intention is to encourage writers who are not yet established in terms of published books.
4. The prize will be R500, donated by Nadine Gordimer, the founder of the award, and three Johannesburg publishers, Ad. Donker, Bateleur Press and Raven Press.
5. The names of the three judges will be announced later.
6. The organisers regret that they cannot undertake to return entries, although authors may collect their manuscripts after the competition is over. Nor can the organisers offer detailed criticisms of manuscripts received.

The Mofolo-Plomer Prize was first awarded to work submitted in 1976. The joint winners were Mbulelo Mzamane of Gaborone and Peter Wilhelm of Johannesburg for a collection of short stories, "My Cousin Comes to Jo'burg" and a novel, 'An Island Full of Grass,' respectively. The judges on that occasion were Mr Alan Paton and Mr Adam Small.

The Mofolo-Plomer Prize Committee
c/o Raven Press
P.O. Box 31134
Braamfontein
2017 South Africa

ONLY THE BLACK MAN CAN BE SURE OF THE FUTURE

by Garfield Todd

By August 1976 Mr Ian Smith's "five-day wonder" of white independence founded upon black repression had become engulfed in eleven years of blood and horror — a situation without hope.

In an open letter to the Government, Bishop Donal Lamont "concerned for world peace and for the well-being of Rhodesia" wrote: "Conscience compels me to state that your administration by its clearly racist and oppressive policies and by its stubborn refusal to change, is largely responsible for the injustices which have provoked the present disorder and it must, in that measure, be considered guilty of whatever misery or bloodshed may follow."

Only a month later, despair broke into hope when Mr Smith accepted "majority rule within two years." The whites in Rhodesia believed him and while some were angry and rebellious, many expressed relief. The blacks believed him, thought the war would soon end and that all the hundreds of friends and relatives in detention would be home for Christmas.

One month later, the Geneva Conference opened with five Rhodesian delegations in attendance, four black and one white.

Majority world opinion was summed up on September 25, 1976, in the Washington Post headline, "Rhodesia Accepts Black-Rule Plan." Joshua Nkomo had stated that he would never again negotiate with Ian Smith except on the terms for surrender. Mr Nkomo went to Geneva to work out the mechanics of the transfer from white to black. Bishop Muzorewa opened his address at Geneva by saying: "We have come to take."

But even before the Conference opened, doubts and fears were being expressed. Could Smith be trusted at any point and under any circumstances? The question was being asked both by Mr Smith's supporters and by his opponents. In Rhodesia, closed meetings of Rhodesia Front members were being assured that all would be well, that while accommodations to world opinion must be made, White supremacy would be maintained. "You can trust Smithy." Blacks were looking again at the proposals Mr Smith had accepted and noting not only what Dr Kissinger had said,

but especially noting the glosses which Mr Smith had made in his introduction to the Kissinger document.

They noted that while the Kissinger Proposals said majority rule would be established within two years, Mr Smith said: "It will only be at the conclusion of this exercise that we will know whether this whole operation has succeeded or failed."

In the light of such uncertainty, Nationalist leaders decided to demand a definite date for independence.

Kissinger said that the Rhodesian Government and African leaders would meet "to organise an interim government": Mr Smith spoke of the setting up of the Council of State as "a first stage", and as "a first duty."

Again, while Dr Kissinger was silent on the status of the Council of State, Mr Smith spoke of it as "a Supreme Body", and it became increasingly clear that Mr Smith saw himself as head of that supreme body.

Mr Smith said that this supreme body, the Council of State, would appoint the Council of Ministers, but the Kissinger Proposals provided that the members of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers, except for the chairman of the former, would be nominated by the respective sides.

Dr Kissinger said that the Council of State would supervise the drawing up of the Independence Constitution, but Mr Smith said that it would do the job.

To the Nationalists the situation appeared sinister and despite the differences which existed between them they were unanimous in their rejection of the Kissinger Proposals. They accepted majority rule within two years, hopefully within one year, but the terms would not be the Kissinger Proposals but an immediate transfer of power from white to black on terms decided at Geneva.

In rejecting the Kissinger mechanics of transfer the Nationalists were within their rights. They had not been consulted about what Dr Kissinger was putting to Mr Smith, and what Dr Kissinger brought back from his Pretoria meeting they did not accept; in fact Dr Kissinger on his way back from Pretoria saw Mr Nkomo briefly on the morning of Tuesday, September 21. Mr Nkomo studied the proposals as they had been outlined to him and later that same day he informed Dr Kaunda that he considered them

unacceptable and gave a written statement setting out his objections!

The Patriotic Front which was a working arrangement for the Geneva Conference agreed between Mr Joshua Nkomo and Mr Robert Mugabe, worked separately on the various proposals considered. Only after very full consideration had been given to a subject did a small group of party leaders from each organisation meet to determine a common approach at the Conference. Agreement was not always reached easily. However, on the opening day, both parties were strongly of the opinion that the status of the Conference was not sound. The ability and integrity of Mr Ivor Richards were never doubted but it was held that Britain, with her legal status as Colonial Power, should be represented by a Chairman who was a Minister of the Government. Britain should not be chairing a conference as a negotiator but as a dominant government guiding the transfer of power from white to black. This was what Mr Smith's acceptance of "majority rule within two years" was all about. The Nationalists made it clear that Mr Smith must end his rebellion and submit to Britain. Britain in her turn, not as Chairman of a Conference, but as a Government, must then transfer power to the Government of Zimbabwe elected by the people on a universal franchise.

During the morning of the opening day, strong approaches were made by the Patriotic Front to have the Conference upgraded. Eventually, certain assurances from the U.K. Government regarding the authority of the Chairman were reluctantly accepted and the Conference convened three hours later than scheduled.

The distrust of the Patriotic Front was vindicated by subsequent happenings. While Mr Richard had the ability and the patience needed he lacked authority, and by the time Britain accepted her responsibilities in relation to the interim period of adjustment and government, the Conference was in the doldrums and it did not emerge. Five vital weeks of the seven week conference had passed before Mr Crosland in a written reply to a question said, 'The objective of the British Chairman, Mr Ivor Richards, remained to secure an early agreement on the central issue, the structure of an interim government... for their part, Her Majesty's Government are ready to play a direct role in the transitional government if it is the general view that this would be helpful.'

