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A black and white halftone portrait of an elderly man with short, light-colored hair, wearing dark-rimmed glasses and a dark clerical suit with a white collar. He is looking slightly to the left of the camera with a neutral expression.

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EDITORIAL

EDGAR BROOKES

Drawings by Lionel Murcott.

On Sunday, April 22nd, Edgar Brookes returned from his usual visit to church, lay down for a rest, and died quietly in his sleep. It was the way in which he would have liked to die.

Edgar Brookes was 82. For fifty years his contribution to the liberal cause in South Africa had been enormous and, as the article we reprint in this REALITY testifies, he continued to work and speak out for a just order here up to the day of his death.

He was honoured in many fields during that long life. He started his academic career at Pretoria University as a young Professor in 1923 and ended it with his appointment as Professor Emeritus of the University of Natal in 1968. He was for twelve years principal of Adams College, one of South Africa's great schools, until Bantu Education destroyed it. He helped found the S.A. Institute of Race Relations and remained one of its most honoured members to the end. He represented the African voters of Natal in the Senate for fifteen years. Towards the end of his life he was ordained into the Anglican Church and his appointment to the office of Canon was one which delighted him. He received another honour late in life, one which he appeared to prize enormously, although most of his white compatriots might not have regarded it as an honour at all, and some of his erstwhile admirers might have felt his acceptance of it showed his faculties were beginning to fail. This was his election as National Chairman of the Liberal



Party of South Africa in 1963, when he was already in his late sixties. It was in this capacity that many readers of REALITY will remember him best.

When the Liberal Party was formed in 1953 Edgar Brookes did not join it. There were probably several reasons for this. He was still at that time the representative of the African people of Natal and Zululand in the Senate and he almost certainly felt that he could represent them best if he maintained his independence and was not encumbered by having a party political label attached to him. Another reason, probably, was that the Liberal Party soon adopted a policy of universal suffrage. This was something which, at that time, he could not yet accept. He still hoped, one suspects, that by proposing a less dramatic extension of the franchise to black South Africans, one might persuade white South Africans to break out of their paralysed rejection of any proposal for increasing the black political stake in the country, and to start moving along a road of continuing political concessions while there was still time.

So, for seven years, the relationship between Edgar Brookes and the Liberal Party was friendly, but a little distant.

It was typical of him that he should decide to join the Party at a time when it was becoming an increasingly dangerous thing to do, and that he should accept its chairmanship when that was a very dangerous thing to do. Such dangers didn't worry him a bit. But he was not only a courageous person, in that self-deprecating and humorous way of his, he was also a man of extraordinary steadfastness. When he became its National Chairman, the Liberal Party was already under immense pressure. In the months that followed these pressures rose dramatically. Not only were more and more leading members banned but numbers of others were detained — and nobody knew why. As the weeks passed the Party and its new Chairman were confronted by the fact that some of these people had been involved in an underground sabotage organisation and that one of them had planted the bomb that had gone off on the Johannesburg station. One could have excused the new Chairman, as one unexpected revelation followed another, if he had felt that he had accepted the Chairmanship under false pretences, and given it and the Liberal Party up there and then. But the thought didn't even seem to enter his mind. He remained unwavering to the end and even beyond the end, for even after the Party had had to disband his commitment to what it had stood for was unswerving.

This was no blind loyalty. He had travelled a long road, from his support for the policies of General Hertzog in the 1920's to his acceptance of the Liberal ideal of a common society in the 1960s. One's impression is that each step was taken after careful thought and a good deal of soul-searching but that, once taken, he was not likely to be persuaded to turn back again. He was one of those rare people whose political views became less and less conservative as they grew older. Would that there were more of them.

Edgar Brookes was a convinced and committed Christian. He tried to practice what he preached, and succeeded better than most. His first love was his God, his second his fellow-men. He had a profound faith in both. He believed passionately that men should be free, but that freedom carried with it the obligation to serve. That he did throughout his life. Fanatics, Left and Right, black and white, had no time for the position he occupied. Yet, if the West is to leave any worthwhile legacy to Africa it is the legacy of that position — Where every man is seen as an end in himself and not as a means to somebody else's ends; where the only lasting insurance against tyranny is seen to be the freedom of ordinary men to be governed by those they want to govern them, and the freedom to get rid of them when they no longer want them.

It is in defence of that position that we must now stand without the steady flame of Edgar Brookes' support. □



WHY IT WON'T WORK

by Edgar Brookes

(This article by Dr Edgar H. Brookes was received for publication by the Natal Witness just before his death and is reprinted with the Editor's permission.)

The new Constitution may perhaps be faulted because it is too complicated or too top-heavy. But after all the details do not matter very much. Whether the Coloured House of Representatives should have five Ministers allocated to it, or six, or whether the Indian Chamber of Deputies should include two Deputy Ministers or three, are matters of minor importance. The big thing is that in the whole scheme there is no place for Africans.

