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by Dr. Rupert Gude

TURFLOOP TESTIMONY—A COMMENT
by Alan Paton

INSTITUTE OF BLACK STUDIES (Conference Report)
by Nimrod Mkele

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EDITORIALS

1

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION IDEA

The idea of calling a new, fully-representative, all-race National Convention to negotiate an agreed basis for South Africa's political future has been a good many people's policy for quite a long time. It was Liberal Party policy over twenty years ago. It was Progressive Party policy and is now PRP policy. It is the policy of most Black people working within the apartheid system, as well as of many outside it. It is not, however, Mr Vorster's policy.

At his report-back meeting to his Nigel constituents recently Mr Vorster said that the purpose of a new National Convention could only be to scrap the present constitution and to bring in a new one aimed at one-man-one-vote. On the first point he is quite right. The purpose of a new National Constitution would be to substitute a new constitution for the present one. Whether it would be based on one-man-one-vote we don't know, although we hope that it would be—for, in our view, one-man-one-vote, tied to a Bill of Rights and an independent judiciary, perhaps within a federal framework, provides much the best hope for our future stability and happiness. After all, isn't the vote what democracy is supposed to be about? And if we are not to have one-man-one-vote democracy, with all its hazards, you can be sure we will have something much worse.

However, the fact that we would advocate one-man-one-vote at a National Convention, and Mr Vorster would not, makes no difference to our conviction that it is urgently necessary to call such a convention. Its task would be to produce a constitution which would probably satisfy nobody completely but would offer a prospect of reasonable security to all. Sooner or later, we are convinced, such a convention will take place, even if it goes by some other name. It is inconceivable that a secure and acceptable future for all South Africans will ever come out of Mr Vorster's policies, not only because

those policies have been worked out by White people alone, but because they are rejected in principle even by the Black people who are prepared to work within their institutions— to say nothing of those who are not. This last group includes the majority of our urban Black and Coloured people. The past six months of urban unrest has shown that this rejection is more emphatic amongst young people than it is amongst old. Who can seriously imagine that, as the years go by, this rejection will subside, or disappear? And if it does not, as we are sure it will not, is Black civil unrest to become part of South Africa's everyday life? How long, if it persists in its present policies, will Mr Vorster's government be able to contain this daily threat on the home front, while external diplomatic and economic and military threats grow—as they undoubtedly will and as long as widespread internal rejection of those policies continues?

These questions are being asked by more and more people, not least a variety of Nationalist academics, businessmen and newspaper editors. But the government's reaction to the questions, and to the events which inspired them, has been almost completely depressing. It has rejected out of hand any suggestion that the time has come for a new start to be made in South Africa. It has done worse. Through Mr Vorster and other Cabinet Ministers it has given support to the arch-conservative, Dr Treurnicht, in what seems to be a deliberate move on his part to reverse some of the few relaxations of apartheid which the last few years have seen.

If we may ask again a question which we have asked before, does this mean that the Government will refuse to negotiate with its opponents, until, like Mr Smith, it has no alternative? Does it mean that it has learnt nothing from Rhodesia and Namibia? Does it mean that the Nationalists will refuse to start sharing power until they have no choice? We hope not, because by that time such bitterness will have been created in our country that the prospects for racial harmony may have disappeared.

In this deteriorating situation it seems to us that, little though Mr Vorster may like it, one of the constructive things which people who want a non-racial society can do is to hold up continuously before the South African public, Black and White, the idea that the only peaceful way out of our impasse is through a new Convention. At that Convention must be everyone who has an effective following within the community, whether, at this moment, they happen to be gaoled, detained, banned or free, and whether they be Black or White. At it must be the people who have the power to effect change and those who have ideas about what that change should be. This means that, amongst others, the Nationalists must be there, and they must be there in the frame of mind to negotiate with people they at present regard as a threat.

There is absolutely no sign that the Nationalists have yet reached the stage where they would be prepared to consider such a Convention. That is no reason not to keep pressing the idea, in the hope, however faint, that, even in the South African situation, man is not so immune to reason that he cannot be persuaded that it is better to talk to his opponents from a position of comparative strength in a situation of peace, than to meet them across the armistice table after a long and bitter conflict.

From such a Convention, and the hard bargaining which will go with it, could be born a society which promised something to all South Africans, and to which all could give their love and loyalty. How else will we ever achieve that? □

2 DEATH IN DETENTION

In March 1976 Mr Joseph Mdluli died in the hands of the Security Police the day after they had detained him. Seven months later four security policemen were charged with culpable homicide arising out of his death. They were acquitted because according to the evidence, they were not present when he died.

That Mr Mdluli sustained the severe injuries which led to his death while being held by the Security Police is not in question. They say that he tried to escape and that there was a struggle. They say he fell over a chair. The Judge was obviously not happy with all the evidence that was placed before him. He remakred, "I need hardly say that the problem of how Mdluli met his death is one that should be solved." But will it be?

The inquest on Mr Mapetlo Mohapi, who was said to have committed suicide while being held by the Security Police at Kei Road in August, 1976, had still not been held by December. By that time the two doctors who attended his post mortem as representatives of his family had themselves been in detention for several months.

On November 11th, 1976, an inquest court in Cape Town began an inquiry into the death of Mr Luke Mazwembe, who was found hanged in his cell at Caledon Square police station only hours after being detained. The attorney representing Mr Mazwembe's family remarked to the court, "It appears Mr Mazwembe was very conveniently left with a piece of twine and a razor blade." Out of these and strips of blanket he is said to have manufactured the noose with which he hanged himself. At the time of writing the inquest inquiry has still to be concluded, having been postponed after one day to a date to be announced.

There have been several other deaths of people held without trial by the Security Police within recent months. One could almost say that the event is becoming common place. It certainly no longer provokes the uproar which it did some years ago, or even when Mdluli died. The official announcement of death is usually accompanied by the statement that it was due to natural causes, or suicide.

We suppose it is possible for people to die of natural causes in detention, but why should they want to commit suicide?

APARTHEID AND MEDICAL SERVICES

by Rupert Gude

The standard of medical care available in South Africa is amongst the highest in the world—provided that one is white. The Blacks living in South Africa have limited access to this high standard, but for the most part the medical care available to them is akin to that of one of the developing countries of Africa.

This disparity is accentuated by the fact that the Blacks make up the poor of the country ("The Have nots" as Professor Phillpot of Natal Medical School describes them). Ignorance, poverty, poor sanitation and malnutrition all contribute to make this group the most susceptible to disease and the least capable of fighting debilitating diseases like tuberculosis.

In most countries of the world there is a disparity between the health care available to the urban and to the rural communities. However in South Africa this sometimes reaches gross proportions. One needs to go only 30 miles from Durban to the area known as Umbumbulu to see this glaring disparity. Umbumbulu has virtually no infrastructure of medical care. There is a District Surgeon with responsibilities there, but he can do little for the 150 000 + people who live in this area that has been virtually untouched by the wave of development that has spread around South Africa. These people have no local hospital and have to travel to Pietermaritzburg or Durban to be seen by a doctor. It is odd that a place just one hour's drive from one of the biggest cities of Africa, should have no local access to basic medical care.

Education available to the African has always been a disgrace to this country and the effect of this can easily be seen in the ignorance of many Africans as regards the relationship of good food and health. Not only is the Black community poor and lacking medical facilities but it also has limited knowledge of how to use what little it has to the best advantage.

What facilities are available to Africans?

The provision of health care for the African by the Government has traditionally been based on the building of hospitals with a medical outlook based on experience in western communities. This works well provided there is a strong infrastructure of primary medical care provided by general practitioners in the community. In the past there has been almost no primary medical care for the African community and sick people have had to travel to the local hospital. The provision of community care has been the responsibility of the bureaucrats in the regional and state centres, and until recently, very little has been accomplished in real terms.

When the Medical Faculty of the University of Natal was started in 1951, the Rockefeller Foundation founded a chair of Community Medicine. This was heralded as a great break through and it was thought that Natal would lead the rest of Africa in plans and ideas for the provision of primary medical care. Professor Kark battled for some years to provide plans for the improvement of medical care available to Africans, but his efforts were frustrated by the Department of Health, leading eventually to his resignation. Since then, and until this day, the Department of Community Medicine has not functioned. There are even offices in the new extension to the Medical School labelled "Community Medicine"—but presumably there is difficulty finding an ideologically suitable applicant.

In Natal, there are two major African hospitals—King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban and Edendale Hospital at Pietermaritzburg. These hospitals should act as specialist-referred centres for the 3½ (? 4) million Africans living in Natal, but in fact they act as the local hospital for over 1 million between them.

Spread throughout Natal there is a loose network of Mission hospitals and some provincial hospitals. The Mission hospitals are now being taken over by the State, so that Kwa Zulu can assume responsibility next year. However these hospitals are often inadequate to meet the needs of the surrounding population. In 1972 there were 3½ beds for every 1 000 people in the homelands, as opposed to 10 beds available to every 1000 white in South Africa. Some of these hospitals have achieved enormous success by the devotion of the medical staff, whilst others have been plagued by the rapid turnover of staff.

Many have suffered from the ignorance of the doctors about community health care (as opposed to hospital orientated diagnosis and treatment) and the resistance by the Department of Health in the past to innovations.

As a result the basic unit of health care in undeveloped communities—the Clinic—has been grossly neglected. Only in the last few years has the Department of Health responded to previous demands to provide clinics in the rural communities. Thus in the Nongoma District in north Zululand with a population of 75 000 people, there are only 4 clinics in addition to the hospital. The Department recognises that there should be a clinic for about every 7000 people, which means the erection of at least 300 clinics in the area of KwaZulu. This will take at least 10 years. Thus by 1987 there should be a clinic staffed by 1 or 2 nurses for every 7 000 people; in contrast to the one general practitioner available to every 2 500 whites at the moment.

