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in this issue . . .

	Page
EDITORIALS 1. EDDIE DANIELS	2
2. DEATH FOR TREASON	3
PIETERMARITZBURG TREASON TRIAL by Vortex	3
DR JOHN DE GRUNCHY REPLIES TO REV. R. G. CLARKE'S REVIEW	4
POEM by Stephanie Warren	4
THE CENTRE FOR APPLIED LEGAL STUDIES by John Dugard	5
A CASE OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION by Peter Brown	6
DIE SWERFJARE VAN POPPIE NONGENA Review by Marie Dyer	8
ROY CAMPBELL – ALMOST A LIBERAL by David Robbins	10
PHOTO: SOWETO CHILDREN by Mandla Cebekhulu	11
BACKGROUND TO A BOYCOTT by Peter Brown	12
THE S.A. BARBARIANS RUGBY TOUR TO BRITAIN by Peter Davis	14
SOUTH AFRICA'S OPTIONS Review by J. Unterhalter	16
HOW RACISM TAKES ROOT by Beryle Banfield	17
THROUGH OTHER EYES by Hugo O. Ortega	18

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EDITORIALS

1.

EDDIE DANIELS

On November 16th Eddie Daniels was released from Robben Island after serving every single day of the sentence which the Judge-President of the Cape Supreme Court in 1964 felt was a fitting punishment for the part he had played in the sabotage activities of the African Resistance Movement.

Some people thought the punishment was excessive. Not apparently our present Minister of Justice and his security police. Fifteen years on Robben Island was not enough for them, so they tacked on to the end of them their own administrative punishments, some cruel, some more so.

Eddie's family were first told that he would be released from the Robben Island jetty, but shortly before his release they were told that it would be from Pollsmoor Police Station. His brother and 86-year-old mother went there at 7 a.m. on the morning of the 16th, no doubt in a state of anticipation and excitement greater than anything they had ever experienced before. That was soon dashed. They were told he wasn't there. The security police had taken him to Caledon Square police station. They could collect him from there.

At Caledon Square Eddie was finally released to them carrying with him, amongst his other few possessions, a house-arrest order. This will, for the next five years, confine him to his brother's house from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. and at week-ends and on public holidays. It will restrict him to the

magisterial district in which his brother's home is, prohibit him from visiting a large number of places within that district, prevent him from attending any "gathering" of any sort, and impose on him a host of other restrictions with which opponents of apartheid should by now be familiar.

Eddie Daniels has already served the full measure of the sentence the courts felt was appropriate to his offence. Now he must start to serve another sentence, and not for having done anything. For it is inconceivable that he would have been let off Robben Island if he had done anything before he left there, or that he had time to do anything between leaving there and having the banning order served on him.

Of course he didn't. His offence is that 15 years on Robben Island haven't persuaded him that any good will ever come out of apartheid. Nor, it seems, has a prison sentence for a political offence persuaded many others. How else can one explain the fact that almost every political offender, when released from gaol, suffers the iniquity of having a banning or house-arrest order placed on him? For what else is it but iniquitous that an administrative punishment of such viciousness should be imposed on people who have already paid, without a day's remission, the full debt which the courts felt they owed society.

Some people think the P. W. Botha government is something different from its predecessor. Deep down inside we're afraid it isn't. □

2.

DEATH FOR TREASON

In the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg on November 15th, 1979, James Mange was condemned to death for treason. The last person to receive such a sentence was Robey Leibbrandt in 1943.

We are totally opposed to the death penalty, not only because it is barbaric and irreversible, but also because it is largely ineffective in the only area in which a moral case might be argued for it — as a deterrent.

We oppose it particularly in the case of a crime committed or contemplated not for personal gain but for reasons of personal political conviction.

Most ordinary crimes which carry the death penalty have in them an element of hot-bloodedness, but even the most cold-blooded hardly rivals the grisly ritual which ends in a man being hanged by the neck until he is dead.

How much worse that a political offender should end up this way even than that an ordinary criminal should. For to execute a political opponent is almost totally counter-productive. In Rhodesia it has not helped save Mr Smith from the capitulation in which he is now involved. If anything his executions gave his opponents the martyrs they needed to strengthen their resolve. And so it could be here.

The execution of Jopie Fourie in 1914 gave Afrikaner nationalism one of its heroes. Smuts learned from that and, when it came to Robey Leibbrandt, he commuted the sentence.

We hope that the Nationalists have learned from this sensible precedent and that, if James Mange is unsuccessful in his appeal, his sentence too will be commuted. □

PIETERMARITZBURG TREASON TRIAL

The rain comes steadily down.
Mauve jacaranda blossoms
cover the pavements and the sides of streets,
giving the whole scene
an incongruous sweetness.
Beside the courthouse,
alongside the many parked vans and cars,
blue-clothed policemen stand quietly,
many of them holding rifles,
guns that look easy to fire.

Inside the small court
filled with relatives and sympathizers,
the accused men listen
gloomily yet defiantly
to the judge's solemn words:
their culpability
is clearly established.

It is all quite clear.
It is all legal:
there can be no dispute.

And now it is over.
The men judged guilty are driven
over the jacaranda flowers
away to their punishment,
one to the darkness of death,
the remainder to the twilight
of lifetimes in prison.
The rain continues steadily.

From this event, partly, there will emerge
the future,
in all its well-sculpted
and no doubt excellently-documented
confusion.

Vortex

DR JOHN DE GRUCHY REPLIES TO REV. R. G. CLARKE'S REVIEW OF 'THE CHURCH STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA' PRINTED IN NOVEMBER REALITY

"I am grateful to Bob Clarke for his review, and especially for his critical discussion of Chapter 2. One major purpose of book reviews, which is often forgotten, is that they should help forward the debate on the issues at hand and not simply praise or damn the book. I am naturally pleased that Bob Clarke has commended my book, but I am also thankful that he has taken it seriously enough to subject it to critical inspection. Scholarly endeavour would die without the challenge of such dialogue.

"Without indulging in apology, I would respond to his critique of chapter 2 as follows. 'The Church Struggle in South Africa' was not intended to provide a history of the Church's struggle against racism etc. As a theologian I am not primarily interested in writing detailed historical studies, but I am concerned to reflect theologically on history. In order to do this it is important that an adequate historical basis be provided, otherwise theological reflection becomes specious

and speculative. But an adequate basis does not mean an exhaustive one. I gladly and readily admit that some of the details to which Clarke refers should have found a place in my treatment, and I am indebted to him for mentioning them, but I am not convinced that my purposes required me to include everything. Indeed, I do not think that my thesis would have been affected a great deal, if at all. As Clarke has indicated, there is a wealth of material waiting to be researched and published on this subject, and I for one am eager to see his own research coming to fruition. One problem I had to face was the fact that my book was based on lectures given in North America. Indeed, my book was first published in the USA earlier this year. This meant I could only paint some broad strokes on the canvas — a more Brueghel-like portrayal might have clouded rather than clarified the issues. Certainly it would have required a far larger canvas than publishers are prepared to provide!" □

POEM

i a woman
number among my friends
men of gentle sensitivity
who like respect appreciate me
enjoy my company

yet even they
do all these things with a kindly air
an air of faint but unmistakable patronage
a fatherliness a tolerance
for my femaleness as if at any moment
my mind might turn into
fluffy cottonwool

extrapolating
i boggle
trying to imagine what it must be like
to be black
trapped in a web of mindless white
superiority

we all laughed
when angry women burnt their bras
as symbols of oppression

what symbols will blacks choose to burn
in their frustrated rage
shall we be laughing
then

by Stephanie Warren

THE CENTRE

FOR APPLIED LEGAL STUDIES

By John Dugard

In 1978 a Centre for Applied Legal Studies was established at the University of the Witwatersrand to promote research into areas of the law affecting the black community and civil rights.

This undertaking departs from traditional legal research in a number of respects. First, it focuses attention on areas of the law of socio-political importance which in the past have been sadly neglected in South Africa. Secondly, it examines the law in operation, rather than in theory. Thirdly, it aims to use the information it collects and the findings it makes to improve the quality of justice in South Africa.

The Centre for Applied Legal Studies has inevitably been compelled to confine its activities to a limited number of subjects. At present its primary concerns are labour law, 'pass laws', homelands citizenship, censorship and certain aspects of consumerism (notably malpractices in burial aid societies). A certain amount of flexibility is, however, maintained as issues arise which cannot be ignored. Thus in 1979 much of the Centre's work has been directed at preparing and presenting argument in a prosecution under the Group Areas Act in which the validity of a proclamation zoning central Johannesburg for exclusive white occupation is being challenged by the defence.

In pursuance of its objects to study the law in operation, the Centre's staff have embarked upon the following activities:

(a) **The observation of court procedures in the commissioners' courts**

Several members of the Centre's staff attended the commissioners' courts in Johannesburg over a three months period and compiled a report on the manner in which blacks are tried in the 'pass courts'. A number of unusual features were observed, stemming mainly from the absence of legal representation and the speed of the proceedings, which were highlighted in a critical study in the **Rand Daily Mail**. Since then some of these features have improved. Moreover, a scheme has now been devised to provide legal representation in certain cases in these courts.

(b) **The collection of materials not readily available to lawyers.**

Most law libraries do not contain decisions of the Press Council and the Publications Appeal Board and unreported judicial decisions. The Centre attempts to collect and publish such materials to assist lawyers and others.

The **Labour Law Bulletin**, a monthly publication containing original articles, unreported judicial

decisions and information about wage regulating measures and industrial agreements, is the first South African publication to deal exclusively with the legal aspects of industrial relations and is designed to assist labour lawyers and trade unionists. The **Bulletin** is complemented by the **Complete Guide to Wage Regulating Measures** which provides easy access to wage regulating measures published in the **Government Gazette**.