On the same day. Lord Alport wrote to the Times sympathising with the British Government's reluctance to undertake heavy responsibilities in the Rhodesian issue, but went on to stress that there was a way which would enable Great Britain to play an honourable part in discharging its responsibilities to black and white in Rhodesia, while at the same time giving Zimbabwe a real chance of emerging peacefully as an independent state.

"What is needed," wrote Lord Alport, "is to find a means of maintaining confidence among the black majority that the transference of power to them will be genuine and effective and among the white minority, that there will be a tolerable future for them in Zimbabwe . . ."

There were many practicable possibilities open to Britain and the free world if the U.K. was prepared to lead. Lord Alport outlined one possibility, Sir Robert Tredgold put forward another, and at Geneva each of the black delegations had definite proposals. No plan, had any

relevance if Mr Smith had no intention whatever of accepting majority rule — not in a thousand years.

On December 15 the Geneva Conference was adjourned.

In the six months that have passed since Mr Smith's acceptance of the principle of "majority rule" on September 24, the magnitude of the fraud which he tried to perpetrate has gradually been revealed.

In his acceptance speech Mr Smith said that the western powers had forced him to change; forced him to accept majority rule. It is now quite clear that at no time did Mr Smith intend to transfer power from white to black — Mr Smith has not changed.

First there was his hope, in the terms of his interpretation of the Kissinger document, to take over personally the chairmanship of the Council of State. This would give him direction of the "Supreme" body in the interim period.

Then came the news that majority rule would produce an electoral roll on which blacks would have a majority — possibly of one! In other words, if the whites on the roll numbered 80,000, the electoral machine would produce something more than that number of Blacks — but not twenty-two times 80,000 as the relative population figures would justify. Under such circumstances, constituencies could be so delineated as to bring more whites than blacks into Parliament and white supremacy would be maintained.

There have always been those who have said "You can trust Mr Smith." On March 29 our TV had just shown an interview in which Mr Pik Botha said that there was no evidence to suggest that Mr Ian Smith was not sincere when he said that he would accept majority rule within two years. Then came an official Government statement to "clarify" the situation.

An erroneous belief had grown that the Government accepted there would be majority rule within two years. "This belief is wrong."

"The position is that the Government accepted majority rule within two years but only as part of a comprehensive package deal.

"There is no commitment to unqualified majority rule in isolation."

The statement said that the Government was irrevocably determined that the country would not be surrendered to the forces of chaos and revolution.

"The war will be pursued with the utmost vigour until we have destroyed the terrorists."

The Government through its complete control of Radio and TV have continued to hammer the premise that nationalism is Marxism, that guerillas are communists and answerable to Russia and China. When, therefore, the Government says power will not be transferred to the "forces of chaos and revolution", it means that Black nationalists will not be allowed to take control of the country.

Government also continues to propagate the falsehood that blacks like the security forces and hate and fear the guerillas. At the same time the most extreme penalties, even the death penalty, are used daily by the courts to try to separate the people from their brothers in arms, the guerillas. The Government will yet find that this is an impossible task.

The fact is that the white Government faces a determined and militant black population more than twenty times as large as the total white population.

Philip Knightley calls his history of war correspondents 'The First Casualty' — the first casualty being Truth.

Rhodesia is at war and truth is hard to recognise for propaganda is paraded in persuasive guise by both sides. Recently, the Government has made much play of a programme by the Army to "win hearts and minds."

One morning this month twenty of my employees on the ranch were standing around a tall, uneducated cattle herder and all were looking shocked. I found that Dickson had just received word from his home eighty miles away that "the soldiers" had burned his four huts and all their contents. "Who was at home?" I asked.

"Only my two wives and six children were at home." There is no appeal; nothing can be done except to give what help one can. No hearts or minds were won by this news.

Earlier this month I spoke to a friend who has a University education and he told me that his brother had been executed the day before. He was on his way to take the news to his widowed mother. A year ago his brother had left his sixth form studies to train as a guerilla. He had re-entered Rhodesia and in an engagement lost his left arm and his right leg and had been captured, hospitalised, tried and condemned to death for "being in possession of arms of war." There had been an appeal but now came the news of the execution. We execute our prisoners of war — and win no hearts or minds.

Last week I had news of another friend. He is an exemplary man, the head teacher of a school, married to a teacher, has two children and has saved a large sum of money which he has in a business — in other words a

typical "Black Marxist." He has just left Rhodesia, his wife, his family, his business, to train as a guerilla. "I will see you again in a free Zimbabwe."

What have we learned in this six months?

Mr Smith has shown the whole world that he has no intention of transferring power from whites to the whole population, including whites.

The Nationalists, though divided in their leadership represent the people united in their determination to free themselves from white domination, no matter what the cost in blood.

Britain and America made a mistake in putting the interim period of government up for negotiation. Britain should have nominated a caretaker government so that the politicians would have been free to concern themselves with two main matters, the framing of an independence Constitution and all the political preparations required for an election based on a universal franchise. Democracy cannot begin in the new Zimbabwe until there is security for an election and freedom for all to participate. Any referendum conducted under the Smith Government's aegis and during the state of emergency is doomed to fail.

Leadership can only be decided at a general election, and at that election the Opposition will also be determined — an equally important matter.

If the free world, with all its influence and power, cannot provide a catalyst to make possible the unification of black and white then a war of attrition will depose the white men in dishonour. That is a matter for the white man's choice and is his concern. The future could belong to us all; today only the Black man can be sure of the future —and he is sure. •

MORE THAN BUILDINGS LIE IN RUIN

Letter from a 17 year old schoolboy in Guguletu black township addressed to a white Liberal

Dear Dart

We are still fine at this riot stricken township.

Sophia has always been worried since the unrest started. Sometimes she wants to cry warning me and Archie not to walk in the streets at night. She does not want to see us with our girl friends. She is also afraid thinking that we can be detained at any time and be killed. Sometimes she tells me that she does not sleep, but thinking.

Dart, as far as I can recall back from my mind is when I was five years old. At that time we were living at..... in a one roomed house made of zinc. When we came in there Sophia told us that that was our home. We had nothing with us except blankets to sleep on a wooded floor. I remember one morning Sophia cutting bread with

her hand for me and Archie, what thick, shapeless slices we had. One day while we were playing Sophia called. When we stepped in the house we saw a white lady to whom we were introduced. This lady left us, she was driving a red beetle Volkswagen. Sophia told us that was Dart. From that day I did not forget that name.