When one looks at the townships of Umlazi or Kwa Mashu one cannot help being struck by the incompetance of the Department of Health. Umlazi has a population of 220 000 (as large as Pietermaritzburg) but only has one small

Mission Hospital and a clinic with 10 maternity beds. There have been plans for a new hospital there for the last 20 years but there has never been any real intent to complete it. Meanwhile the Province is spending R26 million on a new hospital for whites in Pietermaritzburg to replace an existing hospital—and it is estimated that it should be completed in 4 years. Kwa Mashu with a population of about 200 000 people was built with no plans for a hospital until it should be incorporated into Kwa Zulu. It has existed for 10 years with only a polyclinic a couple of vaccination centres and a handful of private practitioners for this huge population. Now that Kwa Mashu has been incorporated into Kwa Zulu there has been some surveying for a site for a hospital, but if the progress of the hospital at Umlazi is anything to judge by, then it will not be completed before the next century. As a result of this neglect and incompetence in health planning the patients have to trek into King Edward VIII Hospital where facilities are totally inadequate to deal with the number of patients.

King Edward VIII Hospital was founded in 1937 to treat the Africans living in and around Durban. It has expanded to 2 000 beds—though not everyone has a bed when it is crowded. It has been overwhelmed by the demands made upon it and as a result there has been a fall in standards. In the summer months between 25—35 children are admitted every day by three doctors to the hospital wards and another 40 are given intravenous infusions in the resusciatation room. The mortality runs at about 15-20. Although a lot of children are very ill on admission the mortality rate could be reduced if the pressure was not so great. This type of work contrasts strangely to the Addington Hospital for whites where only about 4 children are admitted per day by 2 doctors. Due to the huge intakes during the summer months to the limited number of beds at King Edward VIII Hospital children are often discharged half recovered when they show the first signs of improvement. However there is no organised follow up, there are no friendly private practitioners to call in at home to see how they are progressing and without doubt there is an appreciable mortality. (However this aspect of management does not interest the academics in the Department of Paediatrics. One wonders how many of the premature babies who are discharged weighing 1,8 kg survive in the cold damp and overcrowded homes in the townships. In Nigeria they found that less than half of their premature babies reached 6 months. It seems that King Edward VIII Hospital hardly recognises that there is an environment outside the hospital—that is State Health's responsibility they say as they wash their hands.)

How healthy is the African?

Health even in the most advanced communities is a very difficult commodity to measure and this is particularly so with the African where a co-ordinated health service is lacking. However one can use notifiable diseases as a rough guide . . .

TUBERCULOSIS

Tuberculosis is well known as a disease of the under privileged. The incidence in the United Kingdom was falling dramatically in the 1920's and 1930's **before** the advent of anti TB drugs, due to the rise of the socio-economic condition of the population.

However the statistics for 1975 seem to indicate that TB is on the increase for the African (3½%p.a.). There were 55 297 new notifications in 1975 for Africans as opposed to under 800 for whites. The incidence (100 000) shows dramatically that Africans are at least 17 times more likely to contract TB than whites.

Rate 1000 population	1974	1975
White	18,1	18,1
Coloured	327,7	306,9
Asian	143,0	90,2
Black	294,6	312,1

It has been estimated that at least two thirds of the 3½ million black children now at school are already infected with tuberculosis.

Once an African has contracted TB then the services available are insufficient to deal with it effectively. SANTA with limited resources has achieved limited success, but a heavily financial national organisation is needed with better overall control. The follow up of Black tuberculous patients is woefully inadequate. Almost every child that is admitted to King Edward VIII Hospital as a new case of TB had a known family contact of TB. These cases are preventable—but the services available are inadequate.

POLIOMYELITIS

Last year in Natal we had about 300 cases of poliomyelitis (notified) occurring almost completely amongst the Black population. Working in Clairwood Hospital in July 1975 we were admitting a steady stream of crippled children. However it was not until May 1976 that the Department of Health decided to mount a polio immunisation campaign. Why did it take so long for the Department to react? One wonders why it was necessary to mount the campaign at all—surely these children should be immunised as a routine. However, sadly no, there are no facilities readily available for thousands of Africans, and after this campaign has ended, there will still be the basic lack of facilities. It is odd that smallpox vaccination should be compulsory by law, when smallpox is not a problem in South Africa being confined to 4 countries in the world, and yet polio immunisation is not readily available but cripples hundreds of children every year.

MALNUTRITION

Kwashiorkor has ceased to be a notifiable disease because of under reporting—but may be it is because the Government would be embarrassed by the prevalence in the country. An article in the Sunday Tribune of June 27th claims that 3 children die every hour from malnutrition i.e. 24 000/year. I feel that this may be an exaggeration depending on what evidence is used. However in a report on nutrition published this year it was estimated that about three quarters of South African Blacks are stunted and 5—7% are "severely stunted".

In one year at King Edward VIII Hospital about 800 cases of Kwashiorkor are admitted (of which 25% die) and many more mild cases are seen in the out patients department. Over a third of all children admitted are marasmic i.e. their weight is below 60% of their expected weight. Malnutrition is a serious problem in this country which the State is not prepared to accept. Dr Stott at the Valley Trust at Botha's Hill has virtually eliminated kwashiorkor from the surrounding area by education and determination. However this is just a drop in the ocean and there seems to be no plans to extend this type of project to other areas. The withdrawal of subsidised milk has exacerbated the problem, and

together with inflation increasing the price of basic commodities the incidence will probably increase. Meanwhile evidence is accumulating that malnutrition causes stunted brain growth, and thus the Government must hold itself responsible for this group of children growing up with impaired intellectual development.

The migrant labour system is also a patent cause of illness in the community. Almost half of the economically active men in the homelands are migrant labourers. This may lead to the neglect of the wife and family in the homelands or to the neglect of children who are fostered. Promiscuity is rife since the men have to lead lives away from their wives—and veneral disease is very common.

African children often grow up as virtual orphans not knowing their fathers and suffering long periods of separation from their mothers. Inevitably this will lead to disturbances in emotional maturing with serious consequences for the future.

Access to psychiatric hospitals is limited. The Department of Health statistics show that there is gross overcrowding in the African mental hospitals.

	White	Non White
No. of patients	5 141	9 717 (+ 8611 accommodated separately)
Capacity	5 829	6 892
Overcrowded	142	3 396
Vacancies	830	

Mentally defectives have considerably greater facilities if White than if Black.

Number of white mentally defective residents	3 203
Non white	711

There are no schools for mentally handicapped African children in Natal and an attempt by Umlazi Residents' Association for the last 18 months to start a school has been rejected until recently because they were not a body recognised by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. What arrogance!

Rheumatic Fever.

Rheumatic fever used to be the scourge of Victorian and Edwardian England, especially in the slums. A survey was conducted in Soweto and the incidence of rheumatic heart disease was about 7 out of 1000 children the rate being higher in older children. The paper concluded that the socio-economic status of the community must be improved if optimal prevention is to be achieved. In Umlazi and Kwa Mashu there must be about 500 children with rheumatic heart disease, the majority undiagnosed. Of course nothing has been done to discover these children or to prevent the disease occurring.

British Medical Journal
(October 1975)

What facilities are available for training in medicine?

In the 1940's it was decided to found a multi-racial medical school to train doctors who would be working primarily with Africans. Unfortunately the Nationalists came to power before it was opened and insisted that it should be a non-white school. Since 1951 it has been the major source of non-white doctors producing 612 to date. A couple of attempts were made to remove the Medical School from the control of the University and these were bitterly and successfully contested. In the last few years extensions costing R1½ million have been made to the medical school. The cynics, who said it was in preparation for the ousting of the African students, were proved right on 17 December 1975 when the Department of National Education informed the Faculty of Medicine that no more African students were to be admitted. This was done without consulting the Faculty. Since then after debate it was agreed to admit African students for one more year. However it is obvious that the Government will continue with its plans to convert the Durban Medical School into a white medical school. Apparently this decision was made in Cabinet at the end of the sixties. Mr Marais Steyn has already had talks with the Rector of Westville University concerning the establishment of an Indian Medical Faculty.

Despite assurances to the contrary it seems apparent that the policy of separate development is to be carried to the extreme despite opposition from all quarters.

So what is the future of black medical education in South Africa?

A Medical University of Southern Africa has been established at Garankuwa, 35 km north of Pretoria.

It will be under the control of the Minister of Bantu Education who has the power to vet all appointments. No doubt applicants will have to have the right kind of separate development philosophy to be appointed. This school is not yet functional and will not produce doctors before 1982. It is reputed that it will eventually produce about 200 doctors a year, but that will take many years to achieve.

How many doctors are needed? There are just about 12 000 doctors in South Africa of which just over 1000 are non white. Most of these doctors are situated in the urban areas.

In April this year Mr M. C. Botha stated that there were 84 black doctors and 398 white doctors working in the Homelands in 1975. If the population of the Homelands is taken at 9 million, this makes approximately 1 doctor for 18 000 people. This figure is slightly loaded since some people in the Homelands drain to hospitals outside. However it contrasts strangely to the ratio of 1 doctor for 1000 whites. To correct this imbalance to about 1 doctor to 2000 Africans, another 4 500 doctors would be needed. This level would take Garankuwa 22 years to reach at the minimum, i.e. 2004 by which time the population of South Africa will have doubled.

The Medical Faculty at the University of Natal is essential to supplement the output of doctors not only for the African community but also for the Indians. To close it to Blacks would be a direct attack on the future health care of Africans.