It may be answered that the Africans would have their own legislatures in the "homelands" but until the "homelands" are very much bigger and have much more defined and clear boundaries, this is not a very adequate answer. Moreover, it would appear that the Indian and Coloured houses have powers co-extensive with the House of Assembly, but this is not the case with any of the "homelands" except Transkei.

The quaint provision for separate Coloured and Indian chambers is presumably due to the impossibility of creating Coloured and Indian "homelands" with definite boundaries. But there are literally millions of Africans living outside the "homelands" and not one of the "homelands" would be viable if these exiles were compelled to return to them. It is really a case of the "lie in the soul" to exclude the Africans from the national legislature on the basis of the existence of very inadequate and ill-defined homelands.

So much for the justice of the scheme. But what of its effect on our reputation in the wider world? Can anyone in his right mind imagine that the United Nations or the independent Black States or even our kinsfolk in the Western powers will be satisfied with a scheme such as this? It will be rejected as window-dressing, and not very clever or good window-dressing.

If we are going to base our relations with the Africans on the "homelands" we shall need to have a federal system with the homelands represented in the Federal Parliament. As things stand, under this scheme Coloureds and Indians will have some voice in our external relationships, on questions of customs duties and currency, on matters of

peace or war. But on none of these will the homelands have power. Otherwise one might have the Republic and four "homelands" declaring war and the remaining "homeland" proclaiming neutrality.

I come to another question. Will these additional Houses of Parliament work? I think it probable that reputable Coloured and Indian leaders will refuse to be candidates for their new Houses of Parliament. The two houses will be filled with nonentities and salary-seekers.

A clear precedent can be found. After the War of 1899-1902 Lord Milner wanted people like Botha and De la Rey to come on to his Transvaal Legislative Council. They refused to participate in a government in which they would be a perpetual minority and preferred to wait until self-government was granted.

In the present case they will prefer to wait until they are put on a common roll. One would not wish to take the responsibility of advising them. They must make their own decisions. But it is our duty to consider what these decisions are likely to be. And no one would wish the whole scheme to be a farce dissolving into mocking laughter.

It is not at all clear from the Government's statements how the relationship between the three houses and the three cabinets will work in practice. But it would appear that in the last resort it is the will of the European House and the European Cabinet that will prevail.

The fact is that we are all white, black or brown, to be sacrificed to the principle of apartheid. And apartheid is finding less and less support. Are we to be "butchered to make a theorist's holiday"?

Twist and turn and dodge as we may, some day (and the sooner the better) we shall have to face the real issue, whether we are prepared to share political power with our fellow-South Africans. It is hard to bring ourselves to say "Yes", but we should be mature enough to face the issue. The present proposals are a most elaborate effort to shuffle it off for a few more years. □

ARTHUR NORTJE, A FORGOTTEN SOUTH AFRICAN POET

by Hedy I. Davis

At the time of his death in 1970, Arthur Nortje was described by Dennis Brutus as being perhaps one of the best South African poets of our time, yet less than a decade later his name and poetry are all but forgotten in his home country. For this reason a reevaluation of his work is needed, particularly in the light of growing interest in black poetry in South Africa. This article, by way of an introduction, outlines the main events of his career and points to a few features of his poetry.

Arthur Nortje was born in Oudtshoorn in 1942 and received his early education in a small Eastern Cape Mission School. He emerged from a squalid township, and despite the limitations of opportunity was a bright all-rounder at school who excelled at both sport and in his studies. At high school he came under the guidance of his English teacher, Dennis Brutus and developed a deep love for English literature, in particular the poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins whose influence is obvious in this poem written when Nortje was nineteen years old.

Eyes like twin eagles confront the sky.
Under a vault of grey banked cloud
Rain silver-pins these flagstones down, by turns
Electric or velvety, froth-soft or lionroar-loud.¹

Another poem of this early period, entitled **For Patrice Lumumba**² opens with a theme which Nortje was to develop throughout his career.

Do not creep through
the hole in the wall of your mind:
plunge anger's panga
through ambition's body from behind.

The young poet understands all too well the 'anger' of the black man in his fight for freedom, and warns against the dangers of being misled by ambition as he continues:

So deceptive his black
fern-froned face that thick steam of fear
gestapoes you to the back.
Yet walled against jungle there is no rear.

Nortje realizes that a path taken in fear is without end, that finally 'fear' itself conquers as it 'gestapoes you to the back'.

A remarkable control of alliteration and impressive Hopkins — like use of verbs, sometimes familiar, sometimes original, yet all dramatically heightening the sense, feature in the early poems for which Nortje won a Mbari prize in 1962. By then he was studying for his B.A. at the University College of the Western Cape. After his graduation in December 1963, he returned to Port Elizabeth for two years to teach.