Censorship has intensified since the introduction of the Publications Act of 1974, which deprived the ordinary courts of jurisdiction over censorship. The standards of censorship are now to be found in the decisions of the Publications Appeal Board, but these decisions are not published in any official law reports and are consequently inaccessible to most lawyers and writers. In order to remedy this situation, the Centre publishes a **Digest of Decisions of the Publications Appeal Board** which appears in a looseleaf binder and is kept up to date by regular additions.

The Centre also publishes occasional papers. To date it has published a critical examination of the Press Council and a study of the right of a black woman to live with her husband in an urban area will shortly appear.

Obviously it is not possible for the Centre to obtain all unreported decisions of importance to the civil rights lawyer. We would therefore greatly appreciate it if we could be kept informed about, and, possibly, supplied with, decisions of this kind from all parts of the Republic.

While the Centre for Applied Legal Studies is primarily a research unit, it aims to use the information it collects in a positive manner to encourage law reform and an improvement of the administration of justice. This it attempts to do through its publications and by giving assistance to lawyers and others. The Centre also has an important educational component. It encourages law teachers and law students to study areas of the law falling within its concern by providing them with information which is generally not readily accessible.

The Centre is a new venture. The subjects it has selected for study are not 'closed'; nor are the methods it uses for promoting law reform. We would greatly value suggestions and ideas in this regard. Discriminatory and repressive laws remain an ever-present indictment of our legal system and it is incumbent on lawyers and non-lawyers to do all in their power to remedy the position. □

A CASE OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION

By Peter Brown

Peter Moll was born in Pretoria in 1956 and educated at Selborne College, East London. He did military service as a clerk during 1974 and then went to the University of Cape Town where he graduated with a degree in Business Science in 1978. A member of the Baptist Church he was for three years chairman of the UCT Students Christian Association.

His thoughts first started moving in the direction of conscientious objection when he was put on standby during the student disturbances of 1976. He decided that if he was called up to help put down the disturbances he would not go. His unit, the Cape Flats Commando, was not called up.

In December 1977, however, the unit was called up for border duty. Peter Moll wrote to his commanding officer as follows:-

"Dear Sir,

(1) I hereby make formal application to have my draft by Cape Flats Commando for 1 December 1977 replaced by a period of **service of national interest under civilian direction** of any length up to one year. I refer to such activities as teaching in schools or work in a hospital or a municipality. I have completed my fourth year of academic study (chiefly in Business Science) and I feel that this training would be well utilized in the above-mentioned activities. I feel further that the alternatives provided by Western countries (e.g. West Germany, Denmark) in place of military service are an adequate precedent for this application.

(2) Please note that the request in (1) is a repetition of a verbal request I put to the acting Officer Commanding of Cape Flats Commando on the evening of 3 October 1977.

(3) If, however, this request cannot be granted, I refuse to obey my call-up instruction on 1 December 1977. My reasons for doing so will be found in the appendix. Please note that this statement on the subject supercedes all others, verbal or written.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) P. G. Moll (Rfn.)

B. Company, Cape Flats Commando.

APPENDIX: WHY I AM A SELECTIVE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

By way of definition

A selective conscientious objector is one who for reasons of conscience refuses to participate in a war but whose objection does not extend to all war.

Norms and Standards

By what norms does one evaluate society?

The social message of the Old Testament is that God requires justice of his subjects. All human conceptions of justice must be founded upon Him who only is just. Justice in society ought to be a reflection of the divine justice. In the theocratic state of Israel the rich had to show compassion to

the poor; all men were equal before the law; there was to be no exploitation by corrupt business practice such as the weighting of scales or usury; legal checks were built in to ensure that the structure of society did not develop into one in which the demands of divine justice could not be fulfilled — for instance, the strongly redistributive nature of the Jubilee. God has required nothing of man but "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with (his) God". While there is scanty evidence for egalitarianism, stress is laid on the virtue of fairness and compassion.

In the New Testament, the sayings of Jesus and the apostles expand and intensify the above. In the Sermon on the Mount we read of going the second mile, giving the cloak and the coat as well, and the evil of hypocrisy; Peter was reprimanded for taking up a sword in self-defence; Paul insists in Romans chapter 13 that good government, being under God's authority, will punish the evildoer; pure religion, for James, is caring for orphans and widows.

A Just war?

In the popular mind, several requirements for the definition of a just war have been developed, for instance:

- (i) the war must be in defence of a just society;
- (ii) the war must not be unduly prolonged;
- (iii) the warring side must be assured of victory;
- (iv) there must be reason to expect that a successful war will leave matters better than they were before the war;
- (v) all possible methods of resolving the conflict by peaceful means must be exhausted.

These conditions challenge South Africa's conflict on at least two points.

The definition of a just war excludes war in defence of a basically unjust and discriminatory society. South African society, I believe, is basically unjust and discriminatory. The founding motive of apartheid policy is that racial groups be separated, be allowed to develop along their own lines and be permitted, eventually to achieve self-determination. This fine ideal is found to be hollow when we realize that, when all the partitioning has been completed, the White community's share of South Africa's land and riches will be out of all proportion to its population size.

To achieve this ideal, radical methods have been applied. For instance, there have been vast forced movements of population. By far the larger proportion of the people affected have been black. There are severe restrictions on the private movements of blacks, particularly in the urban areas. The economic superiority of the White community is assured by, among others, laws prohibiting the operation of trade unions among blacks. Blacks who have been living and working in urban areas, sometimes for three generations, are denied meaningful political rights there, under the superficial gloss that they may exercise their rights in their respective homelands.

Several pointed questions will lead us further into the argument. Whom and what are we defending? Against whom and against what are we fighting? Are we fighting an external aggressor? The first question is partly answered in I. In my view, we are defending the interests of the ruling group. We are not acting in the best interests of all the peoples of South Africa. The almost unabated civil unrest in black townships around large South African cities affords abundant proof that there is a significant body of black opinion that considers the wider policies of the present government to be directed mainly in the interests of the White race.

This brings us to the second question. The high incidence of black youths fighting amongst the guerillas whose homes are inside South Africa, places doubt on the celebrated formula "Communist imperialists". Certainly there is a Communist presence among the insurgents, but that is not the end of the matter. There is also a large element of legitimate outrage which finds its expression (whether legitimately or not, I cannot tell) in armed revolution. It would be hypocritical in the extreme to condemn terrorism without first condemning the forces which have provoked it; likewise it would be hypocritical to combat terrorism militarily without simultaneously seeking to eliminate the causes that lie behind it.

Pursuing this line of argument further, it emerges that the border conflict is rapidly assuming the proportions of a civil war. Another salient point in this connection is the sheer size of the military budget, the extent to which the large increases in recent years have been prompted by burgeoning internal unrest, and the probability that military might will be the ultimate sanction in the case of serious unrest.

Conclusion

My essentially moral, as opposed to pragmatic, view of South African society springs ultimately from my commitment to God as a Christian. Where the laws of men depart from the law of God, there can be no obligation to obey those laws.

21 November 1977

P. G. Moll (Rfn) 72476690KT"

The request to do non-military national service was turned down and Peter Moll refused to answer the call-up on the grounds that South African society was so unjust in terms of Christian morality that he could not be required to defend it. Quoting Archbishop Bill Burnett he said that to do so would be "defence of the morally indefensible". When brought to court for his refusal he said "when the laws of men and the Law of God are in conflict, the latter must take precedence" He received a three-month prison sentence suspended for five years.

In November 1978 Peter again asked the authorities to give him a non-military alternative to his military service. This

request was turned down earlier this year. In May 1979 he arranged with the Secretary of Education of the Transkei to ask Defence Headquarters if he could not complete the balance of his training teaching maths in an Umtata training college. The request was refused.

On 25th June he was again called up for training and refused to attend. In doing so he quoted Alan Paton, "The war is basically a civil war", and the Cape Times — the guerillas are none other than "our own deeply-disaffected fellow-citizens". He argued that the minimum requirement for a just war in Reformed, Lutheran and Catholic Theology is "for a just cause" — and how could the injustices of apartheid, which result inevitably in resistance among Blacks, be called a just cause?

For this second refusal to respond to his call-up Peter Moll was charged before a military tribunal in Cape Town in September. There was no precedent for the trial of a selective conscientious objector on a second offence, and the nature of the sentence was therefore quite unpredictable. In terms of the law it could have been as much as two years in detention, or a fine of R2 000,00 or both. That Peter Moll was expecting something of this nature was clear from his remarks to the press after the trial was over. Instead he received a fine of R50,00. And during the trial the military prosecutor himself said that he felt a lenient sentence should be imposed.

For a moment it seemed as if the authorities' previous attitude of almost total hostility to conscientious objection might be changing, but on November 19th Peter Moll was called up again and on November 22nd he was arrested for not reporting for duty. The hopes raised in September hang suspended, waiting on the decision of the military court on this third refusal.

Only a fool would be optimistic about it. The Government has consistently refused to accept alternative forms of service for people who regard military service, in what they cannot conceive of as a "just war", as unacceptable. Selective conscientious objectors have proposed a number of alternatives to military service, none of them easy. In Cape Town a Voluntary Service Corps has been formed in the hope that its work in the service of the community will be recognised by the Defence Force as an alternative to military service. The Defence Force has so far refused to do so, but let's hope that it will soon change its mind.

In fact I would go a good deal further than hoping that.

Until a satisfactory political answer to our problems has been found military service in support of the present regime will become an increasingly divisive and emotive issue amongst all races. It should therefore be voluntary.

Nationalists should have no difficulty in accepting this proposition. After all, what would most of them have done between 1939 and 1945 if it had been otherwise? □

FOOTNOTE

On 4th December 1979 Peter Moll was convicted by a court martial of failing for the third time to report for military service and sentenced to 18 months in detention. He had the right to lodge a written objection within 48 hours. It is not known to the editor if he has done so.

DIE SWERFJARE VAN POPPIE NONGENA

by Elsa Joubert; Tafelberg, 1978

Reviewed by Marie Dyer.