If the Government wishes to open another Medical School for whites then Pietermaritzburg is the obvious place. There is a University, a brand new white hospital is being built and there is a large African Hospital where students can get experience. (It is odd how white students get experience on blacks but black students cannot get experience on whites. It is said that non-white medical students at U.C.T. cannot attend post mortems on whites, even though the mortuary attendants are non whites. Maybe the mortuary students wash the corpses with their eyes closed!)

The standard of medical education at Natal is akin to that available at other medical schools in the country. However

since the departure of Professor Kark the Department of Community Medicine has been extinct. Community Health is the king pin to health in developing communities but at the medical school ideas along this line have not only been neglected but actively discouraged. Not until this is corrected, can the Natal Faculty of Medicine be proud of its standing in the world.

What about equality?

Racial discrimination is so rife in South Africa, that it is difficult to pinpoint examples. There are differential rates of pay in almost all fields of medicine except the Mission Hospitals, one or two independent research organisations and a few enlightened city councils. The affront to human dignity leads to very bitter feelings by the Black staff and is indefensible. It is particularly unfair since doctors, nurses, and technicians take the same examinations, have the same professional bodies and hold the same responsibility. The Government and Provinces have stated time and again their aim is to remove differentials in pay, but we still wait in vain. It is no good decreasing the differential – this is also indefensible. Only complete equality of pay for equal positions is acceptable.

An African sister earns R1740–2700 (+120) per annum and a white sister earns R3000–4380 p.a. Thus an African sister of eight years standing earns R300 p.a. less than a 1st year white sister. They both take the same examinations and I question the morality of paying a sister green from the nursing school more than an experienced sister who will have seen and learnt an enormous amount after 8 years nursing in an African hospital.

The apathy of the Nursing Council of South Africa to correct this is a glaring reminder that the wishes and rights of the Blacks are being constantly ignored. It is no wonder that they turn away from professional bodies like the Nursing Council or the Medical Association in order to obtain help.

SUMMARY

On the whole the black population is a poor, uneducated underprivileged and deprived group. Blacks have an incidence of disease considerably higher than the whites and their access to primary medical care is extremely poor. The State, which has taken on the responsibility for the health of the African, has constantly ignored the degree of illness in the African community, and many of those involved in health planning have proved ineffectual and apathetic. Little attempt has been made until the last five years to create a comprehensive service even though South Africa is the most advanced country on the whole continent. Countries like Tanzania, Nigeria and Kenya have progressed considerably further in their approach to community health care.

THE SOLUTION

1. **Hospitals.**

   There must be an urgent building programme especially in the townships. Umlazi Hospital must be completed as a national priority and the Kwa Mashu hospital started immediately. No major new township should be started without also starting a hospital for the township. One wonders how far they have got with a hospital at the new township at Mpumalanga near Hammarsdale.

2. **Clinics.**

   The Clinic network must undergo a momentous increase so that there is at least 1 clinic /7000 population. South Africa has been extraordinarily slow in providing this basic unit of a comprehensive health scheme. In the Highlands of Papua–New Guinea, where I worked for one year there was one clinic to about every 3000 people–and the first white man arrived in the Highlands in 1936!

3. **Medical Assistants.**

   South Africa will never have enough doctors for its population. Therefore in order to deliver a reasonable standard of health care Medical Assistants are a necessity. These are neither doctors nor nurses, but fulfil a different but complimentary role. An attempt was made to start a system of Medical Assistants years ago but foundered not only because of professional opposition from doctors and nurses but also because the Blacks thought that it was an attempt to preserve the status and wealth of a doctor for whites leaving the assistant grade to Blacks.

   In advanced western communities paramedical personnel are taking an increasingly active part in health care complimenting the role of the doctors. They perform duties originally, traditionally, the sole preserve of the doctor. They are not second rate doctors but complement the doctor allowing him to concentrate on more serious cases.

   Medical assistants should be trained as such and not just as "super nurses". The Nursing Association of South Africa has held by their Victorian attitudes and fought the implementation of Medical Assistants, saying that no nurse would take orders from a Medical Assistant. Such ostrich-like behaviour makes one wonder if the Nursing Association is really concerned with improving the health of the community or in maintaining an outdated status quo.

4. **Immunisation**

   There should be a massive campaign throughout the country aimed at eradicating polio, and measles. It is not good enough to have periodic immunisation expeditions or to erect a clinic here or there. A comprehensive system of clinics must be provided as a priority.

5. **Education**

   Natal University Medical School must be retained for the Blacks and Garankuwa must be completed. The ideal is that all Medical Schools should be open to all, irrespective of the colour of one's skin. The education of Medical Assistants must be started immediately. The emphasis being laid on their complementary role in medicine.

6. **The Government.**

   The apathy that pervades a lot of the people involved in the organisation of the health services must be shaken off. They must look critically at themselves and their work and realise that they are responsible for a pathetic and totally inadequate service. Although plans for a comprehensive health scheme have been laid out, little has been done to implement it.

   Considerable responsibility lies on the Department of Health for the shocking state of affairs existing at the moment, and until they realise that an adequate health service requires the injection of considerable amounts of capital and rejection of apartheid, then these injustices will remain. □

A REVIEW: SOUTH AFRICA'S POLITICS OF PARTITION

by Patrick Laurence **Published by Ravan Press**

"The Transkei: South Africa's Politics of Partition" is a book I would have entitled: "The Transkei: South Africa's Politics of Betrayal," because it is an accurate account of how millions of people have been betrayed by a skilful few.

In this book the author, Patrick Laurence, gives a well researched account of the history of this mostly Xhosa populated territory. He painstakingly relates the attitudes of the successive white governments—from the time of Cecil Rhodes as Prime Minister of the Cape—to show that they never meant to give Africans a real say in the management of the affairs of the land. Transkei independence, like the provisions of the Glen Grey Act, of 1894, is described in the words of the historian, Professor Colin Tatz as "the process of offering blacks the shadows of power while denying them its substance."

The author devotes much time and space to presenting a full portrait of Chief Kaizer Matanzima who is the white man's ally in helping to solve, in the government's own way, the government created racial problems of South Africa. He is the man who takes it upon himself to abandon the course that all the black nationalist movements have steered, against heavy odds, from 1912, Matanzima's is the path of tribalism which is also the Afrikaner nationalist philosophy for the development of Africans in South Africa. The author states:

"Black nationalism sought to unify blacks across tribal divisions and to direct their political aspirations to a meaningful share of power in the central government and industrial heartland."

And of the Verwoerdian philosophy of "baasskap" in the bantustans he writes:

"By emphasising tribalism, the new system was a clear manifestation of the classical formula of divide and rule."

He then goes on to give a clear analysis of the political situation in the Transkei:— The United Transkeian Territories General Council: The Native Representative Council; the present revolt which culminated in the massacre of Pondo tribemen at Ngquza hill in the early sixties (the Transkei Sharpeville); the proclamations 400 and 413 which gave tribal chiefs unprecedented and unlimited powers over their subjects, and virtually killed freedom in the territory; Selfgovernment; the various elections under the proclamations; and the ultimate goal—Transkei independence under Proclamation 400.

This is an important history book which has appeared at the right time—while the crucial issues relating to the Bantustan philosophy are still fresh in the minds of many after the October independence of the Transkei. Many Xhosas who got bored or could not keep up with newspaper accounts of the controversy over Xhosa citizenship will get very shocked (as I did) to read that not only are they no longer South African nationals, but they may have to be satisfied with a Transkei passport which will most probably be unrecognized beyond South Africa. The consequences? No travelling outside South Africa's borders. And one of the last things Laurence says about bantustans before ending his book:

"Their string of territories formed a semi-circle around the industrial heartland of South Africa and offered the opportunity of turning them into an inner ring of buffer states to replace the outer ring which collapsed with the fall of the Portuguese in Mozambique and Angola and the imminent fall of Rhodesia. The next step was to train bantustan armies."

The book is easy to read and will bring every South African up to date with the goings on of apartheid in the "homelands". It is well illustrated with maps which are bound to be a great help to people not familiar with the "land of the Xhosas". There are also pictures of some Transkeians including the brothers Matanzima, a few cabinet ministers, and Hector Ncokazi—leader of the opposition, by now getting well acquainted with the South African way of life of political imprisonment with his entire shadow cabinet. What I think after reading the book? The Transkei—is independent but **not** free.

The book itself is very strongly recommended.□

TURFLOOP TESTIMONY— A COMMENT

by Alan Paton

In 1972 the Council of the University of the North appointed a Committee of Inquiry to investigate the causes of student unrest following the expulsion of Mr Abraham Tiro after his outspoken speech at the graduation of that year.

This Committee made one extraordinary recommendation. It recommended that note be taken of the "movement of black awareness", which it said, could be guided into channels to the advantage of everybody in South Africa.

Such a recommendation actually goes counter to the whole purpose of the black universities, which is not to foster black awareness, but to foster ethnic pride in one's own language, history, and culture.

Mr G. M. Mkondo, in his introduction to the book **TURFLOOP TESTIMONY** (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1976), calls this "an underlying paradox". It is also the fatal flaw in the whole grand plan of Separate Development, which has, with the help of continental events, given tremendous impetus to the growth of black awareness.

There are two other paradoxes, closely related. In fact all three are closely related. The three of them taken together make it certain that such creations as the University of the North are doomed never to function as true institutions of higher learning.

The second paradox is that in one extraordinary sense, this was not a black university at all. From the point of view of power, authority, emoluments, amentiies, it was a white university. It had a white Chancellor, a white Council, a white Registrar. Of its 35 professors, 30 were white. Of its 42 senior lecturers, 37 were white. Of its 61 lecturers, 32 were white. Only the student body was black.

It was a black university, but its overt message was one of white superiority. The higher positions were white. The higher salaries were white. In 1975 the ratio of white salary to black salary for the same job, was 100:80.