In 1965, following the blanket ban of forty-six writers, Nortje wrote **Apartheid**³, observing with an artist's eye how

Winter parades as a mannequin.
The early scene looks virginal.

With bold strokes such as these he strips away the artificial serenity and exposes the underlying rottenness. Later in the poem he reveals his awareness of true beauty.

A bird's clean flight
exhibits the virtue of light.

In contrast to the freedom of the bird's flight is the concluding line of the stanza which points to his own shameful withdrawal.

I skulk in the backseat, darker than white.

The poem bears witness to the ignominy of self-loathing which Nortje privately endured. His life was constructed by his repeated efforts to justify his existence. Martin Luther King once said 'All too few people realize how slavery and racial segregation have scarred the soul and wounded the spirit of the black man'. Nortje suffered perhaps more deeply than most from a soul-destroying sense of his own worthlessness. His poetry reveals his unceasing struggle to accept what he described as

the stamp
of birth, of blackness, criminality.⁴

In 1966 he won a fellowship to study at Jesus College where he spent two years completing his Oxford B.A. He played cricket and enjoyed student activities to the full, making friends from all walks of life. Those who knew him, remember him with great fondness. Yet a poem, entitled **In Exile**⁵, written during his first year, reflects nostalgically

Leaves and transient
streetscape conjure up that southern

blue sky and wind-beautiful
day, creating paradise.

Otherwise:
the soul decays in exile.

But wrong pigment has no scope,
so clot the blue channel of memory.

The sensuous imagery he uses to recreate the beauty of his homeland is swept aside as he declares 'clot the blue channel of memory'. Exile in a free society can not lessen the anguish of one who considers himself the 'wrong pigment'.

Yet it would be wrong to give the impression that this theme was obsessive. Many of the London poems written in 1966 and 1967 have a lighthearted quality. A brief interlude in the Park is delightfully captured.

A girl plays games with mirrors
in Hyde Park while I'm half-suggestive
with the dolly scanning a volume idly.
In the flare of an instant it takes to light a cigarette:
against her tree-trunk comes to lean
the ugliest bloke that you have ever seen.
Predictably they disappear
through the distance of August green.⁶

On another occasion, the setting is an opening cocktail party at one of those innumerable little London galleries.

The poet observes the scene and gently pokes fun at the foibles of various members of the crowd.

The dealer in shirt-sleeves told his assistant Jenny to serve champagne to a tall supercilious lady. Middle-aged Americans in sneakers, peering closely, noses to the gouaches, jostled the dainty natives, and a Rolling Stone in executive grey arrived without a murmur among the objects d'art.⁷

Yet inevitably Nortje was drawn back to the underlying grimness of his existence, and in a poem that opens lightly with a description of winter 'in a mini-skirt, thin-faced', the tone changes:

By the river the raw nerves wince
where wind bends into the trees:
west is a grey afternoon beyond
wet silhouettes of tracteries.⁸

Now the mood of the river reflects the mood of the poet, who seems to share physically the suffering experienced under the onslaught of the winter wind.

At the end of his first year at Oxford, Nortje entered his most severe period of self-examination, and the horror of this crisis is described in *The Near Mad*.⁹

Faces gather in rooms with stony features:
eyes that glimpse you coldly, breath of ozone,
Rooms are full of airy delusions:
oh how they have crumbled the heart's empire!

The setting is strikingly reminiscent of Goya's nightmarish murals painted when he was old. Nortje described the debauchery of drunkenness and experimenting with drugs:

You have been drunk at parties, slept with peach blondes,
Or smoked hashish, swallowed the lights, speechless,
your belly hollow with bulbs and neon tubes,
feet floating across the path.

He suffers the agony of insomnia and contemplates suicide:

You lie like an assassin in wait for the moon:
but your jugular swells, your wrists can stain razors.

He craves escape from the torment he experiences:

The anxiety exists that desire no longer
directly affects the once simple interiors.
A hair's breadth from the edge of hell
you hug the miracle of dreamless sleep.

However reacting to his suffering and self-disgust, the poet resolves to bear his agony in a penitential way.

You are to carry
a black umbrella in the rain from now on.

Nortje spent from September 1967 until June 1970 in Canada. It was an unhappy period, in which he changed jobs and places frequently. He was refused admission by the Toronto School of Graduate Studies, who insisted that he complete honours courses in English first. He was unsuccessful in getting his poetry published. A serious love affair ended disastrously. Although few poems were written in this period, those which do emerge are amongst the finest he wrote. The conclusion of a three-part poem, *Dogsbody half-breed*¹⁰ is well worth examining for the control of mood and thought revealed, as the poet evokes memories of the past.