Die Swerfjare van Poppie Nongena (the wandering years of Poppie Nongena) was published a year ago and has since been reprinted twice. It won almost immediate distinction and acclaim: it gained three literary awards (the Luyt, Hofmeyr and C.N.A. prizes); it was serialised in Afrikaans magazines and newspapers (and extracts have appeared in English periodicals); it has been a major literary, social, even political talking-point in the Afrikaans world.

Its literary merits deserve this distinction; but literary merits are not always so immediately and widely appreciated, nor so justly rewarded. Its recognition gives some grounds for hope that the apparent shift in Afrikaner thinking is real; that there really is a new climate — intellectual, at least; that this novel is a literary work, one could say, whose time has come.

It is in the form of a long, detailed, circumstantial, autobiographical record of the life of an Afrikaans-speaking Xhosa woman, born in the North-Western Cape. (She does in fact exist, as the author explains in her preface; and the novel is based very substantially on fact). This woman, Poppie Nongena of the title, does not address the reader directly; her story is recounted by an apparently intimate, sympathetic, totally self-effacing confidant, who moves easily between indirect speech and Poppie's first person narration. This form seems to convey Poppie's experiences and attitudes — in fact the whole pressure of her life and personality — with perfect immediacy. The diction, even of the indirect speech, is as if Poppie's own (the kind of 'Cape' Afrikaans that uses, for example 'slaat' for 'slaan', 'laat' or 'lat' for 'sodat' or 'totdat', and admits English words or phrases with no inhibition or sense of strangeness); the style is simple and episodic (apparently artless, but obviously constructed with great exactness and emotional coherence); there is an accumulation of significant and relevant detail; so that the solidity of Poppie's life and environment becomes irresistible.

The events of her life are these: she is born in Upington location in 1936, and lives there as a young child; then moves with most of her mother's family (her father has long since disappeared) to Lambert's Bay. She works in the fish-canneries from the age of 13; at 16 she marries a fellow-worker, also a Xhosa, from the Transkei. They set up house and start a family; but as Nationalist theories begin to be enforced in the 1950's, she and all other African women are forced — by arrests, fines, demolished houses — to leave the area. They proceed, as recommended by the authorities, to Nyanga township in Cape Town. Accommodation is a perpetual struggle; Poppie finds 'live-in' jobs, seeing her baby briefly at week-ends. Her husband, lonely on his own in Lambert's Bay, follows her to Cape Town and has to accept contract work. But the law follows her too, she becomes "illegal" as a resident in Cape Town, and for fifteen years, as she bears and brings up four more children and becomes part of the Cape Town community, she conducts a desperate struggle with the authorities for permission to stay; moving

from house to house, applying for permits, monthly extensions of permits, fortnightly extensions of extensions, appealing through lawyers, through social workers, through the hospital when her husband is sick. Finally in 1971 she is forced to give in; she travels alone with the five children (the eldest 16, the youngest a baby) to Mdantsane near East London, where she is provided with a house. She stays there at the end of a line of money and support from her husband and family in Cape Town; but her husband is an anxious, possessive, dependent man; his health is worn down by worry and loneliness and he dies after four years. Poppie returns with her youngest child and her son's illegitimate baby to Cape Town to find work, leaving her sons at school in Mdantsane and her elder daughters with her husband's parents in the Transkei. She suffers immense hardships in the 1976 riots, although sustained by the confidence that her own elder children are remote and safe — but her young step-brother Jakkie has shot a policeman in the disturbances; and the novel ends with her hearing that he has involved her son and her eldest daughter in his escape through the Transkei to Lesotho; and both have been arrested and detained by the police, 'lat hulle kan praat'.

These major events — and all the other minor ones in the recital — are fully felt and participated in by the reader, largely because of the fullness of authentic detail. One responds directly to the feel, say, of Poppie's long, long walks with her grandmother back to Upington bearing bundles of firewood, which are first held tight and steady but then released as they begin to lie on her head and move with her down the road; or the feel of the strangeness of the white employers' bedroom as Poppie brings in the morning coffee and for a few minutes doesn't know whether they are awake; or the feel of her kitchen in the house in Nyanga where a young white girl comes to conduct a Sunday School class, and the children roll their arms about singing "Asa Lod loves me, asa heppie asa bie"; or the feel of the perpetually crowded, uncomfortable, tense-atmosphered influx control office, where the clerk's fingers are always idly playing with the terrifying 'endorsed-out' stamp; or the feel of the newly-built house in Mdantsane, isolated and surrounded with builders' rubble, where Poppie and the children camp on the floor the night of her arrival, with only the luggage they brought with them on the train, and Poppie tries to suppress the mounting feeling of panic at how far they are from anyone who knows of their existence, while her son in the next room strikes matches periodically throughout the night. The novel is in fact a succession, a profusion, of telling, moving, illuminating, and — at least in the first half — amusing and entertaining incidents, gaining in vividness and impressiveness by the low-keyed, conversational direct manner of their expression. In another example, Poppie, sick and pregnant, approaches the influx control office for what she is certain will be her final decree of eviction, and overcome with tension and nausea collapses against a lamp

post; while a passing white woman, tentatively sympathetic but obviously wondering whether Poppie is drunk, hands her a tissue to wipe her lips.

(At the end of the novel the scale of the disasters and sufferings to be described perhaps puts more strain on the form than it can sustain. The simple style and unheightened language is not entirely adequate to convey Poppie's experiences of Boxing Day 1976, fleeing with her little daughter and baby grandson from a burning house, frantically evading the stones and pangas of the hostel dwellers and the bullets of the police, and finally finding, when they have reached refuge, that the child on her back has been killed by a stone. These unimaginable horrors remain, as it were, unimagined — the reader is horrified and appalled but cannot be fully included in the experience.)

The obvious political significance of the novel rests on its simple and moving authenticity. Poppie is a real presence, a person; continually persevering to keep both her personality and her family intact through years of disintegrating pressures. The reader's imaginative identification with a woman at the receiving end of Apartheid; the full personal understanding of the meaning and reality of a brutal and uncaring set of laws, an understanding enforced without stridency, without polemic, with little recrimination, must be a political revelation to the uneasy theorists who probably make up a significant proportion of educated Nationalist supporters. Although the comparison with **Uncle Tom's Cabin** does not do justice to the literary qualities of **Die Swerfjare**, it is obvious why it has been drawn.

Further political insights are conveyed by the fact that Poppie's own attitudes are 'non-political'. From her first confrontation with the law — the eviction of Africans from factory accommodation in Lambert's Bay — to the arrest of her children, Poppie's reactions are the almost unprotesting ones of people who have become used to the knowledge that the circumstances of their lives are determined by others. As the law squeezes and harasses her beyond bearing, her struggles to maintain a significant life under it demand all her energies: none are to spare for questions, analyses or protests. She becomes virtually incapable of assigning responsibility for her distresses. She derives, for instance, an obscure but continuing comfort from the words of a religious white clerk in the influx control office: 'As die

Here wil dat jy bly, dan sal jy bly, en as die Here wil dat jy gaan, dan sal jy gaan'. She refuses to try to make sense of the arbitrary granting or withholding of permits: 'Ons lewe is so deurmekaar. Ons is dit gewoond. Die een kry pas en die ander kry nie. En as jy kry, is jy maar bly daaroor'. (Poppie's brother Mosie is only a little more articulate in this matter. When Poppie returns to Cape Town, her employer, who works for the Government, arranges for her in one visit the permit she herself struggled unavailingly to get for fifteen years, and Mosie says: 'Dis wat jy lankal moes gedoen het, Sisi . . . Net by governmentmense gaan werk cause why hulle hou van hulle comfort') Poppie's resentment at her move is directed obliquely against her family, her mother and brothers, who have permits and can stand by and watch her leave. And even in the riots, the fact that the police fire only at the township residents and do nothing to stop the more aggressive hostel dwellers makes Poppie no more than 'hartseer'. But her stepbrother Jakkie, the representative of the younger generation, provides, in brief comments, the judgements and reactions that his elders evade: 'Hoe kan ek vir jou kwaad wees, ek is kwaad vir die wet'; 'Die Here Jesus, so force hulle haar'. When Jakkie's contemporaries 'take over' in the townships, he, in common with them, detaches himself from the adults; says nothing of what he is doing; evades or jokes when asked direct questions. The adults are confused some, like Mosie, not ungratified:

My sustertjie, sê Mosie vir Poppie, ek like nie hierdie riots nie, ek like dit nie dat die kinders die owerheid tease en seerkry nie, of lat hulle my kar stop en skree donate! donate! totlat ek vir hulle petrol vir hulle petrol bombs uittap nie. Maar my sustertjie, ek kan nie dit help nie, daar's iets in my hart wat sê: At last.

Others like Poppie herself, are totally dismayed at the division between the generations, and can never be reconciled. Jakkie tries to reassure her: 'Ons doen nie slegte dinge nie'; 'Ons doen dit vir julle'. But Poppie is never convinced or even reached: her most passionate and heartfelt cry, when she and her family have suffered catastrophe after catastrophe, is 'Die Here weet ek het nie die moeilikheid gesoek nie!'

In short, as a novel depicting and interpreting some of the complex and significant experiences of "being South African", **Die Swerfjare van Poppie Nongena** is difficult to surpass. □

STATEMENT ON CENSORSHIP

Southern African PEN Centre (Johannesburg)

The censors have done it yet again! However, we are not daunted. We will keep on writing the truth as fearlessly as ever.

We are quite aware that the censors will never stop hammering us, but neither will we give up writing about the Truth as we see it. Writing is part of the struggle for human rights, and like any struggle there are bound to be casualties.

But the motto is always: never give up.

The banning of *Call Me Not A Man* by Mtutuzeli Matshoba, coming only a week after that of Omar Badsha's *Letter to Farzanah*, is deplorable, to say the least. The Johannesburg Centre of PEN International again states it is vehemently opposed to arbitrary censorship which has become dictatorial and terroristic towards creative writers.