Dart came back again now with a small basket in which there were few cups, a knife and a towel. From that day we used to look at the northerly direction for Dart. If we saw a red Volkswagen, we used to run home to tell mother that Dart was coming. It did not end there. Dart brought us a sofa to sleep on. All three of us slept there like sardines packed in a tin with our head in opposite directions. Again the non-tiring lone fighter brought us a

bench and a cupboard. Now the 'home' was a complete home. Dart, there are hundreds and hundreds of things I do not know. You, daddy Henry and Sophia know.

Recently I visited you accompanied by my friend Albert. For Albert in his life you were the first white people to make him feel that he was a human being. I must tell you he will never forget you in his life. On our way back your name and attitude towards us was always in his lips, so much that he told me not to leave him behind when I go to you again. I am sure you were disappointed when we declined sleeping there, but at our homes they did not know where we were. Now came the moment when I was leaving.. Daddy Henry shook my hand with a smile, but that was not a happy smile, it was a smile of a sad person. I looked over him at Sally, the same was written on her face. At Mummy Dart it was the same. I do not know whether it was me who reflected those feelings or what. I could not stand that I had to look down. On the

way tears were spilling down my cheeks. I was thinking of good people.

It is a long time since these Afrikaaners have oppressed us. I lost my father because of them. To them we are worse than dogs. I am afraid good people like you, Alan Patons who has been warning them for a long time, Helen Suzmans, Eglins and many others are going to suffer because of them. Black man hates White man because White man has taught him to hate. The world kills good people, where are Kennedys, Luthulis and Martin Luther Kings? Daddy Henry, Mummy Dart, James and Sally, I hate the one who hates me. Praise and, thanks to your family. As it is said by Alan Paton, they killed the Liberal Party in 1968 which was composed of all races. I am sure it could have saved South Africa, but now it is very late, there is no looking back.

Your loving son
Simon.

(Names have been disguised for obvious reasons) •

live tunes:

cold steel:

Ophir amuse:

wit florist

By Tony Voss.

Bateleur Poets:— Bateleur Press — Johannesburg. 1977

The Bateleur Poets series brings together between one pair of covers 'four separate books pressed into one volume only through considerations of economy" (Lionel Abrahams in the publisher's foreword to this volume). The series began well in 1975 with Abrahams himself, Robert Greig, Mike Kirkwood and Walter Saunders. This second volume is as good as the first, and, to my mind, more interesting. It seems only fair to discuss the volume as if we had four separate books, as Peter Strauss did when he reviewed the first Bateleur Poets in Reality last year.

Don MacLennan

A typical Don MacLennan poem, if there is such a thing, begins on a note of conversation, or observation, or self-questioning, moves through complexity and out again, into an earned simplicity and melody. I would like to quote many of the longer poems here, but will settle for the first poem of Life Songs:

Love Song

Not what you've done that counts
but how you keep reminding people
of yourself.
And here I am again
eating vain hope
beginning to unlearn pain
and claim priority on just one grip
that holds you to my ribs again.

The rhyme sings at the end of that poem, and the poet's ear is always good and true. This is the end of a longer poem called 'Conversation':

A point I have to raise —
love and literature occur
just when you need to love or clarify or praise.

Here are the beginning and ending of a poem ^called 'Self Education':

Here's the eye trying to see
a glass steam over, fog digest a hill,
heat make ovens out of rocks.
Impossible.

One of the eye's darkest shocks —
it sees shut, everything.

On the evidence of this selection, Don MacLennan is a quotable poet. The lines and phrases do not do entire justice to the poems from which they are taken; but I have the sense that the poems have been experienced to make certain statements possible.

A candle in a saucer,
that's a dying thing.

('Arcadia')

Occasionally I was struck by the sharpness of observation

The naked genitals of children shrink
under the lash of ice-soaked wind,
offensive their omnivorous eyes.

('Night Raid')

and the exuberance of the imagery:

hangovers through which
The intimacy of last night's revelation
crawls like an autopsy.

('Poem for Ann Hubbard')

There is a beneficent craft in the best of these poems, and one is convinced of the rightness and naturalness of the poet's calling. And there is a sense of the difference, as well as the relation between living and writing:

Do not make me a poet
with this pain:
it is not poetry I wanted,
it was you.

and It is not how I lie
but how I want to lie.

The achievement of these poems gives a sense of conviction to those moments when the poet's own vocation is the subject of his verse:

The practice of a life:
the fact is, it knows no other art
than the art of writing poetry.

('A Coppice at Kleinemonde')

Don MacLennan can write love poetry and philosophical poetry, particularly with an epistemological slant. His poems derive their power from a kind of loyalty to the moment of immediate and existential sensibility. He is not so successful, it seems to me, when he has consciously to marshal images and impressions into an order, when the poems seem to serve some idea outside themselves. ('Culloden', 'By Kleinemonde River'). Don MacLennan is best when he obeys his own injunction;

Let yourself go up in leaf
yield up that precious gift.

(A Coppice at Kleinemonde')

Sheila Roberts

Lou's Life and Other Poems falls into three groups: ten poems about Lou, her late (?) husband, Steel, her friend, Mary-Beth, her servant Therees; five 'Clifton Sketches' and two 'Thumbnail Sketches'. It is difficult to do any justice to these poems by quotation, but

Mary-Beth looked oo-la-la
in a lemony see-through affair
her breasts like spotted Israeli
grapefruit.

That's from 'Weekend in Maseru': the next poem in the collection is 'Postscript: return by air,' which is short enough to quote in full:

The clerk at the airstrip said
that since the American students
of the Peace Corps
were living in the villages
(and obviously sleeping with the coons)
the black swines were making passes
in the streets
at decent girls like herself.

Sheila Robert's Lou gives us the latest reports from the shifting frontier; between white and black, bourgeois and proletariat, men and women, South Africa and Africa .

There is a kind of achieved naivete in Sheila Robert's poems; the poet betrays no self-consciousness of her art. Perhaps this comes from a clear sense of her relationship to the "middle-classes" and ' suburbia" of which she writes

in her preface, and from which she draws the subjects for her poetry. The effect is often that the poems are coming from the voice of a medium, whose guide is a disembodied inhabitant of South Africa., a kind of ghostly Sunday Times: and South Africa itself, seen with the gaze that gives the clarity of hallucination, has become the beyond in which the guide wanders, speaking through the poet.

The poems have a strong basis in character and narrative, and sometimes I could see no pressing formal necessity for their presentation as verse. Perhaps some of these poems used to be, or are going to be, short stories: "Steel's Foreman's Labour Problem" and most of the sketches. Honest, frank, true they may be, but not, to my mind, poems.