TURFLOOP TESTIMONY is the memorandum presented by the Black Academic Staff Association (BASA) to the Snyman Commission. From beginning to end it is written in a calm, objective, unequivocal tone. Reasonable people reading it would (in my opinion of course) say that the testimony rings true. It says outright that the White Staff had a patronising attitude towards the Blacks. Nor did they understand Black aspirations. That is why the Black lecturers finally formed a separate staff association, BASA. As for friendly associations between Black and White, except in one or two instances, they did not exist.

White houses on the campus were superior. White staff had floodlit tennis courts, a swimming pool, a clubhouse. Blacks had none of these; and they noted with resentment that the White Staff did "practically nothing" to show its objection to this discrimination. Another cause of resentment was the payment of an "inconvenience allowance" to White staff for having to work so far from civilisation.

Professor F. J. Engelbrecht of the Department of Philosophy so little understood his responsibility as a white teacher at a black university that he published an article 'Tyd en Neurose by die Bantoe" which stated that the African tempo of life is too slow for rapid development. The authorities of the University understood their responsibility still less, for they published the article. Quite apart from these considerations, the words "die Bantoe" have become derogatory, in a sense that "the Afrikaners" and "the English" are not. The reason for this (or one of the reasons) is that the Afrikaners and the English gave themselves these names, but "die Bantoe" did not.

In other words, the University was two worlds. The students, and in a more controlled degree the Black staff, resented bitterly that the dominant conventions of White South Africa should become the dominating conventions of their own University.

Replying to a questionnaire, the White staff thought Black-White staff relationships to be excellent or satisfactory. The Black staff thought them bad in some cases and unsatisfactory in others. White staff thought that White staff-Black student relationships were on the whole satisfactory. The Black staff thought they were bad. It emerged clearly that there was a great gulf between White staff and Black students.

The third paradox is extremely closely related to the second. The Rector and Black staff members told the Snyman Commission of numerous examples of "senseless and deplorable behaviour by Whites" off the campus. If I might make an imaginative guess, I would say that there were many Whites in the neighbouring town of Pietersburg who would have resented the presence of black students in their town, who would have resented their dress, their lack of servility, even their standard of education.

And that of course is the bitter heart of the whole business. That is what Mr Justice Snyman meant when he said that the university itself was ensnared in a much broader and deeper problem than just a university situation—that of the situation between White and Black throughout the country.

One should note that Mr Justice Snyman did not go fully into this deeper problem. That would have meant going into the whole matter of Apartheid and Separate Development, and Government Commissions are not appointed for such a purpose. In fact a Government Commission has to assume that the fundamental theory is more or less sacrosanct. It can suggest improvements to the machinery, a little oil here and a new bearing there, but it cannot redesign it. Can this machinery possibly be improved? The Commissioner himself does not answer such a question, but he made some sombre observations.

He said that Black consciousness has made the Black man claim to be the White man's equal, yet the only practicable field where he may prove this, is politics. "He sought to escape from his situation of inequality by obtaining political power on the strength of numerical superiority". That is why an institution such as the University of the North can never function as a true University. It is seen by its students as a political training ground, a political nursery, and ultimately a political weapon.

It does university students a great deal of credit—and a great deal of good—when they concern themselves with the politics of their society. One can go further and say that it is their duty to do so, that they lose something when they do not. But when politics becomes the main concern, the university must suffer. It is hard to see how a black university can avoid an obsession with politics. And that means —in South Africa certainly—that its life is going to be characterised by unrest, conflict, and police interference.

It is true that the Afrikaner universities were also political training grounds. But the Afrikaner student had the world at his feet. At the age of 21 (and later at the age of 18) he would get the vote. Therefore his universities never suffered from political obsessions as acute as those that characterise the black universities. One may note the irony that he too sought to escape from a situation of inequality by obtaining political power on the strength of numerical superiority.

BASA, in replying to that part of the questionnaire which deals with Control and Administration, made the following observation:

> If the University, for instance, came to be controlled by Black persons, this would give to the Black people in the University a sense of dignity, a fuller sense of commitment and a role which might help to engage their lives much more fully than at present.

One would naturally give the fullest support to this argument and in fact it also received the support of the Commissioner. One should note here that the Commissioner recommended equal pay for all the teachers of the same rank, a majority of Blacks on the Council, and a joint Black-White responsibility for Administration and teaching. It recommended that the Council should control the finances, and that it should appoint whom it wishes, including the Rector. It recommended that all Black universities should be open to Black undergraduates of whatever ethnic group, and that all post-graduate students should be able to study at any university of their choice.

How far would these recommendations if adopted help to prevent the kind of unrest that brought the Commission into being? How far would the adoption of the BASA proposal relating to control, enable a Black university to escape the unrest that makes it so difficult to function as a true place of learning?

When I take into account the present political climate, I cannot give an optimistic answer. The third paradox remains, namely that this Black university under Black control will be much less free than a White university under White control. The reason for that is that the ultimate control, the ultimate source of funds, is a White authority, namely Parliament in Cape Town.

The granting of Black control at the Black university would certainly remove one of the gross anomalies in the policy of Separate Development. But in another sense it makes Separate Development still more separate. Furthermore, Black students will soon discover that their Black control is in certain respects totally impotent.

Is there any solution that still stops short of the total reconstruction of South African society, and yet might be called a step forward?

Yes there is, and that is to give all universities the power to admit whom they will. Will that contribute to a lessening of racial strife? Who knows? Yet nothing could be worse than racial strife between young men and women whose ignorance of their fellow-students of another colour is absolutely total.

Let the universities be open to all. The result of such a step can only be to bring out into the open those facts of life that we all need to know.□

REPORT ON INAUGURAL CONFERENCE OF

THE INSTITUTE OF BLACK STUDIES

by Nimrod Mkele

This can be described as the conference that almost did not take place, for no sooner was it publicised than the security police took an intense interest in it. They demanded the names of the speakers, the conference programme, the constitution of the Institute of Black Studies and the papers to be read at the conference with the threat that if they did not get the papers, they would take steps to ensure that the conference was banned. That banning threat was carried out and the conference had to move to a different venue. More of this later.

Let us get back to where it all started. The Institute of Black Studies arose because some of us felt that there was a need to establish a journal of Black opinion and arts which would explore Black thought on issues affecting Blacks in a socially productive way. During discussions it soon became evident that what was needed was an organisation through which Blacks could articulate their views on issues affecting themselves and South Africa. Thus was born the Institute of Black Studies which serves as a forum for the expression of Black intellectual viewpoints. It is intended to stimulate thinking, writing and research on issues affecting Blacks and generally to examine and reasses the values, standards and prejudices by which we live.

Such a forum was essential at this time because internal and external developments have created pressures on South Africa which call into question the tenets and dogmas of what has come to be called 'our traditional way of life'. These forces are rapidly making obsolete the traditional roles South Africans are accustomed to play and the values by which they order their lives. In short, the old master-and-servant relation between White and Black has broken down. These processes need to be understood if adaptations are to be made intelligently to the changes that are taking place.

On the one hand the whites view this less as a signal for the need to dismantle apartheid than as an alert to entrench white privilege. They reinforce their position by sophisiticated and awesome repressive measures the function of which is to set up barriers against seeking constructive and intelligent solutions to the problems facing South Africa today.

The Blacks on the other hand reject White values which depersonalise, dehumanise and devalue the Black man. They find the White man's yardsticks irrelevant to Black experience. They believe that they have a contribution to make and a role to play in the changes that are taking place in our country and that they can best do this by examining and looking at our situation from a Black man's point of view.

It is true that Whites have attempted to 'understand' the Black man, but largely for purposes of economic and political control Thus their endeavours to 'understand' the Black man were, and still are, handicapped by the very nature and quality of the relationships that subsist between these groups. Even the analytic tools developed by their social scientists are products of their specific culture and needs and tend therefore to be coloured by their cultural assumptions and needs.

The result is that among Whites an understanding of Black aspirations, attitudes and intellectual perspectives remains an almost total void of vague and superficial assumptions that contribute practically nothing to an understanding of the forces at work in South Africa.

There is an added fact that because South Africa is a divided society, with Whites occupying the dominant role and the Blacks the subordinate, communication reflects the limitations of our racial and occupational roles. For communication is limited to the requirements of the master-and-servant situation. This limits understanding among South Africans. In a situation in which Whites deliberately set up barriers to and even legislate against understanding the stage is set for an irrevocable schism.

It is this stifling of communication by 'suppression of communication acts' that has led to a polarisation of Black-White views and opinions and attitudes. Is it surprising then that Blacks have begun to talk **to** themselves, **among** themselves, **about** their own needs and aspirations? For the Whites talk **to** themselves, **among** themselves, **about** Black needs and problems.

Black consciousness must therefore be seen against this background: as the Black Man's claim to self-determination and self-definition. The Black man rejects the White man as his reference point and accepts only himself as his own frame of reference. He finds the White man's values of questionable validity and his 'yardsticks' irrelevant to Black experience. He therefore insists on the legitimacy of Black Identity and the validity of Black experience. He wants to be accepted on his own terms, not on the negativistic and devaluative terms of the White man.

The most important single factor that characterises South Africa as she enters the last quarter of the 20th century is the virtual absence of dialogue between Black and White men and to a lesser extent among Blacks themselves. The fact that this is in large measure due to legislative proscription does not make it any less dangerous. It in fact widens the communica-

tion gap already existing and sharpens the polarisation of attitudes still further.

Today's need is more than ever to get a meaningful input by Black analysts and communicators to examine these changes and their implications closely. Since we ourselves are a part of the process of change we are of necessity involved in seeking a definition of the roles **we** are to play in our changing world. The Institute of Black Studies was thus formed to enable Blacks to imbue the quest for a better understanding with the empathy and critical approach that will make for a positive and meaningful contribution to the debate on the future of our country.