No amount of pressure, overt or covert, will force us to conform to censorship.

Mothobi Mutloatse
Chairman

ROY CAMPBELL – ALMOST A LIBERAL

by David Robbins

Natal's wild and unpredictable poet has been described at various times as a fascist, an instinctive right-wing reactionary, a fierce individualist who ran easily to extremes. In his foreword to **Light on a Dark Horse**, Laurie Lee comments: "His (Campbell's) romantic paternalism, imbibed from his South African background, was out of date even before he was born. He was burdened with more than his share of right-wing mumbo-jumbo . . ." And in 1954 when the University of Natal conferred a doctorate on him "he spoke (Laurens van der Post tells us) almost like a disciple of Dr Verwoerd". It is certainly true that in the thirties Campbell was an open admirer of both Hitler and Mussolini, although he ultimately fought against them in the war; and that he felt nothing but contempt for the leftist forces in the Spanish civil war.

Campbell was born in Durban in 1901 into a distinguished and comfortably well-off family. By his own admission he was "of the old colonial school with regard to natives". Here was the son of an intelligent and public-spirited professional man, exposed to the best of local education, and being allowed to spend any amount of money on books, which apparently he did, reading avidly and widely from an early age, who nevertheless possessed what can only be described as a typically South African short-sightedness, a sort of lameness of response to his own social environment. His quick and restless mind, capable of producing a flamboyant brilliance which will be remembered in this country so long as poetry itself is remembered, was capable also of statements like: "The abolition of the slave trade, of course, aggravated trouble, and put an end to a perfectly natural relationship between the races . . ."

It is not difficult to realise why Campbell, who went to Europe in 1918, developed such an intense dislike for the "effete English intellectual" as a class, those great grandchildren of the abolishers of slavery. It was the instinctive hostility of a mind out of touch with the mainstream of social thought as it had developed in Europe through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.

Apart from this hostility, which manifested itself in his long poem, **Georgiad**, Campbell's stay in Europe was a romantic adventure. He met many influential literary people, liking some, quarrelling with many. He married before he was twenty, and lived in a precarious state of poverty, carelless both of the accepted niceties of existence, and the social and political influences exerted by the European environment. Indeed, the existence of these influences seemed merely to harden him against them, and he remained a typical colonial, delighting in his own prejudices.

After the publication of his widely acclaimed **The Flaming Terrapin**, Campbell returned to South Africa, invited to do so to launch and edit a literary magazine for his wealthy friend, Lewis Reynolds. The result was the notorious **Voorslag**. In the second issue, Campbell contributed **Fetish Worship in South Africa**, a caustic and penetrating article on local white race consciousness. Consider the brief extracts below in relation to the picture already painted of Campbell's earlier sentiments.

"You people get an ideal like 'White South Africa' tied to your noses and then you can't see anything else. You consider

White South Africa to be more important than South Africa itself. It is all the fault of that dear old colour-fetish. It is the incarnation of all that is superstitious, uneasy, grudging and dishonest in our natures."

"The colour-bar is the first official recognition of the mental equality of the races: the second can only be the removal of the colour-bar . . ."

The contrast is startling. How could this proud and hardheaded young man, so full of "old colonial attitudes", change so fundamentally and in so short a space of time? The answer, simply, is that he met William Plomer.

Born in the Northern Transvaal two years later than Campbell, Plomer was living in Zululand when he heard of Campbell's return to South Africa, and on one of his visits to Durban he invited the poet to lunch with him at Twine's Hotel on the Esplanade. "We had much to talk about," recounts Plomer, "and got on well, and after lunch we walked on the sand of the bay, the tide being out, and talked for hours." It was at this first meeting that Campbell asked Plomer to help with the production of **Voorslag**, and invited him to visit Umdoni Park where he and his wife were staying as guests of the Reynolds. Plomer accepted both invitations; indeed, it was not long before Plomer went to live with them on the South Coast.

Initially Plomer considered Campbell's attitude towards blacks, as we have seen, to be typically white South African, "an amalgam of tolerance, contempt, and impercipientice". Obviously they spoke of these things at their first meeting, guided to the subject by the fact that Plomer had told him about his novel.

This novel, **Turbott Wolfe**, which dealt candidly with miscegenation, and with the deepest emotional foundations of the "colour question" in South Africa, probably shocked Campbell as much as it did the complacent colonial critics who called it "subversive", "garbage", and more politely "not cricket". Yet to his credit he attempted to come to terms with the book, and with the ideas of the young man who had written it, a young man who at the time was profoundly concerned "with the situation of the black African, whom I had been brought up to regard as a human being with a head and heart and vast potentialities".

"Mr Plomer is one of those extremely unpleasant individuals who can see further than their own noses," wrote Campbell in the first issue of **Voorslag**. "**Turbott Wolfe** is an extremely bold and sincere piece of work. If it can make a few people, from time to time, think very hard, it will have achieved a very definite purpose."

As we have seen, Campbell was one of those few people, and the effects of this thinking went deep into his creative life. There can be no doubt that it was under Plomer's influence that he wrote such fine and sensitive poems as **The Serf** and **The Zulu Girl**. Plomer relates how one night, "just after I had gone to bed, he (Campbell) came hurrying in with the manuscript of **The Serf**. He was very excited, and said it was the best thing he had ever done. I think he was right."

But something was seriously amiss. Listen to Campbell, some seven or eight years later, commenting on this period of his life, and obliquely on Plomer's influence on him: "I have to admit that for six months in Africa I joined the

universal 'racket' out of sheer moral exhaustion and defeatedness . . . There was an enormous wave of Hogarth Pressure (The Hogarth Press had published **Turbott Wolfe**) and I simply surfed it, instead of swimming against it. When I look at the stuff I then wrote, I see how much more 'fertile' the line of least resistance — and most sensationalism — can be to an artist. I have destroyed all that I can of what I wrote then, and have publicly recanted in the **Wayzgoose** by turning on my associates in **Voorslag**."

Can we accept that Plomer's manifest and seemingly profound effect on Campbell was simply the result of the latter's "moral exhaustion and defeatedness" at the time? So vacuous a statement seems absurd. It is true, however, that Campbell was not so much exhausted as he was disturbed and unsettled. His brief career as editor of **Voorslag** soon ended in bitterness and recrimination. The death of his father had affected him deeply, and he was troubled about the future of his family (he now had two daughters). Moreover, even then in his middle twenties, he suffered from a form of acute hypertension and was drinking heavily. Yet none of these things can explain why, with considerable courage, he rallied to the flag of Plomer's liberalism, nor why, all too soon, he so vehemently forsook it. It has been mooted that he had an idea of himself as "a wronged and persecuted hero", and that he took up Plomer's cause and ideas so as to share some of the notoriety and criticism which fell to Plomer after the publication of his novel. There

is probably some truth in this, as there is also in the contention that he was always politically naive, easily swayed and deceived.

Whatever the hidden complexities of his responses, never again was he to come so close to creating for himself a humane, just, and liberal foundation, as he did during his association with young William Plomer. Thereafter, his life and work is a series of extremes, spoiled at times by a grandiose and bragging self-esteem, at others by saddening inconsistencies. In a perceptive examination of Campbell (**Theoria** 9, 1957) Alan Paton remarks: "I remind you . . . that this Campbell who wrote so warmly of men and women, was the same Campbell who flawed **Adamastor** by including that contemptuous poem called **A Song for the People** . . . the man whose love of Christ was unable to save him from an admiration for Hitler . . ."

Can we conclude, as does Laurie Lee, that Campbell's essential vision did not encompass political ideologies or social theories, but simply the open spaces of the veld and the sea? He loved horses, bulls, buck, all wild and primitive things with a simple and terrible intensity, and he "had the words to celebrate them — their power, vulnerability and beauty — in a sort of poetry that will never be equalled".

Had he been able to extend this intense vision to embrace his fellow human beings, he would surely have been a great poet. □



Township Playground

Mandla Cebekhulu

BACKGROUND TO A BOYCOTT – EZAKHENI SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER 1979

by Peter Brown

The last issue of REALITY commented on the successful boycott of their bus service mounted by the people of Ezakheni. Our readers might like to know a little about the background to it. As far as I can establish the story runs something like this.

Ezakheni, as our editorial explained, consists of a collection of people who have come there from a great many different places in Natal, many of them from "blackspots". Its residents elect a Council to represent them, the present Chairman of which is Mr Elliot Mngadi, previously National Treasurer of the Liberal Party of South Africa, who has been both detained and banned in his time.

It seems that early in July the Council received a letter through the Township Manager, from the Kwa-Zulu Transport Company (a concern owned jointly by the Kwa-Zulu Government and the South African Government's Corporation for Economic Development) saying that they intended increasing the price of season tickets by 70c for a 5-day ticket, 85c for a 6-day ticket and 95c for a 7-day ticket. The Council invited the management of Kwa-Zulu Transport to attend their next meeting to discuss these proposed increases. Five members of the company came. They were told by members of the Council that the people who used their buses could not afford to pay more than they were already paying. Some of them earned only R7,20 a week and they were now to be asked to pay R2,80 on bus fares alone. The Manager of the company said that he regretted that people were paid so little but that his application for an increase in fares, based on the increase in the price of fuel and spares, and a wage increase, had been approved by Pretoria and there was nothing further he could do about it. Mr Mngadi told him that, in that case, they would have to call a public meeting of the people of Ezakheni community to report to them on their discussions with the bus company.

The meeting took place the following Sunday and was attended by about 1,000 people. When Mr Mngadi reported what had happened at the meeting with the bus company management the people at the meeting said "Well, if that is the case, we can't afford these fares, we'll walk!" To which the members of the Council replied "Alright, if you decide to walk, that's good – but don't interfere with the property of the Bus Company in any way or with anyone who does decide to use the buses". The meeting agreed to this but in return asked the Council, during the week which remained before the fares were due to go up, to do two things. They asked them to notify the Kwa-Zulu Government of their intention to boycott the buses, and they asked them to see the District Commandant of Police to ask for protection.