Colin Style

Colin Style's collection, *Baobab Street*, gives us twenty-five poems of undeniable assurance, poise and power. He writes free verse of great discipline and technical skill, and I am always convinced that this poet feels that he is saying exactly what he wants to say. Here is the last stanza of 'Bulawayo':

The monotony,
the sufficiency of towns,
stagnant groups,
never stir me like de Jongh.
The 'Old Tree Hout Bay'
invites me always
to wade as a boy
through shallows, past sea-horses,
pick berries,
cut batons,
pry through rafters
for answers, warm mutters from owls.

His poems give the strong sense of writing from a particular historical or cultural moment. And his eye for human and material and natural detail is often striking. You can feel the range of his almost relentless voice in *The Pottle*.

There is in all these poems a confidence and a certainty. Seldom anything obviously heroic, the chance never taken to let a poem reverberate or ring in case it should ring false.

Yet Colin Style does write about heroes: about Rhodesian heroes and how they are made, Ray Amm, the motor-cycle ace, A.S. Cripps; culture heroes in contexts that give them away, 'Stewart Granger in Salisbury', 'Paul Robeson at Stratford Station', 'Poetry Reading' (the Russian poet Vinokurov in Earls Court): other artists, 'Douglas Livingstone', 'Musical Saw in Durban', 'Ventriloquist'.

Other subjects are drawn from those places that would be inarticulate without poets, the provincial towns of Africa: 'The New Town', 'Baobab Street', 'Closing of the Sanitary Lanes'. In two of the most accessible of the poems, 'Letter to Gweshe' and 'Hoeing in Gweshe', Colin Style adopts a pastoral persona, and finds a new voice and a new tune.

What more could one ask for? A sense of humour, a little 'give': "Just a little lovin' ", as Bing Crosby used to sing "Will go a long way" . If Nadine Gordimer were a poet, she might hope to be as good as Colin Style.

Peter Wilhelm

In 'Spring for the Prisoners, November 1975' the last poem in his collection, *White Flowers*, Peter Wilhelm writes:

The spring comes in the winter of my language
because the language doesn't fit,
the language doesn't work any more,
it doesn't work well.

That's good, but the poem is spoilt, to my mind, by the accumulation of detail, by taking that South African Poet's argument too far. I think many of his poems are too long, partly because he gives in to the temptation to add a witty or surprising turn. Perhaps this is because, as he writes in his preface he is "consciously.struggling to become human in Africa", and anything may be relevant in a process like that. In any event, I find the shorter poems generally more delightful and instructive: for example 'John Harris Bombs Johannesburg Station', 'Roadblock', 'La Luta Continua'. Here Peter Wilhelm concentrates his attention and his powers, as he speaks through an assumed figure, recalling action and experience with precision. 'Bartholomew Diaz Erects a Cross in Africa' goes well for two stanzas, when Diaz speaks but the narrative voice of the last stanza adds nothing but pretension.

Of all these four poets I would like to see more. Surely Colin Style deserves by now a volume on his own. Many of these poems have appeared before and it would be useful, but perhaps too expensive, for the publishers to tell us where. Are these selections work-in-progress or each poet's choice from the best up to now?-

A good book this (perhaps it needed a closer proof-read). Worth buying, worth having. I'll read it again. •

SINCE SOWETO :

SOME BRIEF IMPRESSIONS

by Vortex

1

General Open Opportunities Department

The news is spreading through the town:
The BAD buildings are burning down.
Oh what shall we raise where buildings stood?
Nothing, till BAD be turned to GOOD.

2

Every shot fired by the police
goes thwacking mercilessly
through my body.

3

White South Africa

Sun in the garden
but dark within:
bird-song and silence;
mental din.
Fruits of prosperity
and sin.

4

God in this nightmare land we pray
That the destructive swirl of night
And these fierce masks of force and fright
May break at last into a day.

5

It clears the mind, it cleans the air:
A crisp, sharp, lucid statement of despair.

6

Afrikaner Nationalist

To show that his past's worth fighting for,
And to prove the force of his man-made law,
He'll be the cause of the Third World War.

7

Like the soil of a homeland —
which is parched and pockmarked,
burnt to deadness by the sun,
worn into dongas by the wind and rain—
my soul is eroded
by my country's pain. •

" NEVERTHELESS... "

a variety of religious protest

by Tim Dunne.

Let me confess at the outset that the views and opinions I am about to lay before you are unashamedly personal and subjective. They are not intended to be an academic or philosophical analysis of the issues which will be raised. Instead they represent the opinions, convictions and prejudices of one person attempting, honestly, to assess the confusion of which he finds himself a part. No doubt they also give evidence of one who is continually out of step with those around him, and has come, wisely or unwisely, to believe in being out of step and to believe also in clinging to his own vision, however impractical or Utopian it is judged to be. None of this makes the opinions any the less or more correct or useful or valuable, but I hope in stating them bluntly and personally to provoke discussion on a number of related issues that move me somewhere in my stomach.

I find myself utterly bored and not a little troubled by a fairly current view among "Well-intentioned" Whites, to the effect that if we Whites only started to accommodate Black aspirations and eliminate "petty" apartheid, we would thereby eliminate Black hostility and the possibilities of further Soweto-type action. So profoundly patronizing an attitude can only lead to disillusionment and probably also to disaster in that it will inevitably provoke increased violence. The underlying assumptions it displays are roughly as follows — Blacks are basically good boys and girls: Blacks just want us to be nice to them: Blacks are not really bitter about South African history: and Blacks don't really want full and equal participation with Whites in political matters.

Take a walk through the main streets of Pietermaritzburg at five in the morning. Here, as in most cities, you will see the people of God making their way to work, having risen an hour or so earlier. Drive a little off the main road through Edendale, along the rough roads which twist and twirl up to hills that encircle Pietermaritzburg and you will see where these people have their homes and see their children filling buckets from a communal tap, to carry home for the needs of to-day.

When you have seen where the people of God rise in the morning you will stand privileged amongst the White community, because you will know how the contrast between where they are and where they work cannot escape them, and because you will hear the unsaid and unsayable things that are carried close, to work and home again. There is nothing comfortable to be heard — a gnawing need for redress, and dogged yearning for a new rising in a new morning.