Bitter thought the taste be, it is life somehow.
Despite the dark night of long ago, in spring now
looking from Lion's Head or Devil's Peak,
your delicate nooks and moments noble-gentle
bud-open both to blond and black
and I hybrid, after Mendel,
growing between the wire and the wall
being dogsbody, being me, buffer you still.

Time and again he reminds himself of his homeland, which grows more beautiful in his memory, and simultaneously he regards with increasing bitterness the fact that he had no rightful place in that world. He comes to regard himself as a 'buffer' between the world of the black and the world of the white, being neither, and so being worthless.

He returned to Oxford in order to study for a B.Phil in September 1970. In the few months before he eventually committed suicide in December, he wrote many poems, searching for answers to his predicament. A group of poems, simply entitled *Questions and answers*¹¹ reveals that he accepted his inadequacies as a freedom fighter, and he openly admits 'I am no guerilla'. But then on the other hand he sees himself dramatically being reborn:

I will fall out of the sky as the Ministers gape from
their front porch
and in broad daylight perpetrate atrocities
on the daughters of the boss:
ravish like Attila
and so acquire more scars myself
laughing as I infest the vulnerable liberals
with lice inherited from their gold-mine fathers.

The grotesque absurdity of this vision is an imaginative act of defiance in the face of his realization that he

underwent the fire
baptism, reared in rags, schooled
in the violence of the mud.

In a poem, *Dead Roots* (draft)¹² dated November 1970, only recently come to light, Nortje accepts that

What I lose will have to be lost for life.

There is no trace of bitterness as he recalls his beloved homeland where he feels he has no secure right to be.

I do not hate
the sun still rising
though nostalgic
for that alien summer's
cornucopia.

He recollects his wanderings in the land of 'the maple and the snow', and his return 'to smell the rose among the spires'. Then he wonders

whether the fates will choose to twist
this clothed flesh into spirals of agony
round the entrenched and articulate bones
or whether the Paraclete
will intercede for such a one as I
dispersed Hotnot . . .

There is neither self-pity nor remorse as he contemplates his fate and considers whether the Paraclete, or Holy Spirit will act as intercessor. Yet deep pathos is revealed as he comes to regard himself finally as a 'dispersed Hotnot'. It points to the tragedy of his nomadic exile, and to the root of his private agony. The poem concludes with the terribly realization.

I myself have lost
sight of the long night fire.

Nortje's passport was about to expire, and he would have been deported to South Africa as he had been unable to obtain British citizenship. On the evening of the 8th December, he dined with college friends, and then watched the Cassius Clay fight on T.V. at the local pub, enjoying the beers he won in a wager on the result of the fight. To the outside world he gave no sign of his intentions. He returned to his room and set down a final poem entitled *All hungers pass away*. Then he took a massive overdose of barbiturates, choosing suicide rather than return to the country he loved above everything else. □

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12. **Dead Roots** (draft) by kind permission of Prof. D. Brutus.

THE AURORA CRICKET CLUB AND SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET SINCE ISOLATION.

by Mike Hickson

By way of an introduction to the organizational structure of South African sport, one can distinguish generally between three types of associations that exist in the different sporting codes. There are firstly the "white" organisations which, for a variety of reasons, appear to dominate the local scene. These associations have historically enjoyed the best facilities and recognition by the international controlling bodies of the various codes of sport. In addition they have received the bulk of total sporting sponsorship, and a disproportionate share of the sporting coverage of the local media. Secondly, there are the black "ethnic" associations, membership of which is restricted to a particular ethnic group. These have often affiliated to the "white" bodies – generally under conditions ensuring white control and the playing of racially separate leagues.

Opposed to the above two are the "non-racial" organisations which, although Coloured and Indian dominated, have always been open to all races and have attracted significant African (and, lately, some white) membership. The non-racial bodies have consistently refused to affiliate with the white bodies as this would involve continuing to play in racially separate leagues. The policies of the non-racial bodies are founded on the playing of integrated sport from club level upwards, and they criticise the white and African bodies on grounds that they co-operate with the Government's 'multi-national' sports policy. The latter is seen as being a ploy to have South Africa re-admitted to international competition without abandoning the principle of Apartheid.

The various non-racial bodies have since the mid 50's formed umbrella sporting bodies in order to co-ordinate their activities, and to further the cause of non-racialism in South African sport. The South African Sports Association was formed in 1958, and this body in turn gave rise to the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee in 1962. As these organizations campaigned consistently for the exclusion of 'whites only' sports bodies from international competition, they were subjected to a series of raids and

bannings by the South African authorities in the 1960's. Formed in the early 1970's, the South African Council of Sport (SACOS) is a member of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, and has the support of all the domestic non-racial sports associations despite a sustained campaign of harassment by the authorities (and, more recently, shotgun blasts directed at the homes of two officials in Durban).