Next morning one of the Councillors phoned Dr Mdlalose, the Kwa-Zulu Minister of the Interior, who said he would bring the matter before his cabinet, and Mr Mngadi went to see the District Commandant to ask for protection for the boycotters. The District Commandant wanted to know what kind of protection the people wanted. He was told that they wanted to be protected from tsotsis who might want to cause trouble by throwing stones etc., and they didn't want the police trying to force people to use the buses. The District Commandant seems to have been shocked to hear that there

were people working in Ladysmith who only earned R7,20 a week and he seems to have promised protection.

Fares were due to go up the following Monday, September 10th. Season tickets for the succeeding week are usually bought on Fridays and Saturdays. True to his word the Commandant had police on duty at the ticket office on those days. There was no trouble, but nobody bought tickets. Some reports said seven people bought tickets, the Ezakheni people didn't see anyone buy any.

On Sunday 9th September the Council called a public meeting in Ezakheni to report on their approaches to the Kwa-Zulu Government and the District Commandant and to give the commuters the opportunity to take a final decision on the boycott. There was no question about what that decision would be. The fact that there had been no buying of season tickets at the new price meant that the boycott was already under way. The meeting decided to walk. The Council urged them not to go to bus-stops, just to walk straight to town and straight back again, so that there would be no large gatherings of people anywhere along the route. They themselves undertook to patrol the bus-stops from the early hours of the morning, and did so.

Next day the police were out in force, patrolling the township and the road to Ladysmith. There was no trouble. In the evening some agitation seems to have been caused in police ranks when a group of school children marched through the townships giving the Black Power salute and singing songs, saying they were going to meet their parents as they walked home. This only happened on the first day and was then stopped at the request of the Council.

Later in the week the Township Manager received a letter from Mr Val Volker, Nationalist MP for the Ladysmith constituency, asking the Ezakheni Council to a meeting in Ladysmith with the Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The Council replied that the trouble was in Ezakheni and not in Ladysmith and that is where the meeting should be held. It was – at the Magistrates Court. To this meeting Mr Volker brought details of wage increases from a number of local industries, either promised or already granted, which either exceeded, or went some way towards covering the fare increases. The white representatives at the meeting obviously felt that this "reasonable" response would lead to the immediate end of the boycott. The Ezakheni Councillors did not. They said they would have to get confirmation of the wage increases from the workers themselves and that they would call a meeting on the following Sunday to discuss the proposals which Mr Volker and the employers had put to them.

At the next Sunday's meeting the estimated attendance was some 6,000 people, a large number of whom had come from other black communities in the Ladysmith area whose fares had been put up by the bus company. Mr Mngadi reported on what the Council had been told at Mr Volker's meeting. Workers agreed that there had been wage increases and they said they were glad about those because they needed them, but they also said that they were not prepared to be used as what they described as a "post-office" just to receive

money to pass on to the bus company. At this meeting for the first time a new issue arose — the loathing of the commuters for the bus-company, which they called "BIC" after its original owners the S.A. Government's Bantu Investment Corporation. The BIC was clearly anathema to every person who had ever used one of its buses. It was regarded as incompetent, indifferent to its customers needs or sensibilities, and wasteful. The demand at the meeting was for it to go and the bus service to be handed over to private competition. The boycott would go on.

The following week Mr Volker called another meeting in Ladysmith to which he invited Dr Adendorff, director of the Corporation for Economic Development (previously the BIC). It was a public meeting. Members of the Ezakheni Council did not attend, having only been informed about it very late — a fact to which they took exception. The two local members of the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly who, up until this point, appear to have shown much less interest in what was happening in their constituency than had Mr Volker, did attend, but failed to consult the Ezakheni Council before doing so. This serious break in communications very nearly led to trouble. The previous Sunday's public meeting at Ezakheni had made it clear that the commuters wanted a new bus service, but the Kwa-Zulu MPs didn't know this. They spoke out strongly at Mr Volker's public meeting against the fare increases and Mr Adendorff eventually agreed that the fares should revert to the old rate, reportedly saying when he made the announcement, "I don't know if what I am doing is legal, but I will do it anyway." An apparent victory had been won but the crucial new point at issue, the black commuters' demand for an end to the "BIC" transport service had not been dealt with. At this stage the Kwa-Zulu MPs seem to have made their first contact with the Ezakheni Council, going to report to them, and no doubt feeling quite pleased with themselves, that the fares had reverted to their pre-boycott level. Their reception was cool. What about the people's feelings about the BIC service they were asked? The Council said that they would call another meeting on the next Sunday where they would discuss the results of Mr Volker's meeting with the commuters.

This meeting was attended by an estimated 10,000 people. The Kwa-Zulu MPs did not attend. Wisely. The mood of the crowd was clearly one of anger at the fact that these men had gone to the Volker meeting without informing themselves of the bus-users' attitude to the bus-company and without combining their demand for a reduction in fares with one for a competitive service. The meeting decided to continue the boycott until something was done about the BIC.

At this stage Mr Volker began saying matters were getting out of hand, the leaders no longer seemed to be able to control the boycott. Mr Mngadi told him that the boycott would be out of control the day the people started damaging the buses. However, heavy pressure was now put on the boycotters. "Pirate" taxis which had been transporting quite a number of people were stopped and impounded, the police attitude became less sympathetic, action was threatened against commuters who were sleeping in Ladysmith "illegally". And finally the Kwa-Zulu Cabinet intervened, asking the Ezakheni Council to come to Ulundi to meet it and sending transport to fetch it. At this meeting the Kwa-Zulu

Chief Minister, Chief Buthelezi asked the Ezakheni Council to persuade the people to call the boycott off while he made representations to Dr Koornhof about their grievances.

The next Sunday another meeting of 10,000 people was held and the Councillors reported on the request from the Chief Minister. Many people in the crowd were for continuing the boycott until the BIC was removed and a competitive system introduced, but it was finally agreed to call the boycott off while negotiations went ahead to achieve this.

This has now been done. A private company is to apply to operate in competition with Kwa-Zulu Transport.

And this is not all the boycott achieved. The fares are back where they were before it started. A Vigilance Committee has been set up for the Ladysmith area on which each black community which supplies workers to Ladysmith will be represented, along with people from employer organisations. More important than anything else, the boycott has shown the power of peaceful, disciplined protest, and how such protest depends as much for its success on the reasonable reaction to it of the authorities as it does on the self-control of the people concerned.

Ezakheni also provided a magnificent example of grass-roots democracy at work. When the fare increases were reported to them by the management of the bus company the Council called a meeting of the residents of the township to tell them about their meeting with the bus company and to hear their views about what should be done about the new fares. From then on they called a meeting every Sunday, for as long as the boycott lasted, to report on what had happened during the previous week and to find out from the people who used the buses what they felt should be the next step taken. The Council provided leadership and advice but it was the people who had elected them whose views were decisive when they were making decisions. And in general those views seem to have been extraordinarily moderate and sensible, especially when one considers the circumstances under which most of the people who now live there have come to be at Ezakheni.

Ezakheni has quite a lot of lessons for those with power in South Africa, black and white.

You don't just suddenly announce to people that you are going to put their bus fares up. You have them represented at the point at which decisions like this are taken so that you know that there are people you propose to charge R2,80 a week to use your buses who only earn R7,20 a week. Perhaps the Vigilance Committee will now do something to remedy this communication situation in Ladysmith. If it doesn't it will simply aggravate the next crisis, because by then it will have been seen by the black people who live around Ladysmith to be ineffective in representing their interests and, if that is what they come to think of it, the extraordinary leadership which this boycott has produced will have been discredited.

The real lesson of Ezakheni, though, for those with power, black or white, is that apartheid is a disaster. It is that, because it makes the white people live in Ladysmith and the black people live in Ezakheni, and decrees that the twain shall never meet to talk to one another, man-to-man, until some grave crisis threatens. Next time, at Ezakheni, the crisis could be out of hand before the talking starts. Unless apartheid goes. □

THE S.A. BARBARIANS RUGBY TOUR TO BRITAIN – A CLOSER LOOK

by Peter Davis

Looking through old newspaper files, one thing stands out clearly — Dr Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board, has been the force that has kept South African rugby in its racial state.

His comments over the past five years show he is reluctant to play non-racial sport, but, perhaps, he is the whipping boy of a government dedicated to keeping the various people of South Africa in their ethnic places.

It is Dr Craven who has made such comments as:

- The leaping Springbok has been associated with the white since 1891 and it is their traditional emblem . . . if all races played with the Springbok badge, what would the whites wear when they play on their own? . . . They are not going to take the Springbok away from us.
- When the day dawns that there are only mixed South African teams and whites, coloureds and blacks decide to have the Springbok as our emblem for such teams, we shall gladly share it with them.
- The South African Rugby Board can suspend white players who disregard the sports policy and play in matches between mixed teams. We have ways of dealing with such defiance.

With words such as these from the man who leads official South African rugby, it is little wonder that rugby lovers, both here and abroad, regard Dr Craven with suspicion.

It is this same suspicion which greeted the Barbarian team in the United Kingdom and no matter what the president of the South African Barbarian Club and manager of the side, Mr Chick Henderson, said about the Baabaas being an invitation side, the eight whites, eight coloureds and eight blacks were drawn only from clubs which come under the auspices of the SARB and none of the players come from the South African Rugby Union, which has far more support on a non-racial basis.

Mr Henderson's claim that the team was a multi-racial one is quite correct, but he seems to have difficulty in recognising the call for a non-racial side.

Again, it is little wonder that the president of the S.A. Rugby Union (SARU) and talented players from unions such as Kwaru in the Eastern Cape, spurn "multi-national" sides such as the Baabaas.