Hence the theme of the Inaugural Conference: *The Black Perspective*. We had to answer the questions: Who am I? How did I get to be like this? What am I doing about it? In other words: Where am I? How did I get here? Where do I go from here? *We had to tell it like it is because we know it like it is since we live it like it is.* In short, we had to define ourselves, our present position and our role in today's South African situation. This was a conference **of** Blacks, talking **to** Blacks, **about** Blacks. It was Blacks looking at themselves.

The speakers included three expatriates from the United States, namely: Ezekiel Mphahlele ('Zeke'), Mphiwa Mbatha and Herbert Vilakazi. The rest of the speakers were from South African universities and the intellectual public.

Without doubt the conference attracted a great deal of publicity in the press. It appears to have had the widest press coverage of any conference in South Africa in recent times. This was due, it appears, to the fact that it was the first conference of its kind in which, as one paper put it, a black think tank had gathered to talk about the issues of the day. It was held in the middle of the Soweto troubles and predictably people wanted to know what Blacks would say about themselves and their needs during this grave time of crisis. Not least was the calibre of the speakers themselves, for they represented some of the foremost brains in the Black community.

Hence the inordinate interest of the security police in the conference and their undisguised hostility towards it. For in South African a stage has been reached when the powers—that—be do not want to **hear** Blacks, let alone let them speak. As a result the conference was banned in Johannesburg; we were fortunate to find a venue at the Wilgèspruit Fellowship Centre in Roodepoort, a magisterial district adjoining Johannesburg.

Because of this the conference started a day late. All papers were read except one by Mr N. Mkele which was to have formed the keynote address. The change of venue also affected attendance. If it had been held at the original venue attendance would have reached 500 a day; as it is we had to be satisfied with between 100 and 200 people a day, but on the last day the figure reached 500.

Including the opening address by the chairman Mr B. Ngakane, 14 papers were read. Let us now take a brief look at the conference papers. They covered the historical, sociological and psychological perspectives of the Black man's existence. They looked at the Black man's World view through his writings and examined the process of alienation as reflected by Black writing. The last three papers were devoted to the processes of change and the role of Black consciousness in the Black man's struggle for liberation.

The papers did not cover that important area of the day-to-day living of the Black man—his current existential reality, the role he plays, the organisational forms through which his life is channelled and the educational preparations for his role in South African society. Nor, apart from writing were the other arts (music and the plastic arts) covered. This was due both to a lack of time and speakers in these areas. Future conferences should examine these areas in depth and an effort must be made to develop experts in these areas, especially in the arts.

A cursory examination of the papers shows them to be of high calibre. They represent an objective attempt to examine Black experience in depth: they examine its origins, its existential reality, delineate the changing character of our social being and outline the forces that make for change. In a brief report it is impossible to do justice to the wealth of ideas, constructs and insights contained in those papers.

It is one of the tragedies of the South African situation, with its plethora of laws that proscribe communication, that papers by Zeke Mphahlele and Fatima Meer may not be published. Zeke Mphahlele is a victim of the 1964 blanket ban on Black South African writers. Fatima Meer was banned immediately after the conference. Mphahlele's first paper is an examination of Black experience by a South African exile; his second paper examines the alienation process that afflicts Black writers. Fatima Meers's paper looks at what 25 years of apartheid has meant to the Black man. These papers are in themselves a valuable contribution to an understanding of the meaning of the concept of Black experience and can by no stretch of imagination be regarded as 'subversive' even when allowance is made for the wide definition of that term in South African statutes.

A side effect of the conference is that several newspapers are threatened with prosecution for publishing features and comments by Mphahlele and extracts from his papers. The papers would have been published by now, but for the attentions of the security police who raided our office, carried off the papers (in some cases the only copies available) and conference tapes along with our secretary. This has set publication back seriously, for we have had to retype several papers.

In conclusion, it needs to be said that Blacks demonstrated that they could talk about themselves and examine issues affecting them dispassionately in the midst of one of the most prolonged and determined confrontations to face our country. That they could do that in the midst of conflict augurs well for South Africa. Whether white South Africa will read that message correctly is another matter.

Judging by the enthusiastic response of the public and the press and the continued interest still being shown it appears that the conference met a long felt need of the Black people for articulating their own views and of whites in seeking to understand the Black man's viewpoint and aspirations.□

NADINE'S WORLD OF STRANGERS

A Review of Some Monday for Sure, by Nadine Gordimer, Heinemann, 1976.

by Colin Gardner

With this volume, which consists of thirteen of the short stories that appeared last year in her **Selected Stories (published by Jonathan Cape),** Nadine Gordimer becomes one of the very few whites to have figured in the Heinemann African Writers Series. The stories are certainly not out of place in the series: they tell of Africa, they belong to Africa.

It used sometimes to be said of Nadine Gordimer that, whereas most South African writers (both white and black) were partisan and 'political' in their treatment of people and society, she wrote with an observant detachment which enabled her to portray real human complexities. My impression of these stories is in several respects a distinctly different one. Ms Gordimer's literary skill seems to me to make her a remarkable commentator on—and evoker of—some crucial aspects of South African social and political life. But her creation of people, and her insight into people, subtle and impressive as it normally is, often lacks profundity and compassion.

I

To talk first of the important virtues of the stories. Some of of the formulations in Ms Gordimer's short introduction are pertinent:

> Stories and novels are works of the imagination; they embody—implicitly—psychological, sociological and political truths. These often are not representative of the personal point of view of the writer himself; in fact, he must set himself to be a kind of medium through which the attitudes of the society he lives in come to light. This is true of my short stories. They reflect the attitudes of various kinds of whites towards blacks in South Africa, and sometimes the attitudes of blacks towards white, and various relationships between black and white . . . Making this selection of only thirteen stories from the five short story collections I have published in twenty-five years, I find that the changing subject-matter and even the changing vocabulary in these books reflect the changes in relationships between black and white over these decades, against the background of political events. This came about subconsciously in my work . . .

She then proceeds to give precise brief accounts of the atmosphere and the main implications of each of the stories.

There can be no argument about her capacity to observe South African society in its varied and changing manifestations and moods. Like a highly imaginative journalist (I don't use this word in any derogatory sense), she is capable of catching the phrases, the faces, the gestures, the movements, the dress even, which express the ever-contradictory thrusts and tendencies of South African humanity—and hypocrisies. But she does not deal only, or even mainly, with ordinary complacent or unthinking South Africans, either white or black: her attention is very often focused on people who are (or who regard themselves as being) fairly 'enlightened', people who try, with intense or with mild enthusiasm, to change society, to 'make things better'.

For these reasons, these short stories ought to be compulsory reading for South Africans of almost every sort. Ms Gordimer's attitude and tone tend to be astringent, ironical disenchanted. All of us need the challenges that she provides.

Let me offer two almost random examples of Nadine Gordimer's quality. First, a passage from 'Six Feet of the Country' (1956). The narrator, an ordinary though fairly sympathetic white employer, is about to tell his servant Petrus of the cost of getting back from the authorities the body of his brother from Rhodesia who had been living illegally with him in the servants' quarters and had suddenly died of pneumonia:

> . . . I found out that, with the undertaker's charges, it would cost twenty pounds. Ah, I thought, that settles it. On five pounds a month, Petrus won't have twenty pounds . . . and just as well, since it couldn't do the dead any good. Certainly I should not offer it to him myself. Twenty pounds—or anything else within reason, for that matter—I would have spent without grudging it on doctors or medicines that might have helped the boy when he was alive. Once he was dead, I had no intention of encouraging Petrus to throw away, on a gesture, more than he spent to clothe his whole family in a year. When I told him in the kitchen that night, he said, 'Twenty pounds?'
>
> I said, 'Yes, that's right, twenty pounds.'
>
> For a moment, I had the feeling, from the look on his face, that he was calculating. But when he spoke again I thought I must have imagined it. 'We must pay twenty pounds!' he said in the faraway voice in which a person speaks of something so unattainable that it does not bear thinking about.
>
> 'All right, Petrus', I said, and went back to the living-room.

> The next morning before I went to town, Petrus asked to see me. 'Please, Baas,' he said, awkwardly handling me a bundle of notes. They're so seldom on the giving rather than the receiving side, poor devils, that they don't really know how to hand money to a white man. There it was, the twenty pounds, in ones and halves, some creased and folded until they were soft as dirty rags, others smooth and fairly new—Fran's money, I suppose, and Albert's, and Dora the cook's, and Jacob the gardener's, and God knows who else's beside, from all the farms and smallholdings round about. I took it in irritation more than in astonishment, really—irritation at the waste, the uselessness of this sacrifice by people so poor. Just like the poor everywhere, I thought, who stint themselves the decencies of life in order to insure themselves the decencies of death. So incomprehensibe to people like Lerice and me, who regard life as something to be spent extravagantly and, if we think about death at all, regard it as the final bankruptcy.

What is caught admirably is the point of collision between two different ways of life, two different philosophies. The white man is sympathetic, pitying, 'knowing' in his recognition of the ancestral absurdities of 'the poor' (one notes that he makes his own contribution to the fact of poverty), while Petrus is humbly, doggedly sure of his own intuitions. Petrus believes passionately in what the narrator half-ironically calls 'the decencies of death'; the white man's enlightenment consists, we notice, of a 'humanistic' and sceptical materialism which seems to have the effect of reducing life, ultimately, to the very medium—money—that Petrus is forced to back his beliefs with.

The vision that permeates this passage is very humane. The author like any good writer, is attempting to define, to understand—to depict differences and discordances so that the gaps and gulfs may be viewed. For it is only when that has been done that the possibility of closing the gaps and filling the gulfs can be properly envisaged. And clearly mental and emotional processes of the sort that Nadine Gordimer encourages here are what South Africa deeply needs if the country is ever to have peace.