Prior to 1973, membership of "white" sporting associations was **exclusively** white – no blacks had been admitted to play in any white sporting league in the country. When challenged by 'non-racial' administrators as to why this was the case, white administrators tended to argue that they were not to blame for the segregation in South African sport; that it was the Government that would not allow them to introduce mixed sport. To this the 'non-racial' administrators replied that white sporting bodies were hiding behind the skirts of the Government, and that – provided certain conditions were met – mixed sport was not illegal in South Africa. Legal opinions had been put forward at that stage to the effect that mixed sport was legal if games were played on private property, no spectators were present and no buildings (i.e. change rooms) were used. However, these opinions had never been properly tested in the courts.

With regard to cricket, there was certainly ample reason to suspect that the (white) South African Cricket Association (SACA) was at least as much to blame for the segregated nature of the game in this country as was the Government. The events of the year following the international isolation of South African cricket (the cancellation of the 1970 tour to England) are an indication that this was indeed the case. In April 1971 the country's top white cricketers walked off the field at Newlands in protest against the Government's segregationist sports policy. The Minister of Sport immediately reacted by inviting SACA officials to approach him with proposals for multi-racial cricket at club level, which he was prepared to take to the Cabinet. Shortly after, the Vice President of the SACA was quoted in a newspaper

as appealing to the Government to allow mixed trials for a Springbok team "pending the time when it will be suitable to the SACA to approach the Minister on the question of multiracial cricket at all levels".

The suggestion that white administrators were not in favour of mixed cricket at club level was confirmed later the same year when the (white) Transvaal Cricket Union was faced with an application by a black cricket club (College Old Boys) to play in one of its leagues. Two days after the President of SACA, Mr Jack Cheetham, had stated at the Association's Annual General Meeting that there was "no opportunity within the law for multi-racial cricket", the TCU refused College Old Boys' application for affiliation. In response, the Star commented in an editorial that Mr Cheetham was advising cricketers to respect a law which did not exist. It was in order to clarify this situation that the Aurora Cricket Club was formed early in 1973. A group of black and white cricketers held a series of meetings wherein it was decided to form a multi-racial club and to apply for affiliation to the (white) Maritzburg Cricket Union. This would hopefully settle the questions of the attitudes of white administrators towards mixed club cricket, and the legality of the playing of mixed sport, once and for all. Such was the distrust of white officials that two white members of the club held a detailed discussion with an MCU official on the procedures to be followed in applying for affiliation **before** informing him that the club had a number of black members. This would ensure that the application could not be refused on some technicality.

The club took great pains to play down the political aspects of the situation and to behave just as a 'normal' (i.e. all white) club seeking affiliation would have done. Legal opinions as to the conditions under which mixed sport was within the law were furnished to the MCU, and the club demonstrated that these conditions **could** in fact be met. As a result, the terms within which the MCU would have to make its decision were narrowed down to the purely sporting. Were it to refuse Aurora's application, the MCU would reveal itself as supporting racism in sport. Very early on, the club decided (contrary to the wishes of the MCU) to leak the story of Aurora's application to the press. It was thought that the MCU's having to make its decision in the full glare of publicity would, firstly, elicit public support for the club's wish to affiliate and, secondly, publicly involve higher levels of the white cricket establishment in the decision.

The extensive press coverage that ensued achieved the first objective, but the provincial and national white cricket associations timidly declined to instruct the MCU on the question of Aurora's application. When the MCU passed the question of Aurora's application up to the Natal Cricket Association for consideration, the NCA bounced the ball straight back into the MCU's court, saying that it was a purely domestic matter. The SACA steadfastly refused to make an unequivocal policy statement on whether it was in favour of Aurora's playing in one of its sub-unions or not. The MCU had, therefore to make the decision on whether to buck government policy on the question of mixed club sport without the support of the national association to which it was affiliated.

This decision was made more difficult by the fact that the government became involved very shortly after the news of Aurora's application was made public. The Minister of Sport made a number of statements to the effect that government policy was that sport in South Africa should be played separately at club, provincial and national levels. In addition, he warned that "should the club not . . . co-operate in the interests of cricket, the Government will not hesitate to take such steps as it deems necessary to ensure that its policy . . . is carried out." The MCU however stood firm and on 11 September 1973 admitted Aurora to its second division cricket league. The MCU not

only became the first white sporting body to act in defiance of Government policy, it in addition accepted the opinion of its legal advisor that mixed sport could be played on **public** as well as private grounds. The next day Dr Koornhof told the Transvaal Congress of the National Party that the Aurora Club had been working towards a confrontation with the Government for months. "They have got the Government now", he continued. "The Government is taking the necessary steps to put it beyond any doubt that these people will be stopped and will not be able to go on with such mixed cricket."