Dr Craven has repeatedly tried to impress foreign governments that South Africa is entering an era free from apartheid, but governments in Europe seem to be growing increasingly cynical of his statements — hence the French ban on the Springbok team last year and the fiasco of the proposed Transvaal tour.

The S.A. Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc) has had more success in persuading the outside world to reject South African sports teams and their views are unequivocal: white sportsmen must stay in isolation until they have put their house in order. They cannot expect to mix with the world of sport until they have thrown out the cancer of apartheid.

In reply to this stand, Dr Craven announced in February 1977 that mixed rugby would be played at all levels in South Africa, but that turned out to be "multi-national" rugby, ethnic groups playing against each other, and not non-racial or "normal" rugby.

Even at that time, Saru's president, Mr Abdul Abass, said he was dubious that "mixed rugby" would be acceptable to his union and Dr Craven had "jumped the gun as usual".

As it turned out, Mr Abass's doubts were right. Dr Craven's attempt in 1977 to form a controlling body for rugby under the umbrella of SARB, the black S.A. Rugby Association and the coloured S.A. Rugby Federation failed because it did not attempt to "normalise" sport.

This attempt caused Mr Abass to warn that there was no longer any thought of non-racial rugby in South Africa from club level upwards. In fact, Dr Craven destroyed any hope of meaningful dialogue between his SARB and Mr Abass's SARU.

SARU started in 1897, only six years after the SARB, with a policy that would allow all the people of South Africa to play rugby on a non-racial basis.

Its history has been up and down, but in recent years it has held talks with the multi-national SARB in an effort to normalise sport. Mr Abass and SARU delegates discussed the problem four times with Dr Craven's SARB and in July 1977, agreement was reached that there would be non-racial rugby at all levels.

A declaration was signed by both parties and this was taken to the then Minister of Sport, Dr Piet Koornhof who, verligte or not, refused to accept the agreement, although he had asked Mr Abass and Dr Craven to find a solution to the problem.

"The whole exercise ended in Dr Koornhof's lap and Dr Craven has not been back to me since", Mr Abass said in an interview.

"He did not continue with non-racial rugby as we had agreed but, rather, multi-national rugby which is unacceptable to us".

Mr Abass said he could find no solution to the rugby impasse until such time as laws such as the Group Areas Act and the Liquor Act (both of which prohibit players from entering "white" grounds and being entertained in "white" clubs without permits) remained on the statute book.

"Do you know the Liquor Act prevents a person who is not white from going into a pub for a drink of water to slake his thirst? And that's only part of the problem".

Saru is affiliated to Sacos (S.A. Council of Sport) and Mr Abass agrees with the Sacos stand that there can be no normal sport until such time as there is a normal society, but he is prepared to discuss the definition of "normal society".

"We are out to prevent South Africa's isolation in sport, but we can't do this until we have a free society and this can't happen until the government gets rid of legislation such as the Group Areas Act for the good of rugby, not only in South Africa, but all over the world," Mr Abass said.

The cry for non-racial rugby, as opposed to the Barbarian-type of "invited multi-racial" rugby, has not been entirely in vain. In the conservative city of Port Elizabeth, ground has been broken in non-racial sport by the Watson Brothers, but their lead has not been followed by others. However, the stand taken by the Watsons has made them heroes in the Port Elizabeth townships and has brought wide publicity to non-racial rugby and their own side — the Kwazakele Rugby Union (Kwaru) which has just won the S.A. Cup for the third time.

Kwaru joined Saru in 1972 and because it is dedicated to non-racial sport, it refused to use grounds provided by the East Cape Administration Board for blacks only. It took over a large piece of ground in New Brighton and is slowly developing it, brick by brick and blade of grass by top dressing, whenever it has a few rand available from its weekly gate takings.

Behind this independence is a group of people led by Mr Dan Qeqe who have poured time, energy, money and an impressive toughness into the project.

This year's drawn Currie Cup final played at Newlands, attracted about 38 000 spectators — the S.A. Cup match, won by Kwaru on the same day, drew 30 000 people in a stadium with primitive facilities. With the same facilities as Newlands, Kwaru officials estimate that 60 000 people would have squeezed into the Dan Qeqe Stadium.

The best the Sara teams can manage at their administration board's field in New Brighton is about 5 000 people. Kwaru attract 8 000 to 10 000 people to their club matches every Saturday and Sunday.

The media, generally, have failed to see this spectator power and newspapers (with the possible exception of the Daily Dispatch) have treated the Saru games pretty poorly so that their credibility and market has suffered. What little the media has picked up has come from the Watson brothers, who run clothing stores in Port Elizabeth.

Cheeky Watson and brother Vallence have been arrested and charged with entering a township without permits and they have ignored it all to play non-racial rugby.

Why do they put up with this harassment and consequent social pressure?

"Our whole life is non-racial because of our biblical beliefs," said Cheeky Watson. "In James, Chapter 2, we are told to regard our neighbours as equal above all else, and that is enough for us."

The Watson brothers realised there was a dangerous communication gap in sport between black and white, and to show this up, they realised they had to do something.

"We decided we would have to make a name for ourselves, so we went out to play rugby as best we could," said Cheeky.

To get status, Cheeky played himself into the Gazelles side. In 1977, the brothers made the switch to Kwaru from their club, Comrades.

"People do call us anti-South African, but we usually manage to get our views across and the people we talk to usually go away with new ideas."

"In the townships, we are treated like jewellery, because we have done something for non-racial sport and all we can hope is that a little truth will filter through."

"Our other motive was to focus attention on Kwaru and that we've managed quite successfully. Media overseas often contact us to get the truth about South African sport and we never hesitate to give it because we speak on behalf of non-racial sport."

Kwaru's standard of rugby has improved, enhanced by the Watson brothers who all play for different clubs under the Kwaru wing to spread their talents. Vallence is Kwaru coach, but also plays for Wallabies. Cheeky plays for Spring Rose and another brother, Ronnie, plays for Park Rovers.

Vallence said the brothers had embarrassed the SARB and Dr Craven was unlikely to forgive them.

"The SARB threatened to ban us, but we don't care we've no desire to go back there."

Vallence said it was difficult for whites to break away from their facilities and give them up for the crude facilities in the townships.

"Also, they are scared of government policy, harassment and the malicious gossip that we suffered."

Vallence warns that people cannot play sport without getting involved in politics, "you've got to be both player and politician because you either agree with government policy or you don't and both are political decisions and both require action."

The Watson brothers are convinced they are right.

"Everybody says 'well done, Vallence' but they don't do anything, it's all idle talk. We are a non-racial union and we are correct. Because of this, it is up to the SARB to discuss the sports problems of this country with us, but, as usual, they always do too little too late and one of these days it will be too late to do any talking", Vallence said.

Footnote:

During his TV debate with Peter Hain, Barbarians' Manager Chick Henderson denied a statement by the programme chairman that Cheeky Watson had been arrested for entering a black area without a permit. According to the Sunday Times he said "That was in 1976. Watson no longer needs a permit to play rugby where he wants to."

Confronted with this statement Watson told the Sunday Times "That is just not true . . . in fact it is a blatant lie. There are still signs outside black areas stating that a permit is needed to enter. I was last arrested in 1978 for entering a black area without a permit. I was found guilty in court, cautioned and discharged. Earlier this year my appeal to the Supreme Court failed."

He went on to say "You can go to the Government statute book and you will see clearly, in black and white, that you must have a permit. That is the law. It is not what Mr Henderson says it is."

Watson said that in 1977 the former Minister of Sport, Dr Piet Koornhof, had said in an interview that "anyone could play rugby anywhere".

"But when I appeared in court in 1978 and told this to the Magistrate, I was told that this was the Minister's opinion, but it was not what the law said." □

SOUTH AFRICA'S OPTIONS

Strategies for Sharing Power by F. van Zyl Slabbert and David Welsh

(David Philip: Cape Town: Rex Collings: London)

Reviewed by J. Unterhalter

This is a book by two men who have immense knowledge of the literature that is relevant to a study of divided societies; they have knowledge from their personal encounters, of the South African political experience; and the study of the divided South African society that they present is therefore one that is intriguing and responsible.

When John Locke wrote in the 17th Century he stated the case for subject against King, and his theory of the social contract was that individuals agreed one with the other to give up to the community the natural right of enforcing the law of reason — all other natural rights each individual retained. This thought has influenced doctrine as to a Bill of Rights to protect fundamental liberties. Van Zyl Slabbert and Welsh say that the formula is too simple because it ignores the existence of groups mediating between the individual and the State, and they emphasize that simple majoritarianism is incapable of bringing democracy to divided societies. They plead for consensus between groups as a feature of the legislative process and suggest institutions to bring this about.

There is a carefully detailed background survey : comment on Marxist interpretations of conflict in South Africa; analysis of problems arising from ethnic groups in Nigeria, the Sudan, Malaya, Yugoslavia; descriptions of the consociational democracies of Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland; federalism. The text is deeply interesting, more especially as it constantly shows that South African political conundrums are not unique.

As to the franchise the writers acknowledge that South Africa needs to have universal suffrage on common electoral rolls. They declare that their normative preference is for a more democratic dispensation, but the context of their acknowledgement is not in a discussion of the right of those affected by the laws to participate in the making of the laws. This is said: "The time when a qualified franchise would be acceptable to a majority of Africans has passed". They add that the major theme of the book has been to emphasize the inappropriateness of majoritarianism in deeply divided societies and say that majoritarianism will not be averted by seeking to block access to an equal franchise by certain disadvantaged categories.

I would have thought that universal franchise is implicit in any statement of natural rights and would be accepted for South Africa, not because Africans will now refuse a qualified franchise, but because a just society cannot be

founded on a system that prohibits such franchise, and it is a just society that is sought.