My second example comes from 'Africa Emergent', a story of the early seventies. Here the narrator is a liberal-radical white man:

> I'm an architect and the way I was usefully drawn into the black scene was literally that: I designed sets for a mixed colour drama group got together by a white director. Perhaps there's no urban human group as intimate, in the end, as a company of this kind, and the colour problem made us even closer. I don't mean what **you** mean, the how-do-I-feel-about-that-black-skin stuff; I mean the daily exasperation of getting round, or over, or on top of the colour bar laws that plagued our productions and our lives. We had to remember to write out 'passes' at night, so that our actors could get home without being arrested for being out after the curfew, we had to spend hours at the Bantu Affairs Department trying to arrange local residence permits for actors who were being 'endorsed out' of town back to the villages to which, 'ethnically', apparently, they belonged although they'd never set eyes on them, and we had to decide which of us could play the sycophant well enough to persuade the Bantu Commissioner to allow the show to go on the road from one Group Area, designated by colour, to another, or to talk some town clerk into getting his council to agree to the use of a 'white' public hall by a mixed cast. The black actor's lives were in our hands, because they were black and we were white, and could, must intercede for them. Don't think this made everything love and light between us, in fact it caused endless huffs and rows. A white woman who'd worked like a slave acting as PRO-cum wardrobe-mistress hasn't spoken to me for years because I made her lend her little car to one of the chaps who'd worked until after the last train went back to the location, and then he kept it the whole weekend and she couldn't get hold of him because, of course, location houses rarely have telephones and once a black man has disappeared among those warrens you won't find him till he chooses to surface in the white town again. And when this one did surface, he was biting, to me, about white bitches' 'patronage' of people they secretly still thought of as 'boys'. Yet our arguments, resentments and misunderstandings were not only as much part of the intimacy of this group as the good times, the parties and the love-making we had, but were more—the defining part, because we'd got close enough to admit argument, resentment and misunderstanding between us.

That paragraph describes illuminatingly an experience that many white liberals will know: the interest, the tension, the unsatisfactoriness, the necessity of black-white relations. The necessity is clear: we live in one society, and must learn to know, help and love one another. But the present unsatisfactoriness is clear too; it is caused by the inhuman laws of the land, the variously dehumanizing effects of these laws, the cultural misunderstandings (themselves exacerbated by the facts of apartheid), the constant state of emotional restlessness. And yet, there are paradoxical consolations: 'we'd got close enough to admit argument, resentment and misunderstanding between us'. Any close relationship needs to reach this condition—the point of real honesty, of confrontation and commitment. And yet again: can people, however well-intentioned, get the true value from such moments when they are not free, when it is not within their power to resolve fully the arguments and resentments? Can the 'creative minorities' within a nation get anything creative going when they are imprisoned by the fears and repressions of those who at present dominate almost all of the processes of society?

In such a passage as this Nadine Gordimer gives in a nutshell the tragedy of present-day South Africa.

II

But these short stories seem to me to lack greatness precisely because they fail to embody South African problems in fully tragic terms.

The clue to what seem to me the limitations of the stories is to be found in the Introduction, from which I have quoted already. One of the statements I left incomplete before continues in this way:

> (My stories) reflect the attitudes of various kinds of whites towards blacks in South Africa, and sometimes the attitudes of blacks towards whites, and various relationships between black and white, but rarely my

> own attitudes, for the simple reason that these would too often represent the exception and not the rule. Few of the white people in my stories belong to that group of white South Africans who visualize and accept freedom for South Africa in terms of a black majority government elected by unqualified franchise.

Few readers of **Reality** will object to Ms Gordimer's political convictions, and if her explanation-cum-declaration seems a little stark and self-conscious one recognizes that she wants to be sure that readers of the African Writers Series will not misinterpret her essential stance. But her statements contain implications that are perhaps a little disturbing from a **literary** point of view: she pictures herself as detached from almost every attitude that she describes and evokes. Now of course it is the fate of the white radical to disagree with most things that are said and done in South Africa, especially by the dominant whites. But it is also (paradoxical as it may seem) both the fate and the task of the creative writer to experience from within everything or almost everything that he or she gives—or hopes to give—life and body to.

Needless to say, the process of imaginative sympathy is not simple: emotion and thought are both fused and in tension; the very act of commitment to ones subject involves a special sort of honest withdrawal. But this withdrawal is not—or it is not mainly—the detachment of the observer who seems to know all the answers.

Nadine Gordimer is by no means unaware of her standpoint:

> My approach in these stories, as in many others, is that of irony. In fact, I would say that in general, in my stories, my approach as a short story writer is the ironical one, and that it represents the writer's unconscious selection of the approach best suited to his material.

Irony is a rich and varied literary mode; but only in the greatest writers—in Shakespeare, say, or Conrad—is it compatible with the deepest compassion. Irony has a general tendency to 'make points', even at times to score points, whereas full imaginativeness represents somehow the process of living out, and living through. . .

Ms Gordimer is (it seems to me) good at depicting societies, not so good at creating people—an expert at backgrounds, but rather less happy in her foregrounds. Or to put it in another way, she seems often to prefer surfaces (which she registers with a coolly loving care) to inwardness (which she frequently fails to animate fully, or leaves largely to our imagination, or brushes aside half-ironically). Most of her stories are about failures of communication; but there is a kind of communication that they themselves don't really succeed in.

The criticisms that I have made cannot be substantiated easily: one needs to consider the whole of a story before one can demonstrate in detail what seem to be its shortcomings. And I do not wish to elaborate here the more 'negative' section of this review. The following short extract from 'The African Magician' (1965), however, seems to be not wholly untypical:

> There was a newly married couple, of course—that look of a pair tied up for a three-legged race who haven't mastered the gait yet. The husband was ordinary enough but the girl was unexpected , among the browsing herd setting to over the first meal aboard. She was very tall, the same size as her husband, and her long thin naked legs in shorts showed the tense tendon, fleshless, on each inner thigh as she walked. On the extreme thinness and elongation of the rest of her—half pathetic, half elegant—was balanced a very wide square jaw. In profile the face was pretty; full on, the extraordinary width of her blemished forehead, her thick black eyebrows above grey eyes, her very big straight mouth with pale lips, was a distortion of unusual beauty. Her style could have been Vogue model, or beatnik. In fact, she was a Belgian country girl who had hit naturally, by an accident of physique and a natural sluttishness, upon what I knew only as a statement of artifice of one kind or another.

There is plenty of 'observation' there; but does the woman who is being described really live? She is in some respects like a doll, or even a corpse.

III

That is not the note on which I wish to end, however. Nadine Gordimer is an important writer, who is always intelligent, always interesting, always perceptive. A South African who has not read her is likely to be considerably less aware than he should be.□

RADICAL EDUCATION

Its implications for an understanding education in Developing Countries, and for Black education in South Africa.

by Peter Kallaway.

In the light of my recent survey of the new literature on radical educational thinking, I would like to attempt to evaluate the role of education in Third World development strategies and then proceed to comment briefly on the meaning of these trends for an assessment of the 'Bantu Education' system in South Africa.

Two questions have recently been receiving detailed attention by radical educationalists. Firstly it is being asked whether education in general, and the structure of Third World education systems in particular, promote or retard development; and secondly, whether Western style formal education is indeed a force capable of emancipating 'backward' lands from ignorance and poverty as is so frequently claimed.

The 1960's can be described as the decade of great expectations about the development potential of education, and 'most Third World nations have been led to believe or wanted to believe, that it is the rapid **quantitative** expansion of formal educational opportunities which holds the basic key to the future of national development. The more education, the more rapid the anticipated development.' The accent was laid upon manpower planning and an increase in 'human resources' in the post-colonial era, and universal education became the sacred cow of politics and 'social engineering'.

The expansion of educational services, it was claimed, would encourage 'modernization'; it would accelerate economic growth; raise standards of living amongst the masses; generate widespread and equal employment opportunities, and eradicate ethnic and tribal conflict. Yet the expectations placed on education as an 'engine for development' and social transformation have clearly been unreasonable, exaggerated and frequently false. The spending of hundreds of millions of dollars on elaborate planning, 'experts', centralization and bureaucratization, more schools,* teachers, curriculum reforms and teaching equipment, failed to produce the desired results. It is still an open question as to exactly what benefit, if any, has been gained by the mass of the people in most Third World countries as a result of the educational expansion of the post-independence era. Indeed a number of writers **have** questioned the relevance of education to development, or even gone further to ask whether education of the kind to be found in many Underdeveloped Countries is not frequently a definite obstacle to development.

Sanchez and Waters have argued that school systems in less developed countries (LDC's) as presently organized hamper the progress of economic development because they distort investment alternatives open to government and to individuals; waste too much money on bureaucracy and plant (e.g. prestigous high schools and universities); and tend to act as bulwarks against progressive change rather than the opposite. Yet the commitment to the idea that schooling is an unqualified 'good' persists virtually unchallenged in western educational circles, and it is my contention that this is a dangerous myth in that it offers seductive but illusory prescriptions for 'desirable' social change, and omits to take cognizance of the real role of education as a mechanism for social control rather than as an instrument for promoting development. (See The Crisis in Education. Current Radical Thinking).

Although it would be foolish and näive to place all the blame for the failure of development plans in many Third World countries on education, close scrutiny of educational strategies does reveal some of the symptoms of that failure. It is frequently argued that education does not succeed in promoting development because those in power lack sufficient know-how and are not in touch with current educational thinking and research. It is also suggested that the people themselves force unrealistic demands for formal education on reluctant politicians and administrators, and that these popular attitudes to education are outmoded, conservative and irrelevant to present-day conditions, serving as a brake on constructive educational innovation. Some have also held that what is needed in order to place education at the centre of development strategies is an emphasis on 'relevant', vocational and agricultural training, rather than formal education.