What this experience teaches most directly is that we have missed the most obvious fact about South Africa, if we expect Blacks to be all-forgiving and obsequiously or generously to give the converted Whites a clean slate. In the final analysis the precise terms of change can only and will only be determined by the Blacks, regardless of a White change of attitude or position. And whatever the final terms are we must accept that they are not going to be in the least degree comfortable for us Whites. It is even quite possible that the boot will be squarely on the other foot, and that we in turn will be the victims of discrimination at least for some time. To brush aside these possibilities is both foolish and dishonest; we have to recognise that change is comfortable in neither concept nor practice, and that we have a major role to play in helping Whites to equip themselves personally so as to cope with the coming reality. The first strategy in fulfilling that paradoxically impossible task is to say it like it is and like it will become. Invariably saying it like it will become, includes some realistic comments about standards of living after change. For Whites this will have to mean drastically reduced standards and the sooner this is openly stated and recognised the sooner will we also be able to claim that we are squarely facing the African reality of poverty. We have to recognise in effect, that South Africa is a poor country and only appears wealthy in that our way of life ensures that a particular group gathers for itself a totally disproportionate slice of everything that is available. Pious talk by many Whites seems somehow to be underpinned with an expectation that their own levels of living will remain very much what they presently are. Rude awakening must follow. To prepare adequately for what is to happen in our lives at a mundane and domestic level we must think of living on a quarter of what we now have and rid ourselves of such automatic notions as the family car.

These observations do of course presuppose a system of economics other than that of the predominating capitalism of today. Such a presupposition is not unreasonable in that Blacks have been given no cause to believe in even the possibility of what some wealthy individuals (and perhaps also you, the reader) would regard as the reasonable face of capitalism. Whether socialism, African or otherwise, will necessarily give Blacks a fairer deal is open to debate, but essentially it is the Black option and we will have to live with it. Those Whites who feel the need to rush into a critical examination of the dangers of African Socialism should first take the family car on a five-minute jaunt on the by-roads of Edendale, with sun glasses preferably removed.

But having faced what the Black option is bound to be, it is perhaps pertinent to recognise that no political or economic system can guarantee what mankind generally seems to expect: a place to live with one's family in relative security, comfort and quiet. The level of transformation required in any society for these ideals to be adopted and fulfilled in practice, can only be described as religious. It can only be achieved where a people, or vast numbers of them, become committed to a life-style which embraces every individual and for such a phenomenon to occur would require an unprecedented conversion experience shared by thousands. For this reason, the required transformation, albeit religious, can not find its origin or its impetus in that major South African evil, the phenomenon of Christianity in the form of the various institutional Churches and mass-escapist movements.

What grounds are there for so vast a claim? Perhaps some of the following: an Anglican bishop's early morning radio pep-talk on Christianity as a highway code and guide to safe motoring; a second pep-talk on Christianity as an advanced Dale Carnegie Course; and on the morality of remembering people's names when they are introduced to one (how marvellously British and how profoundly episcopal); a Roman Catholic school which advertises in the White Parish of St. Mary's, Pietermaritzburg the religious obligation of Catholics to provide Catholic education for their children, with no such advertising at the Black parishes; which also refuse a Black applicant to Community Development without supporting the application; which hides behind the possibility of White parents withdrawing their sons as pupils on the day of integration but does not conduct a universal survey of parents (at most 315 couples) to ascertain the precise number of supposed withdrawals; which does not consult a publicly sympathetic M.E.C. in charge of Education; which does not ascertain how many Black (Coloured, Indian and African) parents might be prepared to pay full fees and which finally and triumphantly celebrates a hundred years of so called Christian education.

Not convinced? Examine the record of three Afrikaner Churches and of such flourishing movements as Underground Evangelism (smuggling Bibles into Russia) and the Christian League of South Africa (opposes violence — of Blacks only); heard of a pamphlet called "An Ideology for South Africa?" — this marvellous publication suggests that South Africa go out to missionize the world. This would lift the gross national product by a good number of Bibles!

There are yet more damning grounds. A new fundamentalism is spreading wildly and widely through the Christian community. Two inter-related characteristics typify this fundamentalism — the first being the Christianity-as-portable-collective-womb syndrome. This is evidenced when Christians are no longer able to cope with the paradoxes and honest doubts of creative faith, and retire into a formula-mumbling declaration of a hollow faith in Jesus as their personal Saviour (from life) and in the cross as an umbilical cord of safety and nurturing from the Divine Person. Safe in this retirement and surrounded by quotations from Paul (usually out of context) they pass judgement upon and pray at the sinners around them. All revolves for them in the magic word faith; there is no

understanding and even very little reading, of the Gospels, no willingness to confront the humanness of the man God-Jesus, whom they profess to follow and no openness to the mundane, even political consequences of Matthew 5:1-12 and 25: 31-46.

The second characteristic is a particularly tortured and unopen understanding of the charismatic experience. I am the last person to doubt that deeply personal experiences of renewal and of healing can overtake individuals unexpectedly. Indeed I would accept that such experiences are usually fundamental to growth to full personhood and participation in society. However, the common attitude of those who describe themselves as charismatic is one of self-righteous exclusiveness. They claim to have a new and exclusive relationship with the Divine — being born in the Spirit, or similarly baptised. In consequence, from their lofty spiritual peak they look down patronizingly on the rest of the human race. The Spirit is there to transport them on the wings of "Hallelujahs" and "Praise the Lords" into a cosy cocoon beyond social responsibility, out of all reach of any cry from the dispossessed, the hungry, the imprisoned. An example — a Pietermaritzburg Optician, who believes that the only reason why he has no trouble from the Security Police, while the writer has had some brushes with the brave men in blue, is that he, as a charismatic, has the Holy Spirit protecting him. Unfortunately, the gentleman has not yet explained the failure of the Holy Spirit to protect charismatics in certain communist countries, nor has he given any idea of what the Spirit has ever led him to, which could also have interested the Police.