There is a suggestion in their approach to the franchise that the authors' admission is grudging. Their concern is to devise means to protect minorities, and the need for this protection may arise if a vengeful majority should use its power to correct ancient wrongs. The probability of this use is much greater when most who never could vote now can. Perhaps this preoccupation with minorities has induced hidden doubts about universal franchise which are revealed in the equivocal passages to which I have referred.

Again, in considering the problem of evolutionary change, they say that a simplistic one-man-one-vote majority-rule political programme appears not to be capable of implementation because those who govern will not surrender sovereignty if it is likely that they will not participate in government under a new constitution. But fundamentals cannot be abandoned because of opposition. It may be that on the day of negotiation or confrontation the circumstances are such that such rule must be accepted. There must be preparation for that acceptance by constant support of the belief by the believers and by those who are won over. There is no chance of acceptance if the belief is renounced early in the day because the powerful are hostile.

It is difficult to reconcile the statement that sovereignty will not be surrendered, with the admonition, in the chapter about negotiating for a democratic dispensation, that the government must announce a statement of principle committing itself to full and equal citizenship for all South Africans and effective participation in the same government irrespective of race. It may be that it is contemplated that effective participation will be subject to veto by the minority, of proposals affecting the minority. Is that then effective participation? And, as the authors say, will this not be construed as a device to entrench the racial privileges of whites?

I'm not sure that the avoidance of simple majoritarianism lies "in the attitudes of the political leaders who operate the system, and in the institutional mechanisms of the kind of political system advocated here". I'm not sure that simple majoritarianism should be avoided for South Africa. It was not avoided for Botswana and there is a democracy at work there. The avoidance is urged, essentially, because of fear of the community. A constitution can be devised to circumscribe the powers of the King but one that would shackle the community cannot survive. □

HOW RACISM TAKES ROOT

by Beryle Banfield

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Extensive research on the development of racial attitudes in children has led to general agreement on several important points. By the age of four, most children are aware of their own racial identity and the racial identity of others.

By the age of about 10 years, the attitudes of most children will have been firmly crystallized and will reflect the racial attitudes dominant in their society. These research findings have important implications for those concerned with the elimination of racism in children's materials.

Racism in textbooks is usually most evident in five important areas: the historical perspective from which the material is presented; the characterization of Third World peoples; the manner in which their customs and traditions are depicted; the terminology used to describe the peoples and their culture and the type of language ascribed to them; and the nature of illustrations.

History in textbooks is usually presented from a Eurocentric perspective omitting or distorting the history of the Third World peoples prior to the European contact. Third World people are portrayed as incapable of having developed their own institutions prior to the coming of the Europeans.

Encroachment on the land of the indigenous peoples is glorified as the opening up of the frontier by gallant and courageous European men and women. The slaughter of indigenous people is glossed over and the defenders of their homelands are depicted as marauding "savages" and cruel murderers. The colonization and slavery experiences are presented as beneficial to Third World people providing them with discipline and skills previously unknown to them. Rejection of the people's own culture in favour of assimilation into that of the European is regarded as desirable. The following excerpts are illustrative.

"Fighting broke out between the Maori and Europeans over whose land was whose just as in earlier days there had been battles between one Maori tribe and another. But at last the fighting stopped."

"During all the troubles the new settlers built towns, made farms and spread throughout New Zealand. From time to time the Maori tribes disagreed with the new ways but by

this time the European settlers had an army to help keep the peace."

In this passage, the taking of Maori land and the imposition of foreign rule and culture is glossed over. Justification of European actions is implied by the reference to earlier wars between Maori groups. The destruction of Maori culture is dismissed and the use of force to impose an alien culture is justified as necessary to keep the peace.

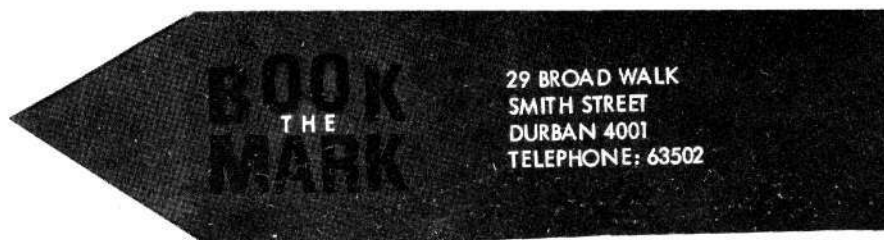
"The Eastern Woodland Indians did not develop a highly advanced culture. But their culture did make it possible for them to live successfully in ways suited to their needs . . ."

"Beginning in the mid 1600's the world of the Eastern Woodland Indians suddenly changed. The Indians faced Europeans, who were people with more advanced cultures. These Europeans had better weapons, better tools, and more advanced forms of political organization."

This text clearly evaluated the culture of the Eastern Woodland Indians from a Eurocentric viewpoint. The society they developed was in many ways more politically sophisticated than that of the Europeans in terms of the participation of women in the political decision-making process and the general level of citizen involvement. The political organization of the six nations of the Iroquois Confederacy served as the model for the colonies when they moved to set up a new nation.

Illustrations provide powerful reinforcement for the racial stereotypes projected in textual materials and play a considerable role in forming a child's first impressions of other peoples. Such stereotypes have now become internationalized. There is the African child, naked except for a bracelet on her ankle; the Mexican, wearing a sombrero and reclining under a cactus, the half-naked American Indian, in a feather headdress and carrying a bow and arrow, the Chinese coolies and the blond American cowboy.

These are caricatural figures, as true and as false as any caricature; their danger is that they polarize the child's perceptions and in so doing conceal from him the immense achievements of other peoples and the rich variety of other cultures. □



BOOKS FOR THINKERS
AT THE BOOKMARK
DURBAN'S ONLY SPECIALISED
BOOKSHOP

THROUGH OTHER EYES

Racism in textbooks

by Hugo O. Ortega

Reprinted from The UNESCO COURIER, March 1979.

The ever-increasing store of children's literature forms a fundamental element in the education of the child, opening up the world of poetry, of fable and legend and bringing to him the life stories of national and world heroes. The prestige of the printed word and the importance that teachers attach to books weigh heavily with children; it is through books that the foundations of their knowledge are laid.

The importance of books for transmitting information and values prompted me to examine the "image" of the "Indian" (or, more precisely, the indigenous inhabitant) as it appears in thirty children's books recently published in Argentina. Eighty-three per cent of the passages I analysed refer to the Indian in the past, a past that stretches from pre-Columbian times, through the age in which America was "discovered", the Spanish colonial period and its end, to the era of independence and national construction. The few references to the "Indian" of today bear no relation whatever to the actual conditions of their lives.

Most of the texts which give prominence to the past deal with occasions when the Indians came into contact with the troops of Christopher Columbus and his successors. One of them tells how Columbus sailed westwards in the service of the Spanish crown until the day when "A sailor on the *Pinta* spied land. It was the twelfth of October, 1492. Christopher Columbus went ashore on an island populated with *Indians*, and called it San Salvador. The *Indians* were wide-eyed with astonishment at the sight of the *white men*. Columbus thought that he had reached the Indies, but he had discovered a new world. Points to remember: Christopher Columbus discovered America on the twelfth of October 1492".

The central idea the child is intended to grasp is that of "discovery". This is a concept of European historiography; it is an ethnocentric concept since it presumes that the continent, its people and its wealth only acquired value because they were discovered and recognized by the centre of the world, in other words, Europe. It is hardly surprising, then, that civilization (clothes, big ships, white men and the faculty for naming places and people) should be equated with Europe and that barbarism (the Indians and the "new world") should be equated with America.

The artist who illustrated this text depicted a handsome and angelic Columbus stepping ashore amidst a fierce and menacing group of "Indians". The illustration is accompanied by exercises in which the child is required to fill in blanks in an incomplete sentence; the words "Columbus discovered America" are given as the correct words to complete the sentence: "When — — —, he met savages whom he called Indians". At that moment and for all time, the indigenous people of this continent were wrongly labelled "Indians".

This fallacious generalization subsequently came to describe the multitude of indigenous nations of America whose people would be presented as half-naked "savages" garbed in feathered head-dresses.

Another description of the "discovery" runs as follows:

- "Land ahoy!
- Land! Land!
- The Indies! The Indies!
- At last! We've made it! An Island! Palm trees!"
- There's something moving over there in the trees
- Look! *Half-naked men!*
- They're wearing feathers! They're signalling to us! They're coming to us!"
- "(...) The island was inhabited by *men with copper-coloured skins*; who were *half-naked*. Columbus called them *Indians*, for he was under the impression that he had reached the Indies, the country he was looking for. However, the land was part of a hitherto *unknown continent* which would later be called America".

The stereotype begins to take definite shape. The indigenous people were half-naked and copper-coloured (in English they would be dubbed redskins) and were generally referred to as "Indians". Here lies the first major contradiction: a continent inhabited by people with their own cultures is described as "unknown". Why do the authors insist on the European origin of America, a continent inhabited for over 20,000 years by groups of émigrés who originated in Central Asia and crossed over what is now the Bering Strait?

This fundamental historical ambiguity, which the child learns early in life, prevents him from understanding the link which exists between Argentines (and Latin Americans in general) and the great civilizations which flourished in our continent for thousands of years. As generation after generation of children read this account of the "discovery", they are induced to denigrate that part of our origins which goes back to men who lived at the beginning of the Bronze Age and to men who at the end of the Middle Ages came into contact with a Genoese sailor and a handful of Spaniards.

The authors of the second description of the "discovery" quoted above have also published an account of the foundation of the city of Buenos Aires by the Spaniard Pedro de Mendoza in 1536: "When they (the Spaniards) disembarked, the *Indians* were very astonished. They had never seen *men with white skin*, nor such clothing ... Mendoza named the settlement 'Santa Maria del Buen Aire' ... The Indians offered them food: fruit and game. But conflict soon broke out and provisions began to grow short. The settlers set out in search of food and often had to fight the *savages*. One day the Indians attacked the city and burned it".