It is not possible here to enter into a lengthy critique of these views. They have been examined by a number of writers, and shown to be largely unsatisfactory explanations for the failure of education to promote development. If politicians do not have up-to-date information and advice at hand, this surely needs to be explained. Why do they not see to it that this advice is available? If the mass of people want formal education which supposedly does not lead to employment or social advancement—how are their attitudes to be explained? Is vocational education really the panacea to development planning?

Much more satisfactory explanations for the 'failure' of formal schooling to promote development are to be found if educational policy is seen in the context of the interests of the particular social groups in power. Educational policies are frequently determined by group interests rather than by the best current scientific insights into the education-economy nexus. In the post-colonial era, the group that has come to power and that occupies top professional,

*A staggering 30% of the Third Worlds population are involved in Education (Todoro p. 226).

government and administrative positions often "legitimizes (its position of) leadership on the basis of the achievement criteria obtained in an educational system identical to that of the metropole." [1] and its interests are bound up with the preservation of the 'standards' which give very few newcomers access to the ruling group. 'Adaptation' of the education system would be a threat to the interests of the Elite group. Therefore, although formal education may not in fact be the best system to promote development, it is the best system for those who wish to strengthen and formalize their political, economic and social control of the society. "Formal education not only attempts to impart knowledge and skills to individuals to enable them to function as agents of economic change in their societies, it also imparts values, ideas, attitudes and aspirations which may or may not be in the nation's best 'developmental' interests." [2]

Educational reforms are frequently based on the myth that whatever the elite or 'the experts' consider to be good for everyone—indeed a response to the needs of the masses—will automatically lead to an improvement of the lot of the nation as a whole. This view denies the possibility of a real conflict of interests between those in power who formulate educational policies. and the mass of citizens. There is an unwritten assumption in much writing on Third World education that more education for the masses will automatically lead to an improvement of their economic position. Yet the results of schooling are frequently anything but beneficial to the majority of the people—indeed Carnoy claims that this kind of schooling frequently leaves the mass of people worse off than if they had had no schooling at all, because it actually helps to adapt them to the needs of the ruling class. Schools establish, and perpetuate a cultural hegemony for the dominant group in the minds of the dominated along the lines indicated by Freire. Carnoy has argued that "the failure of western education to produce a mass of innovative, highly trained and self-actualizing individuals (in Third World countries) was not a failure at all but the direct result of the colonizing function of schooling in a capitalistic (and colonized society".

Even if schooling does indeed, even partially, assist in this process of manipulation, the whole traditional conception of education as a vehicle of social mobility for the mass of people must be seriously questioned. Education in many ex-colonial countries is extremely formal in character. 'The ruling class' vision of society and its interests are presented as if they were 'objective'. The so-called 'objectivity of knowledge' is directed against the poor and the politically powerless. All children learn to evaluate society on grounds favourable to the rich and the powerful, i.e. in terms of middle class culture, values and attitudes. Lower class kids learn about their own reality—poverty, crime, unemployment—as individual failings, rather than the result of an inequitable, or perhaps racist, economy. (M. Carnoy: Education as Cultural Imperialism: a reply).

Carnoy stresses the role of schooling in legitimizing grossly unequal access to goods and services by 'colonizing' children and parents to believe in the brand of meritocracy implemented in schools. In short, far from promoting personal economic and political freedoms and liberal values, schools help to maintain hierarchical structures in society, and help to ensure that these formations are selfperpetuating.

[1] "Education: An obstacle to Development" T. Harf et al.

[2] "Education and Development" M.P. Todaro

'Reforms' are always applied in such a way as to reinforce the *status quo,* and if one is to understand the true meaning of educational reforms of this nature it is essential to explore the "dialectical relationship between access to power and the opportunity of specific interest groups to legitimize certain dominant categories of knowlege and certain attitudes, (through the school system) and to examine the relationship between the access of certain groups to specific kinds of education, and their ability to assert power and control over others. It would clearly be naïve to expect the ruling class to initiate radical school reforms of the kind alluded to by Freire, for this would imply a surrender of power by those in control—something they could not be expected to agree to voluntarily.

It is however possible for ruling groups to meet some of the demands made for educational reform, because many of these changes can be seen to promote their own best interests, (i.e. more technicians, more skilled manpower to supply the needs of a modernizing economy) as long as they are controlled from above, and 'as long as they do not challenge the basic relationships of production in the society, or diminish ruling class power.' (M. Carnoy Educational Change: Past and Present)

It can therefore be argued that many Third World educational strategies do not in fact aim at objectives that are frequently taken for granted by liberal and humanitarian reformers i.e. education for 'liberation'. Critical thinking is not rewarded; education does not significantly promote the life-chances of the majority of educands, of itself, but rather 'domesticates' them to accept the *status quo;* and schooling does not have the effect of equalizing and redistributing wealth and abolishing poverty, but leads to an increase rather than a decrease in class stratification.

The need is then to carefully examine political policies if educational strategies are to be fully understood, for the root of the failure of education as a spur to development is not to be sought in a detailed study of school curricula and methodology (although this can also be important)—but rather in the politics of those who formulate educational policy.

It is only when these truths are faced up to that educational theory and planning will assume its rightful and vital role in overall Development Policy. Finally I would like to make a few brief observations on the applicability of the above views to an analysis of the 'Bantu Education' system in South Africa.

It has recently been argued that current developments in the sphere of black education reveal signs of significant change in the society. The demonstrable and dramatic quantitative expansion of black education in recent years (±1960—1975) in the area of expenditure per head, school-going total, and class distribution of formal education amongst black children, are said to illustrate that "the means to welfare and the means to power are being multiplied rapidly and distributed sufficiently beyond the white boundaries to justify our speaking of the presence of endogenous tendencies to 'progressive'(?) modification" (or change) in the society.

Increased schooling facilities for blacks in South Africa are therefore interpreted as being a sign of an undeniable 'good' and a token of blacks coming to have greater opportunities for upward social mobility and a larger share of the economic cake by holding a more competitive position in the market place. This in turn, by implication, is seen to be a sign of the weakening of the racial oligarchical structure by allowing

more blacks to move into higher earning brackets, and therefore giving them greater leverage for stimulating 'progressive' political change. In the last count these changes are seen to demonstrate the erosion of apartheid by the *de facto* absorption of blacks into higher socio-economic categories in S.A., and changing their structural position of subservience in the society to a position based on merit.

These claims are surely much exaggerated, if not grossly erroneous. They view education purely in terms of the 'social engineer' approach and assume that **more** education equals something that is in itself better and more desirable for everyone, and that it is unquestionably a 'progressive force for change'. But if it cannot be proved that increased expenditure on education necessarily entails increased development, economic growth or social mobility for all the people in the society (see above), equally it cannot be argued that educational expansion is an index of the economic or socio-economic advance of any particular group.

As I have attempted to demonstrate, the growth of educational facilities amongst the poor may well suit the needs of ruling groups, without it entailing that they relinquish any of their power or control. As Freire has argued, it is **the nature of the education** that provides the index of its potential for development, not the number of people schooled or the amount of money spent.

The denial of the possiblity of a conflict of interests over access to goods and services lies at the centre of this view and it seems to me that this is an assumption that cannot legitimately be made in the light of our current understanding of the economics of education or radical educational thinking.

The degree of sophistication of the BAD system of 'education for subservience' and manipulation can hardly be questioned, yet many liberals still claim that it provides the key to the future of black development!!□

THE BENT PINE

the trial of Chief Langalibalele by Norman Herd **(The Ravan Press Braamfontein R6,90)**

reviewed by Ged Martin

In 1873 the Natal government, concerned at the influx of guns into the colony from the diamond fields, decided to make an example of Langalibalele, whose small amaHlubi tribe had been settled on the Bushman's river as a buffer against raids from the Drakensburg. Langalibalele evaded government attempts to bring him in, claiming later that he recalled an attempt by John Shepstone, brother of Somtseu (Theophilus) to kill Matyana, another chief, by a similar ploy in 1858. The amaHlubi began to make plans to withdraw into the Drakensberg, and colonial forces, supported by African levies, set out in a carefully drawn pincer move to pen the retreating tribesmen within Natal.

Unluckily for the grand strategy one half of the pincer was ordered to march through a pass which did not exist, while the other, under Major Durnford, lost its way and arrived, hungry and exhausted, after a gruelling detour. At the Bushman's River Pass they found the amaHlubi making good their getaway, with the younger men of the tribe exulting and taunting the Natalians. Mindful of the order which was soon to brand him as "Don't Fire" Durnford, and apprehensive of their discipline under restraint, the Major began to withdraw his men. Some of the amaHlubi fired on the tail, killing five men, two of them Africans.

Colonial revenge was speedy and brutal. Langalibalele's tribe was hunted down and smashed, and several hundred lives lost in the process. For good measure, the nearby amaPutini, whose main offence had been to avoid the fray, were similarly scattered. For the fugitive chief himself a remarkable dragnet was cast by British, Boers, Blacks and Coloureds throughout south-eastern Africa. Five weeks after the affray at Bushman's River Pass, Langalibalele was led into exactly the trap he had feared, by the Sotho ruler Malopo.