The picture is not rosy. In general the Christians stand together in the new-found security of their collective insecurity; they have rendered themselves "safe from all experience, safe above all from life". The fatuous sense of morality which quakes at the naked human body, but cannot be moved by hunger and starvation, is the communal refuge offered by so many Sunday sermons. Christians are invited to indulge themselves in the tortuous enigmas of their own inadequacies, to moralize on dill and mint and pickle and above all encouraged to avoid any personal confrontation with the man Jesus of the Gospels and his way of living rather than his wretched death. The idea that Jesus' favourites were the poor, the dispossessed, the rejected, that he lived a freedom and responsibility beyond rules, that he called men to follow his way of life not to hallucinate on his death — these are forgotten or eradicated as violently as possible. Armed with predetermined and preconceived views on the nature of God, they avoid or argue away the paradox that the Christian has only one way of validly speaking in human terms about his God, and that is to recount the events of the life of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels. Inasmuch as the Christians refuse to embrace paradox, to accept that faith exists only in doubt, that despair is the beginning of hope or that silence alone describes the unknowable, they cast aside their calling and opt for mutual respectability and moronic conformity

The final evidence of the evil of the Christian institutions and of their total and committed participation in what they call the sinfulness of mankind, is the spectacle of the Christian stand on "Defence" and conscientious objection. We have the demonic parody of Christian responsibility in that the pastors of the Prince of Peace willingly serve

as Chaplains to men-at-arms, preaching Christ crucified to the perpetrators of modern crucifixion. It is not as though they divide themselves as pastors to both sides in the violent conflict, which would be scandalous enough but plainly the sympathy and interests of the Christian church as property-owner and spiritual haven of the rich rather than servant of the poor, lie squarely in the White status quo. The "Defence" chaplaincies are the Church's statement of position for any possible polarization in Southern Africa.

What is made of the Christian calling to be prophets and peace-makers? Where is the prophesying to the Armed Forces? Where is the bugle-call to peace? Is the God of the Christians truly more concerned about what we do with our genitals than what we do with our guns? Where are the Christian peace-makers, pacifists, pastors committed to peace? Who will make room for the Christian conscience which believes that the Prince of Peace had no time for violence, or that if he did use it he used it only to defend the poor and rid them of those who robbed and exploited them? — perhaps a Bishop or two — who in so doing alienates practically the entire White Christian community. It is the duty of the Christian to make peace, perhaps to build bridges, dams, hospitals, clinics, schools, roads, certainly to build solidarity and understanding; there is no place for war or "Defence" or other such misnomers in the Christian perspective (unless of course someone can oblige us with a suitable quotation from Paul). Patriotism is a false god if it is understood to mean serving one's country from the safe end of a rifle, and it would appear that many have turned to worship at this new shrine.

But the great Christian cop-out does not end with military peace-making. It goes on to claim that it is illegal to speak out against the prevailing notions of "Defence" and seeks to tie up the notion of legality with that of justice. There are two fallacies in this view - firstly Jesus himself set the Christian precedent for attitudes to law, and the Gospels are unequivocally clear on his deliberate transgressions. Presumably there is some point for Christians to be inferred from these events. Secondly legality and justice are not synonymous. So august a body as the South African judiciary has drawn attention to this distinction and has gone so far as to define its own role as to give rulings only

on the legality or otherwise of actions, without reference to the question of justice.

In consequence, the Christian who attempts to hide behind the law and allow it rather than himself to face the accusing finger of fate or history, may do so only to the extent that he is prepared to disregard justice, and the example of his man-God. Which of course leaves most Christians free to hide behind the law. But what of the judiciary? — It never ceases to amaze me that despite their own rulings, their formal title is preserved as Mr Justice X, instead of Mr Legal Referee X or Mr Legality X, both of which alternatives recall a clearer definition of their function. Society raises expectations which can never be satisfied in the courts by preserving an outdated title.

Perhaps these expectations ought to be satisfied in the courts. The duty of the courts to bind themselves to the question of legality finds its origin in the view that the Parliament represents the will of the people and that the courts are the arbiters on what the will of the people shall be deemed to be. Inasmuch as the South African Parliament does not reflect the will of the people, but only that of the White minority, the courts could reasonably find that they were still bound to the cardinal principle of declaring what the will of the people might be. When the courts take this role to themselves, the return to the present title of Justice might be required. Until that time we can however, continue to expect Christians to cling to the law, as the justification for behaviour and attitudes which the Gospels bring into question.

In conclusion allow me to add that my remarks have not been merely cheap cracks at groups to whom I am considerably opposed. As it happens I am a committed and practising member of the Christian denomination which came under most direct criticism here. It is simply about time that White Christians began realizing that the Gospel's "first shall be last and last shall be first" might in fact mean safe, warm, well-fed, church-going Christians are in for a surprise. For this reason I have used the phrase people of God to describe those who are rejected and whom life passes by. The Gospels are quite clear evidence that it was the rejected of society who were Jesus' special favourites. It is in this realisation alone that the Christian Church can rediscover its proper calling. •

ASPECTS OF THE DIRECTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL INCOME INEQUALITY

By M. D. McGrath

Introduction:

During the 1970's the South African wage structure has received considerable attention, with most emphasis being given to the measurement of poverty amongst urban Blacks and the differential in wages between White and Black workers. Concern with some aspect of income distribution is not entirely unexpected, for the historical record shows a long tradition of writing and government policy on issues related to the incomes of various groups. Examples of such concern are found in the policy of the 1920's to eliminate the poverty of White families who had migrated to the towns; in the 1930's the White rural community received attention and attempts were made to eliminate its poverty and stabilize incomes, and the 1950's saw a period in which the government consolidated the power of White workers to protect their jobs and wages from racial competition. A resurgence of interest in income distribution is a recent phenomenon abroad. In South Africa aspects of income distribution policy have received continuous attention during the last fifty years.

Concern with Black incomes and deliberate sustained attempts to narrow racial wage differentials are, however, relatively recent departures. The aim of this short article is to give an insight into the effects of the economic forces at work in determining racial incomes, and to attempt to place recent pressures on the wage front into a broader perspective.

Aggregates:

Aggregate racial income statistics are stark and surprise even those who have an acute sense of South Africa's injustices. In 1970 Whites are estimated to have received approximately 72 per cent of the economy's total personal income, * although the White group accounted for less than twenty per cent of the total population, resulting in average White

*Personal income includes income from work, wealth, and cash transfer payments, before the deduction of personal taxation. Home consumed agricultural produce is included, as well as payments in kind and fringe benefits, but undistributed corporate profits are not included.

incomes per head being 14 times as great as average African incomes per head. Some adjustment of these numbers, by trying to allocate taxes and the benefits of government expenditures, can reduce the inequality slightly by reducing the White income share to 68 per cent but we are still left with a society with very wide racial income inequality. Whites dominate the higher income ranges, and we find few working Whites amongst the society's poor. By contrast a large number of urban Black households, and an even larger proportion of rural households, lived below incomes consistent with their basic needs for food, shelter and clothing.