In the weeks that followed, Aurora played two pre-season friendly matches without intervention by the authorities. However it became apparent that the Government's main concern was to prevent the club from setting a precedent by playing in an organized league. Four days before the start of Aurora's league schedule, three members of the club's committee were flown to Pretoria for discussions with Dr Koornhof. These 'discussions' turned out to be a last minute attempt to persuade the club to withdraw its application to play in the league. The three committee members had no mandate to make a decision, however, and returned to report back to club members. A general meeting was held, and the decision made unanimously to inform Dr Koornhof that a club team would take the field two days later on Saturday October 6th.

Accordingly, the Government Gazette of Friday 5th October contained Proclamation R228 of 1973 which altered the provisions of the Group Areas act to "apply also to any person who is at any time present in or upon any land or premises in the controlled area or in a group area **for a substantial period of time.**" (own emphasis) Dr Koornhof confirmed that afternoon that the proclamation was aimed at preventing Aurora from playing the next day. However, legal advice received by Aurora and the MCU intimated that the Proclamation did **not** in fact have the effect of rendering multi-racial sport illegal. As a result, it was decided to go ahead and play, and to test the Proclamation in the courts should the players be prosecuted.

Ironically, by the Saturday afternoon more powerful forces had intervened, and a rain-soaked pitch caused the start of the game to be postponed by a week. When the match was finally played, plainclothes policemen mingled with the crowd or hid behind trees for three hours before moving in and taking the names of the players and some spectators. In the days that followed the police prepared a docket which was forwarded to the Attorney General for possible prosecutions under the Group Areas Act. No prosecution was forthcoming however. Although the reasons for this were never made clear, there is no doubt that a court case would have gained wide publicity and would have provided potent ammunition for overseas organisations attempting to have South Africa isolated from international sport.

Thus the precedent had been set, and it was clear that the playing of multi-racial sport at club level was not illegal. However, cricket in South Africa continued to be played along essentially racial lines for the next three years. A handful of the white clubs affiliated to the SACA opened their doors to black cricketers, while it is possible that one or two whites played in leagues organised by the (non-racial) South African Cricket Board of Control. White cricketers and administrators continued to make statements supporting the principle of multi-racial cricket, but it was not until 1976 that they made concerted moves towards getting cricket played on a multi-racial basis throughout the country.

In August 1974 Mr Hassan Howa resigned as President of SACBOC and was replaced by Mr Rashid Varachia, who was also head of SACBOC's member body, the Transvaal Cricket Federation. Soon after this Mr Varachia entered

into discussions with white and African cricket officials which culminated in an agreement being made in January 1976 to organise the playing of cricket on a multi-racial basis as from the next season. 'Motivating committees', made up of representatives of the respective bodies, were set up at national, provincial and local levels to oversee the transition to what became known as 'normal' cricket.

'Normal' cricket, when it materialised in the 1976/77 season, turned out to be little more than an awkward combination of the three previously separate leagues. It was multi-racial in that black and white clubs were now competing in the same leagues, but there were probably less than ten clubs in the whole of South Africa that contained both black and white members. There was a certain amount of distrust between the 'non-racial' and 'white' camps both in the motivating committees and on the field, and a series of incidents on and off the field led finally to the collapse of 'normal' cricket before its first season had run its course.

Space does not permit a detailed account here of the events which led to the majority of black cricketers pulling out of 'normal' cricket and regrouping as the South African Cricket Board under the wing of the South African Council of Sport. What is clear, however, is that black cricketers and administrators felt very strongly that the whites had dragged their heels in removing apartheid in various aspects of the game. (Two instances in Natal were the retention of separate seating and bar arrangements at a Currie Cup game at Kingsmead, and the unnecessary exclusion of black clubs from a sponsored league previously run by the NCA.)

So South African cricket quickly reverted to abnormal, with on the one hand the South African Cricket Union representing white and some black cricketers, and on the other the South African Cricket Board representing most of the black cricketers. The Aurora Cricket Club played another season under the SACU while the dust settled and its members started to assess their position in the light of the new alignments in the sport. During the course of the 1977/78 cricket season, many members began to doubt whether the club was still fulfilling its original purpose by continuing to play under the aegis of the essentially white-controlled SACU. It had been hoped that non-racial competition would snowball as white clubs opened their doors to all races after the legality of this had been established. It was by now abundantly clear that this would not occur. In Pietermaritzburg the message was unmistakable — after Aurora's fifth season, **one** white club affiliated to the MCU had admitted **one** black cricketer. Secondary causes of dissatisfaction included the fairly regular racist comments levelled at black club members by opposing players, and the suspicion of racial bias in the selection of the Maritzburg Second Division XI. (Aurora's black captain was never selected for the Maritzburg side although he had always performed outstandingly in the league. Eventually a white Aurora member withdrew from the Maritzburg team in protest, convinced that his club captain had been omitted as his presence would cause the team luncheon to be moved from the customary venue, a white Club licensed in terms of the Liquor Act.) At the same time, certain developments in the 'non-racial' camp made Aurora's reappraisal of its position all the more urgent. The South African Council of Sport had consolidated greatly its position as the body representing the 'non-racial' organizations in every code of sport in the country. In 1978 SACOS passed on for implementation by its affiliates the following resolution.