Then followed the most bizarre pantomine of all, episodes which form the main part of Mr Herd's book. The Langalibalele affair had already fractured the twenty-year friendship between Theophilus Shepstone and Bishop Colenso. While most of white Natal stood amazed and not altogether happy at its restraint, Colenso and Durnford himself were horrified at the bloodlusting incompetence which had forced Langalibalele into an untenable position. The governor, Sir Benjamin Pine, decided to put the captured chief on trial. However, he could hardly be tried by English law, partly because the only offences which could be proved against him were minor, such as failure to enforce gun registration laws, but more pertinently, because Langalibalele's guilt had already been affirmed by proclamation, and his followers, real and imagined, severely punished. The trial was thus held under "Native Law", which was codified only in Shepstone's head. In practice however, "Native Law" took no cognisance of disputes involving Europeans, and the 'trial' was conducted with a confused mixture of English and

African procedure, the switches being made whenever one or other seemed to offer some help to the Chief with the long name. Mr Herd's book has many pungent phrases, but none more telling than his summary of this curious and devious charade: "The crime had to fit the punishment". Pine, who had taken command of the punitive expedition, appointed himself Langalibalele's judge in his capacity as Supreme Chief. The bench was a ragged affair, including one magistrate who had taken part in the action, and the whole of the Executive Council in an undefined consultative function which hardly qualified them to become a court of subsequent appeal—quite apart from the small point that among the Councillors was Durnford's second-in-command and the father of one of the dead Carbineers. Predictably this 'Kafir' (or more accurately, kangaroo) court, urged on by Shepstone's tame tribal assessors, majestically upheld the Shepstone system on African management, as Shepstone himself had stage-managed it to do. Just to rub the point home, Theophilus secured the appointment as prosecutor of his brother John, whose treachery against Matyana was the alleged inspiration of Langalibalele's defiance of the law in the first place.

Thus the case dragged through what was to become an honourable pattern: executive interference, white hysteria, exile to Robben Island (which was no part of the domains of Supreme Chief Pine), and then evasions and defiance of legal redress of far grander scale than anything attempted by the amaHlubi chief.

For Mr Herd, a retired journalist and committed South African, Langalibalele was the victim of 'one of the earliest and most spectacular South African treason trials.' Mr Herd's message to his fellow countrymen is too clear to require spelling out: look at the injustices of your past, and then ask whether your present is any more decent and, in the not-so-long run, any less harmful to the true interests of South Africa. However much the academic historian may dissent from some of Mr Herd's judgements, surely no reviewer can fail to wish him well in his primary aim of alerting his fellow South Africans to the truth that present discontents have not been dreamed up overnight by flying squads of international agitators.

But the academic historian must also hope that **The Bent Pine** will so successfully arouse the enthusiasm of that mythical beast, the general reader, that he will be led to more scholarly, although by no means less lively, accounts of South African history. Mr Herd does not set out to follow all the scholarly conventions. His book has no index and a more obvious loss—no list of his very fine set of illustrations. Mr Herd's footnote references are sketchy. For instance, quotations from Colenso family correspondence are punctiliously given by writer, recipient and date, but with no clue to which of the scattered Colenso archives they are drawn from. Nor is it clear how far Mr Herd used the **Natal Witness,** the Pietermaritzburg paper which was close enough to events to become a lone voice of criticism. But the most striking omission is the lack of reference to the work of Mr W. R. Guest. Mr Herd does indeed twice cite Guest's 1962 B.A., thesis, and would without doubt cheerfully acknowledge its influence at other points. It is thus all that more regrettable that Mr Herd's book came too late to consult Guest's **Langalibalele: the crisis in Natal 1873—1975,** a revised and updated version of the original thesis, which has recently appeared in Natal University's Durban History department research monograph series. Any reader of **The Bent Pine** who catches Mr Herd's enthusiasm for Langalibalele would be well advised to seek out Guest's work as well. The two are idealy complementary, for the two authors differ in focus as they differ in approach. The Durban history series is produced in a loose cover, offset type form which is easy on the eye, and if Guest's readable, sober but fast-moving narrative is any guide, none need to be deterred by the arid title of 'research monograph' from supporting this welcome venture in South African publishing.

Like most of us, Mr Herd finds it difficult to keep up with the latest fashions in African orthography, although it seemed strange to learn that in the tribal divisions of British politics in the 1870's were still between 'Whigs and Tories'. But a reviewer may more usefully disagree with Mr Herd's interpretation of events. First of all, it is difficult to avoid the impression that, however hysterical and absurd the charges made against him, Langalibalele may have been 'up to' something. The Kimberley diamond fields had made it possible, even easy, for Africans to get hold of guns in larger numbers than ever before—something we would now dub a destabilising situation'. Langalibalele certainly seems to have encouraged migrant amaHlubi workers to buy weapons. Then again, there is some evidence and certainly a general impression that Langalibalele was in touch with a number of African groups over a wide area before trouble broke out—perhaps conspiratorial, perhaps merely precautionary. Although the amaHlubi were a small tribe, their chief was no minor figure. "Langalibalele' was a name which bore tribute to his supposed powers as a rain-maker, and by extension one who could inflict drought—and as such he was held in general respect among Zulu and Xhosa people. Furthermore his alternative name, Mtwetwa, was an allusion to Dingiswayo, the pioneer at the art of building tribal confederacies on new military tactics. Certainly if Langalibalele had seen himself as a new African monarch and many Africans believed this was his ambition—he did not lack qualifications for the attempt. Mr Herd of course will have none of this: to him the simple solution would have been to have swallowed Shepstonian pride and let the amaHlubi take themselves off into the Drakensberg after a token rebuke. But, while we may regard with contempt Pine's attempt to argue that leaving the colony, which was no statutory offence at all, amounted to treason, it is legitimate to ask—what would have happened next? It is difficult to belived that Sotho country had an elastic capacity for absorbing new cattle-droving people, and Langalibalele's incursion might well have touched off a renewed power struggle in that sensitive area. Malopo's Judas-like betrayal of Langalibalele should not lead us to overlook the fact that he was the son of Moshweshwe, who knew more than most African rulers the price to be paid for peace. Notice too that when the Natal volunteers broke and ran at the Bushman's River Pass, it was the ba-Tlokwa levies, Sotho people, who put up the fiercest resistance, and subsequently rivalled the settlers in man-hunting. Perhaps then Langalibalele had more in mind than simple fear of John Shepstone's strong-arm tactics when he defied the government. Why did he sprinkle his men with *intelezi* —to repel bullets, as the government thought, or to strengthen their knees, as Colenso insisted? Mr Herd may provide the answer with his incisive comment that Langalibalele was 'two people'—the one a dignified leader, the other the crushed figure at the centre of Pine's Roman

triumph. This dichotomy of character certainly makes it harder to be sure exactly what motives were driving Langalibalele during 1873—was it panic, or ambition, or some muddled combination which defies category.

If Langalibalele may in part have been the author of his own misfortunes, what can be said of Pine? Mr Herd shows that the trial was aimed at two groups: the Natal Whites, who needed to bathe their pride in a little bullying after the humiliation of Bushman's River Pass, and the Natal Blacks, who had to be reminded of the penalties of challenging Theophilus Shepstone's system of divide and browbeat. (It is possible too that the show trial was also staged for the benefit of the Zulu: the decision to put pressure on Langalibalele followed an extended visit by Pine and Shepstone to the coronation of Cetshwayo, and perhaps they thought it desirable to follow up Zulu pageantry with a reminder of white power.) But in his emphasis on South African conflicts, Mr Herd entirely overlooks a third constituency, which may explain the bizarre ritual of Langalibalel's trial. Durnford was painfully aware of its existence, when he despairingly wrote: "What will England say?"

'England' of course was a good deal less liberal in its racial attitudes than it liked to pretend. British opinion had called for bloodthirsty revenge for the Indian Mutiny, but during the 1860's the tide had flowed the other way. The Maori wars in New Zealand had inspired widespread disgust at colonial landgrabbing, and in 1865 had come the Morant Bay rising in Jamaica, which electrified British opinion like Sharpeville in more recent times. The Jamaica rising was a small enough affair, in which nineteen whites were killed. In revenge, hundreds of Blacks were murdered, judicially or otherwise. Most spectacularly, a Coloured politician, G.W. Gordon whom the whites regarded as an 'agitator', was summarily tried by a court martial of junior officers and speedily hanged. In the outcry which followed, the governor, Edward John Eyre, was recalled in modified disgrace, and subjected to attempts at private prosecution for murder by committees of indignant liberals.

It would not have taken too much imagination to see the similarities between Gordon's case and Langalibalele's. In Natal, as in Jamaica, a white minority outnumbered twenty to one, had reacted to the deaths of a handful of their number with massive and murderous retaliation. Like Gordon, Langalibalele could be accused of intemperate gestures, but could not be fairly held to have instigated violence. Pine, nearing the end of a long career, must have trembled at the thought of pensionless dismissal. A spectacular judicial process was necessary to avoid the furtive impression of the Jamaica proceedings. The use of 'Native Law' might help to appease humanitarian opinion in Britain. After the Gordon furore a hanging was unthinkable: hence exile was the severest possible punishment. Pine then had to tread a careful path, of impressing his African subjects while appeasing his British masters. Why did the Pantomime go so ludicrously wrong? Probably because once committed to the trial, Pine was in the hands of his master of ceremonies, Shepstone, for whom metropolitan outrage held fewer threats. Hence everytime there was a clash between fairness and firmness, Shepstone's local priorities carried the day. But Pine we may guess, was not so much out to make Langalibalele into a forerunner of Nelson Mandela, as to ensure that he himself did not become a successor to Governor Eyre.

To make these reservations about Mr Herd's view of the main characters is not of course to indulge in a complacent whitewashing of the Langalibalele affair. For Mr Herd the stuff of history is the wrongs inflicted by the bad on the good, and from this an inspiring and straightforward moral can be drawn for the present. It is more sobering to reflect that history is more often about interactions of misfortunes and ineptitudes of ordinary weak people. Sadly, this also offers less encouragement for the present.□

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