The remittances earned through the migrant labour system, involving almost sixty per cent of the African male work force in the White areas is vital to the survival of the reserves, which have for a long time been net importers of food. For KwaZulu, for example, estimated remittances are equivalent to 66 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product and 225 per cent of the value of agricultural output. At present the migrant labour system acts to reallocate employment opportunities between families, and prevents widespread rural starvation.

The components of the vast White to African income differential are easy to separate if we consider the activities which contribute to the income of individuals and families. Income is the sum of earnings from employment (or if the person is in business, the profits from the business), and any returns which are received from wealth. Racial differences in incomes must stem from racially different rates of employment, a racially different distribution of occupations, and of wages within and between occupations, and also from differences in the amount of income received from wealth. In order to simplify our discussion we shall consider only the two main and most dissimilar groups - Africans and Whites.

Labour Markets:

Since the 1920's each successive government has protected White employment, not only by giving preference to Whites in public sector occupations, but also by reserving private sector jobs at the interface of racial competition thus preventing employers from experimenting with the racial mix of their labour force. Whites have a near monopoly of managerial, executive and administrative posts, they also

dominate the professional, semi-professional and technical occupations, and artisan jobs are a non-African preserve. Whites have preference in the job queue, with the result that unemployment rates differ markedly between racial groups. There were less than 5000 Whites registered as unemployed during any month of 1975. African unemployment is difficult to estimate as statistics are not collected, but a recent study places the residual labour figure at between 20 per cent and 30 per cent of those of working age.

Most African workers who find jobs are "crowded" into low wage occupations, even in those sectors of the economy usually associated with relatively higher wages. Recruitment of unskilled labour from other countries by the mines, and White farmers, adds to the forces producing low wages.

In manufacturing average wages are at present about 35 per cent higher than those paid on the mines, but even if the African work force could compete freely for industrial jobs, many such jobs would not be available. Managerial, clerical, supervisory and skilled jobs all require some degree of literacy and arithmetical skills which many African workers do not possess. In 1970 over 90 per cent of male urban economically active Africans had completed less than a full primary education, whereas 80 per cent of Whites had attained more than that level. As in mining, an occupational colour bar exists against those Africans who have the potential for performing skilled or clerical work. Job reservation is often seen as the most important element of this colour bar, but managements own prejudices especially at lower levels, occasional acts of government coercion, the costs of setting up separate facilities for Black staff, a fear of discontent arising among White workers, and a reluctance to invest in the training of African workers, are all important factors which deter African occupational advancement.

This segmentation of the labour force, probably at its height in the early 1960's, led Knight to propose a theory of wages in South Africa formulated in terms of two non-competing groups of workers, namely skilled labour (entirely White) and unskilled labour (entirely Black).

The Black wage was determined by the opportunities available in reserve agriculture, and unskilled labour was assumed to be available in amounts greater than could be employed at this near subsistence wage. Skilled labour, on the other hand is in extremely short supply and is fully employed. Within the assumptions of this model the market mechanism acts as a malevolent Invisible Hand to produce increasing racial wage inequalities, since White labour is able to benefit not only from its own skills, but also from its acute scarcity. The benefits of growth in the economy accrue in the form of higher wages to Whites, and higher levels of employment to Africans.

Since the 1960's some changes in employment patterns have taken place although Knight's model still explains the determination of incomes for the vast majority of Africans. Acute shortages of skilled labour prior to the current recession have forced employers to use Africans in semi-skilled, skilled and supervisory jobs, but the pace of this occupational advancement has been held back by opposition from White Trade Unions. In operations where existing jobs can be fragmented, progress has been faster, but the price of acceptance of African artisan aides has always been a substantial increment in the wages of the

White artisan. In categories where dilution of jobs has not been possible and where shortages of union members have forced concessions, the response of both conservative and more progressive unions has been to demand "the rate for the job" to protect the incomes of White union members.

More stringent selection criteria will be applied by firms investing larger sums in the training of Africans, and preference will most probably be given to the group which is least costly to train and which is most likely to remain with the firm — workers with permanent urban rights. These urban insiders are also in a better position to get the more advanced jobs as they probably have better access to information about jobs and a greater freedom to search for them.

If this view is right, income differences, and markedly different rates of unemployment, will appear between the urban insiders and the rural outsiders.

In mining too changes have taken place as recent attempts by the mines to recruit a larger proportion of their labour domestically has forced increases in wages. Between 1969 and 1975 African miners real wages rose twofold although before that they had hardly changed in real terms since 1911. At the same time the search for less labour intensive methods of production has been intensified. This search for new technology illustrates a possible conflict between the attainment of higher wages and high growth rates of employment. Those Africans who hold jobs in the future may experience quite large increases in income as mechanised technology is introduced. But for many potential work seekers employment may become more difficult to obtain, an influence which can increase the incomes of some Africans, and worsen the lot of others.

In the service sector African occupations vary widely, ranging from professionals to domestic workers. The wages of unskilled service workers are subject to influences similar to workers in agriculture and mining. Employment opportunities for African professionals have until recently been confined almost exclusively to the public sector, which is the major employer of African teachers, doctors and nurses. Discriminatory residential legislation, government policy and White consumer prejudice have prevented African professionals from serving the high income White market. Instead they have had to resort to jobs in government hospitals and schools at incomes below those earned by White professionals. The expansion of government expenditure on African services has increased the demand for professionally qualified Africans, as has the creation of the institutions of Homeland government and some competition from businesses needing Africans for white-collar jobs. These market pressures, and a desire by government to encourage the formation of an African elite, have led to a marked reduction in public sector racial wage differentials.

Education and Occupational Advancement:

Lack of education was singled out as a major factor inhibiting African occupational mobility, and the immediate response is to urge an increase in the provision of education. Even so difficulties lie in the way, for employer prejudice and White employee fears have still to be overcome. A study by Perry of a sample of urban African men and women who left school between 1966 and 1971 after reaching at least Junior Certificate pinpoints the problem. Some 25 per cent were unemployed and were looking for work at the time

of the survey. Many had aspirations which were high in relation to opportunities. Of the few men with a full secondary education, 43 per cent were teachers or clerks, and no less than 27 per cent were manual workers; of those who had left after writing Junior Certificate, 58 per cent were manual workers. When asked about the main difficulties in finding employment, the majority mentioned formal and informal job reservation and employer preferences for other race groups; a number mentioned the problems caused by "influx" control and the low quality of "Bantu education." Employers were seen to give preference in white collar jobs to other races because of greater fluency in official languages, greater confidence, and greater presentability. In these perceptions the respondents showed insight for in access to white collar jobs Africans take last place in the queue behind other races.