"No person, whether he is a player, an administrator or a spectator, committed to the non-racial principle in sport, shall participate in or be associated with any code of sport which practise, perpetuate or condone racialism or multi-nationalism. Players and/or administrators disregarding the essence of this principle shall be guilty of practising double standards, and cannot therefore be members of any organization affiliated to SACOS."

The implementation of the 'double standards' resolution would obviously reduce the numbers of blacks willing to associate with sports bodies not affiliated to SACOS. As a result, the playing of non-racial sport in South Africa could effectively only come about under the auspices of SACOS. This was reinforced by the fact that SACOS was by now a member of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa.

Thus the Aurora Cricket Club decided in June 1978 to leave the MCU, and to seek affiliation with the 'non-racial' Maritzburg and District Cricket Union. The application was duly accepted, and to date the club has completed one most enjoyable season. The most striking feature of playing in a league affiliated to the South African Cricket Board turned out to be the vastly inferior facilities — there were, for instance, no turf-wickets, toilets or change-rooms at the three grounds made available to Maritzburg's 'non-racial' cricketers. However this was more than counterbalanced by the friendliness with which Aurora was welcomed to the league, and the spirit in which the game is played.

So what of the future? Will South African cricket remain split along essentially racial lines into two camps, and thus continue to be isolated internationally? Alternatively, is the playing of truly non-racial cricket under a single national controlling body possible, so that South Africa can gain readmittance to international competition? Unpalatable as it may be to the white cricketing community, the second alternative is only possible at this stage through the agency of the South African Council of Sport. In the first place, it should be clear that there are unlikely to be any significant future defections of black cricketers from the SACB leagues into the SACU fold. The implementation of the 'double standards' resolution can only strengthen the resolve of SACB cricketers to hold out until whites are prepared to implement non-racialism in every facet of the sport. Black cricketers, after all, have lost nothing by South Africa's cricketing isolation.

Secondly, any hopes that the International Cricket Conference will re-admit the SACU as a member against the wishes of SACOS can only be described as wishful thinking. The delegates of the major cricketing countries are highly unlikely to risk the wrath of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (of which SACOS is a member) by doing so. Memories of the boycott of the last Olympic Games by African (and other Third World) countries are too fresh to allow this. This suggests that the only way out of the current impasse is for the SACU to seek reapproachment with the South African Council of Sport. For this to occur it would be necessary for white cricketers to indicate that they are prepared to make significantly more concessions in the direction of non-racialism than they have so far done. However the hostility of the South African media, and more recently the Progressive Federal Party, towards SACOS suggest that this is highly unlikely. For this reason, there is much truth in Mr Hassan Howa's dictum that there is likely to be 'no normal sport in an abnormal society.' □

SOUTH AFRICA'S URBAN BLACKS

M. G. Whisson reviews South Africa's Urban Blacks: Problems and Challenges.

ed. G. Marais and R. van der Kooy, Centre for Management Studies, School of Business Leadership, U.N.I.S.A. pp. 370.

"Cheshire-Puss", she began . . . "Would you tell me, please which way I ought to go from here?"

"That depends a good deal on where you want to get to", said the Cat. "In **that** direction lives a Hatter — and in **that** direction lives a March Hare. Visit either you like — they're both mad".

"But I don't want to go among mad people", Alice remarked.

"Oh you can't help that", said the Cat. "We're all mad here".

It is with cheerful fatalism of the Cheshire Cat that one feels a sense of identity on reading this volume, although the semantics of Humpty Dumpty spring more to mind on reading Robert R. Tusenius's contribution "**The problem, holistically, realistically, rationally and objectively**". The contributions to the book can be grouped into three categories. Five chapters are very general — "**Urbanisation**", "**A sociological view of a new society**", "**The psychology of the urban black : the gap between tribe and city**", "**The problem, holistically, etc.**", "**Fact, Fiction and philosophy**". Four chapters address themselves to more specific socio-political issues — "**The dilemma of the church**", "**Education for free development**", "**Political spectators**", "**Urban blacks and nationhood**". Five chapters deal with economic issues — consumer behaviour, black workers, black entrepreneurs, economic constraints and black mobility.

The general chapters, while not necessarily coming to the same conclusions in detail, are predicated on a number of assumptions which give them measure of unity. The assumptions are worth parading as they are not always explicit. First, it is assumed that black and white are, of necessity, categories of fundamental and immutable socio-political significance. There cannot be a government, it must be **white** or **black** or some arrangement whereby the one limits the other. A second assumption might seem to contradict the first but is, in fact, subordinate to it. The second assumption is that as blacks are enabled to become more like middle-class whites, they will not only do so, but will be more moderate in their demands. Third, there is an evolutionist assumption — that blacks are evolving from a tribal society towards a western society, becoming more like the writers' reference group as they slowly slough off their tribal ways.