Why, one might ask, do the authors fail to explain the changes in the relationship between the "Indians" and the "white men"? Why do they insinuate that the indigenous population was capricious and savage by nature, while keeping silent about the many extortionate demands made on them by the Christian conquistadors? What a contrast between this ethnocentric reading of history and the following denunciation of the conquistadors penned by the Spanish Dominican Fray Bartolomé de las Casas in 1513! "When they arrived at the village (of Camaguey in Cuba) they found the Indians living peacefully in their habitations. And yet they increasingly wronged and scandalized them and, not content with what the Indians offered them of their own free will, robbed them of the few valuables they possessed. Even worse, some of them attacked women and girls, for such is and always has been the usual behaviour of the Spaniards in the Indies".

The illustrations to the story of Buenos Aires show the "savagery" of the attacking Indians and the superiority of the Europeans; Mendoza, dressed like a lord, founds the city and gives it its name while an "Indian" squatting at his feet gapes in astonishment. The exercises which go with the text require the child to use the words he has just learned: "savage, tribe, chief, bow, arrow" in order to complete such sentences as "The Indians lived in a — state".

One third of the passages referring to "the Indian" in *the age of independence and national construction* present their positive characteristics; the rest are pejorative. In general, the texts give prominence to three moments in Argentine history: the war of liberation beginning in the nineteenth century; the organization and expansion of the nation; and the age of the liberal republic.

All the texts favourable to "the Indian" fall in the first period. The author of a text for ten-year-old children recounts how, in 1819, "a chief of royal blood", Inca Atahualpa Huascaringa, a descendant of Peruvian sovereigns, also known as José Manuel de Minoguyé, gave "30,000 armed Indians of his personal guard to fight the Spaniards". Although the context aims to express the idea that the indigenous population took part in the liberation struggles waged by the *criollos* (Latin Americans of Spanish descent), the author does not say whether or not the proposal was accepted, nor does he say what became of the chief and his troops.

Elsewhere, the same author tells the story of Cumbay, chief of the Chaco, who offered the Argentine general Manuel Belgrano some 2,000 Indians to fight the Spanish forces. Yet again the reader is not informed whether the offer was accepted nor whether the indigenous people took part in the liberation of the nation. In each case omission of this vital information suggests that the matter in question was to be considered a trifling one and even prefigures the decline of the indigenous nations; liberation brought no improvement in their living conditions, indeed they fell victim to a new domination which completed the process of making them a marginal people.

A general textbook for eight- to nine-year-old children recounts how, during the long process of national consolidation, "a landed proprietor named Juan Manuel de Rosas, who was governor from 1820 to 1832, carried out a mopping-up campaign against the Indians who were attacking the towns". The textbook does not indicate which Indians were concerned, for many of them had come to terms with Rosas and were not involved in these attacks. It does not explain why the indigenous peoples felt such animosity towards the *criollos*; nor does it place the facts in the context of the *criollo* policy of achieving secure frontiers, expanding to the limits of the former Spanish vice-royalty, and occupying all the fertile land for stock-raising and agricultural purposes. Their historic goal of dominion was in total opposition to the aims of the indigenous peoples who had enjoyed free use of these lands for thousands of years before the arrival of the Spaniards and *criollos*.

Nor, indeed, is there any mention of Rosas' conviction that "the Indian problem would only be resolved by their total submission or by the extermination of the recalcitrant among them, that is to say by pursuing the methods used during the Spanish conquest" (Ernesto Palacio, *History of Argentina, 1515 to 1955*, Buenos Aires, 1977). The children are not told that during Rosas' campaign more than ten thousand Indian warriors were liquidated and four thousand taken prisoner. All these historical omissions reinforce the idea of the indigenous population as "savage Indians", "irrational" and "barbaric" enemies of civilization.

Another work from the same publishers, intended for seven- to eight-year-old children, affirms that: "It is difficult today to imagine what life was like in the countryside in the past. The Indians had left the towns but were still masters of the plains. Can you imagine how dangerous it was to cross the pampas? Think of the long, hard roads, the wild animals, and the *Indians always lying in wait*". The author shows concern only for those who lived in the small towns in the interior of the country, for their security and their anxieties. But what of the indigenous peoples who never formed a majority or even a significant minority in any creole town? What were the feelings of these peoples who had once been masters of the land living free of the menace of better-armed enemies? This ethnocentric reading of history gives children a totally false picture of the facts. It presents a slanted account of the confrontation which led to the defeat of the indigenous peoples. The "Indians" are depicted as wild animals of the jungle, always lying in wait for their prey.

How does this picture of the "Indian" of our historic past compare with the image of the indigenous Argentine of today to whom reference is made in some seventeen percent of the texts?

According to certain authors: "In the Chaqueña region today, some Matacos and Tobas still live in the *primitive state*. They generally work at weaving, at picking cotton and cutting sugar cane. From the carob bean *they make a drink called aloja* (a kind of mead) of which they are very fond. The preparation of this drink is the occasion for festivities during which *large quantities are drunk*". Why, of all the aspects of the Mataco and Toba culture, do the authors choose to emphasize their "primitive state" and the fact that they are makers and festive drinkers of *aloja*? Why are we not told of their concept of the communal nature of property, of the way they share their food, of the solidity of their family ties, the absence of ~~sexual promiscuity~~, their skill at building cool dwellings in a sub-tropical climate, their strong religious beliefs and the decorum of their social life? If they live in a "primitive state", this is not from choice, but because they are the descendants of conquered peoples, forced to inhabit the poorest and most inhospitable regions of a rich republic. This then is a highly biased account which completely ignores the special values and characteristics that have ensured the survival of these ancient peoples.

In another work, the same authors explain that "the Puna (a region of north-west Argentina) is virtually uninhabited; the *native element* is predominant there; it consists of the Coyas who can stand the rarefied air of the mountains better than *the white man*". Although the name of the tribe (Coya) is mentioned, the general reference is to a dehumanized thing, the "native element", as opposed to the white "man". Even more serious is the fact that the Coya is depicted as organically different from the white man — as if the human race in general could not live in the mountains after a period of acclimatization! In this text, the Coya is portrayed as just another denizen of the region, on a par with the llama, the vicuna and the alpaca.

A handicrafts guide for eight-year-old children explains how to make a doll, a shadow theatre, a farm, a dining-room, a colonial building, a piglet and other objects. The young reader is also shown how to make just two figures — the mythical figure of Father Christmas and an Indian and his hut. Thus the indigenous Argentine is placed firmly in the

world of objects and myth; he is not seen as a real person. The "Indian" is a thing that children can make out of paper and string and paint; his hut *is not even a replica of an Argentine dwelling*, but a stereotyped imitation of the *teepee* of the Sioux Indians of the great prairies of North America, as depicted throughout the world by the mass media.

Yet another text makes play with a similar stereotype. The hero of the story is a little boy whose name, Geronimo, inevitably evokes the famous Apache chief who defied the federal troops of the United States from 1850 to 1880. Why did not the author choose an indigenous name from the thousands still in use in our tribes today?

In a "note to the teacher", the author of a book of stories for children of pre-school age explains that "in addition to fairies and other magical creatures, the characters children feel most affection for are other children, toys and animals — dogs, cats, rabbits, horses, ducks, and squirrels. The teacher should take care to *present each animal in accordance with its real characteristics* since this helps the child to situate himself in the world and to understand it(. . .). It is the task of the school to achieve this".

Later on in the same book we come across a piece of dialogue between children who are "playing at Indians": "I am the chief", says Luis, "*because I am the biggest.*" "I am the doctor of the tribe", says Jorge, "*because I have got a satchel.*" "I am an *Indian hunter*", cries Carlos, "*because I have some sticks pointed like arrows.*" Then chief Blue Eagle speaks: "Come on, *Indians*, let's go into the forest." The story ends with a song: "I'm an Indian, I'm an Indian, *Me kill puma*, I'm an Indian, I'm an Indian, And I eat maize, I'm an Indian, I'm an Indian, I'm off to bed".

The writer is putting into the heads of five-year-old children the notion that chiefs are chosen for their physical stature, whereas, in fact, wisdom and experience are the most important considerations in a complex selection process; similarly, the medicine man is chosen for his spirituality and religious knowledge. No one can claim any special right simply because he possesses a particular object. An Indian does not become a fisherman because his father has given him a boat — this would be more in line with the way things are done among the wealthier classes in the west — but

because his father and, indeed, the whole tribe have taught him to fish, an activity that is practised collectively in a communally owned boat.

The indigenous Argentines do not refer to themselves as "indians". We know that some tribes refer to each other as *paisanos*, and this is how they wish to be known. It is insulting to make the "Indian" use the infinitive ("me kill puma"). This may well raise a laugh in the nursery school, but not from the indigenous pupils for whom, even today, Castillian Spanish is the language of the dominant culture. The author has forgotten his own warning note to the teachers — "animals must be presented in accordance with their real characteristics". Why did he not follow his own advice when describing the native peoples of his own land?

The picture that emerges from all this leads to the following conclusions:

- the indigenous Argentine is a creature of the past;
- little is known about the different aboriginal peoples and their cultural characteristics — they are all "Indians";
- the native American is depicted in pejorative fashion as a half-naked savage wearing a feathered head-dress, irrational and inferior to the white European;
- the emphasis on the "discovery" of the continent over-values Europe to the detriment of ancient American civilizations and covers up Europe's appropriation of the continent;
- the indigenous person is often denigrated and considered an object — children play at Indians, make models of Indians and their huts;
- history omits information essential to the understanding of the complex causes of the decadence of the indigenous Argentine nations;
- instead of presenting the true situation of the "Indian" there is a tendency to reproduce North American stereotypes — teepees, Geronimo, Blue Eagle.

All this amounts to a process of negation, of a kind of cultural genocide which in turn leads to an indirect form of real genocide — no less serious because it is indirect — which consists of depriving an important ethnic minority of a share in the resources of their land of origin. □

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