While there is a marked moral obligation to provide the African community with as much education as the other groups receive, an increase in the supply of education alone is only a partial solution to the employment problem. Unless the demand for educated African manpower increases at the same rate as the supply, mass unemployment even of educated Africans may emerge, for employers use education to screen prospective applicants for jobs, and higher levels of education can be demanded for entry to the job opportunities available if there is a glut of applicants.

Expansion of education in other African countries, and even in America has had disappointing results for the distribution of income, and unless the racial ordering of the job queue is changed drastically, or unless sufficient new jobs are created for newly educated Africans, a similar failure may result in South Africa.

Wealth and Entrepreneurship:

Almost one quarter of the income inequality which exists between the average White and the average African seems to be due to the higher incomes from wealth and profit which are earned by Whites, although these are concentrated even within the White community. These differences result partly from low African incomes which have inhibited savings, in part from the laws which impede African entrepreneurship and the difficulties which African businesses have had in raising risk capital, and in part from the unequal racial division of the land area of South Africa.

In order that the income of Africans from wealth rises to the same level as Whites the African community will have to generate a higher rate of savings than the White community and earn at least as high a rate of return on these savings. In the medium term this seems most unlikely for income increases are not likely to lead to savings until relatively high incomes are obtained, a large class of wealthy African entrepreneurs will not emerge rapidly, and rates of return on small and on large capital sums often differ widely in favour of the wealthy. For the present the solution to the income distribution problem

clearly lies in the areas of wages and employment, unless government is prepared actively to redistribute wealth.

Future Perspectives:

We have argued that there is a dichotomy between pressures at work in the economy, with some improving and with others worsening the racial income distribution. Average African incomes will be influenced markedly by the nature of the growth path which the economy is following, and so will be influenced by the growth rate of the economy, the growth rate of the African population, the growth rate of production in the Reserves and the capital intensity of new investment. The African population's growth rate is high and may still be rising and at present the economy is growing very slowly, if at all. Both these forces will depress wage growth and increase unemployment. Any tendency towards increased capital intensity in commercial agriculture, mining and manufacturing will add to long run pressures on the unemployed. All these forces will have a negative influence on African incomes, although some positive forces are at work. One is the desire by mining and agriculture to become less dependent on foreign migrants, another is the increase in the flow of government expenditure on the Reserves as a result of the Homeland policy. Between 1969/70 and 1973/4 expenditure on services and infrastructure in the Reserves increased at the rapid real average rate of 9 per cent per annum.

The rapid economic growth of the 1960's resulted in a marked improvement in the incomes and employment opportunities of the Coloured and Asian communities. An African elite is also emerging as a result of the shortage of skills which resulted from high growth rates. The most optimistic picture for African incomes for the next decade is one of increasing real incomes for some, and this may narrow the per capita racial differential at the cost of much greater inequality within the African community.

A recession of the kind which the economy is at present experiencing worsens the long run problem by adding to the rate at which the economy will have to grow to absorb its unemployed population. Some economic situations work to produce virtuous circles whereas others can produce vicious circles. High growth rates require high investment rates in order to maintain the high growth, but in a climate of buoyant growth there is less difficulty in generating the necessary levels of investment. Poverty circles are hard to break as foreign investment in a poor stagnant society is unattractive and domestic surpluses are difficult to generate. The buoyant era of the sixties may have produced a virtuous circle in South Africa which was working towards a solution of some aspects of the racial income problem. Has the world recession of the mid-seventies, coupled with waning foreign and local confidence in the political stability of Southern Africa acted to produce a vicious circle of poverty and unemployment from which there will be no foreseeable escape for an increasing portion of the African population?

FROM A SOUTH AFRICAN FARMER

By Jean van Riet

I am sure ever so many white people have no idea of the uphill fight a black child has to get educated, nor what a struggle it is for the parents financially nor of the impediments and obstacles purposefully (I cannot call it otherwise) placed there by one or other Bantu Administration Department.

We privileged whites simply take education for granted and due to the "apartheid policy" there is practically no contact and many do not know and do not care what the position is regarding education for the blacks, especially in the rural area is the position critical.

I am a farmer and care for the interests of my employees, especially regarding the education and welfare of their children. We have 150 pupils in the school on my farm. Allow me to tell you of my personal experiences over the last 40 years, leaving out difficulties like the long distances (often 7, 8 and more km) many children have to walk (there is no transport) to the nearest school, which, as you can imagine, is especially difficult in winter time for undernourished and scantily-clad children. In December 1961 I was prohibited from personally giving prizes for encouragement to the Excelsior Bantu School children which I had been doing for the previous twenty-five years. The correspondence, which I still have, between me and the authorities regarding the issue is a revelation. Again in 1962 the small rental paid for the building I erected for the school was withdrawn and after correspondence (also still in my possession) I was advised that I could use the said building for a farm shed on the closing down of the school. This of course did not happen as I had no intention at all of closing down the school; my aim was merely to test the attitude of the department which shows clearly the don't-care and inhuman approach of the department regarding the education of the black children. To read the correspondence regarding this issue is truly sad,

especially when one considers the selfish, inhuman and short-sighted attitude when so much brain power is required in our developing country.

This year we have experienced another senseless and provocative attitude. Children can only go to Standard IV at farm schools, in spite of there being all the facilities required at the Excelsior Location Bantu school these children are prohibited from staying on boarding in the location to further their studies. As the parents simply cannot afford to send their children to the larger boarding schools in the homelands these youngsters just float around to become cheap labour. Imagine if white children from the farms were prohibited from going to a town school under similar circumstances!

Now there is a new obstacle to keep children from their natural citizenship rights and probably later of their free education and even old age pension rights! Children going to a Bantu school for the first time must produce a birth certificate and these certificates declare them to be citizens of one or other of the homelands in spite of the fact that their parents were born in the white area and lived there all their lives. These children now become foreigners in their own country and you can guess what discrimination will probably be their lot in the future. Naturally many parents do not want to register their children under these circumstances but of course NO birth certificate NO education!

We are living in a highly competitive world and we cannot afford to withhold adequate education from any section of our community. There is no question that South Africa can probably utilize its material resources and increase its prosperity only if the intelligence and skill of the whole population is fully developed. It is a crying shame to see how we go about it. •

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