"Although the lifestyle of the black in the tribe is already undoubtedly affected by contact with other cultures, he has a particular relationship with his environment. In contrast to modern man, whose approach to life is objectively analytical and whose spirit is accordingly also divided into value, thought and feeling systems, blacks have a different approach. They do not face the world objectively and at a distance but live in it". (p. 76)

Fourth, it is assumed that it is possible, given the resources available in South Africa, for an acceptable measure of

social and economic justice to be achieved without the privileged elite making massive, costly and risky concessions to the aspirations of the blacks. Finally, it is assumed that a peaceful resolution of South Africa's conflicts of interest is possible.

Thus it can be affirmed "Nobody should be left in any doubt about the fact that white people have sovereign status in their own country, South Africa, and that their Government has the sole right to exercise authority over everybody within its borders". (p. 324)

"The (government's political) blue print, therefore, should be sufficiently realistic for it to be (or capable of being made) acceptable to 'realistic people of goodwill' irrespective of race or political persuasion. (The term '**realistic people of goodwill**' is defined as: Those who are prepared to support the government in its forward-going third phase policies, either because they agree with these policies, or because they accept the fact that if peaceful change is to be achieved at all, it will of necessity have to be achieved in terms of the mandate given to the Government during the past nearly 30 years . . .)" (p. 341).

Not all the writing is as discouraging as the quotations above, and most contributors make constructive proposals which might ameliorate existing tensions if only by providing a substantial minority of blacks with a fragile hope of better things to come. But if every concession proposed by the contributors were to be granted and the constitutional castles plucked from the air and planted in the cities and various divisions of our land, the essential problem would remain unsolved. In fact, one suspects that on the evidence of history, the revolutionary potential of the blacks would be enhanced by their increasing numbers and economic strength. The revolution that the contributors seek to avert will not be made by the hopeless and starving millions who are being herded into the "homelands". It will be made by the educated children of the new bourgeoisie and skilled workers — those to whom the Urban Foundation directs such a high proportion of its constructive effort.

The contributions dealing with specific socio-political issues are generally unsentimental and factual presentations of the urban situations, contain useful recent statistics on such matters as expenditure on black education and make a number of practical suggestions as to how problems can be resolved. There is something of a contradiction between the ethos of these chapters, which emphasise the need for the government and the whites to do things for and to the blacks in order to "bring them up to white levels", and the ethos of the economic chapters which is that of **laissez faire** liberalism. The paradox is easily resolved — there are areas, like education, where even the most hard nosed devotee of **laissez faire** today recognises the virtue of state involvement on a massive scale. But in the areas of industry and commerce the removal of inhibitions on the free market in labour, training, retailing and entrepreneur-

ship is seen as being the golden route to economic prosperity and inter-group harmony. Some assistance is obviously required and the work of the publisher is given appropriate recognition in the analysis of black entrepreneurship (pp. 238-9).

The question of whether a *laissez faire* economy can produce social and economic justice in a world in which few of the classical pre-conditions for perfect competition exist is not faced squarely. South Africa is a land of monopoly or oligopoly capitalism — due partly to the economies of scale in its major extractive industries, partly to the state controlled sectors of economy, partly to the dependence on multi-national corporations with their high technology and massive capitalisation. Under those circumstances the rich tend to get richer and poor poorer unless substantial and effective redistributive mechanisms exist. The thrust of the political dispensations proposed by the contributors does little to resolve and much to exacerbate the existing problems of poverty and inequality. They offer a little protection to the urban dwellers at the expense of a growing army of impoverished and desperate "homeland" dwellers who will continue to contribute to the "white" economy as migrant workers but who will cease to be the responsibility of the "white" government. Instead

the impoverished mass will have to support itself in "its own areas" and under its own governments.

In short, since the assumptions upon which this volume is based are faulty and to some extent the goals mutually contradictory, **South Africa's Urban Blacks** fails to resolve the problems or to meet the challenges of a rapidly growing and increasingly restive black population which can not be classified "urban" and "rural" by bureaucratic fiat — and the "rural" dismissed to do their own thing in their own way. The problems cannot be solved by constitutional dispensations — if such formulae worked, Africa would be a continent of model democracies and the Irish problem long since solved. They have also gone beyond the reach of the benign forces of a free market economy — even if one were available to help.

These caveats, substantial as they may be, should not deter the concerned South African reader from exploring this book himself. It is a valuable insight into the heart and mind of enlightened, if not quite mainstream, Afrikanerdom. It probably says more about the near future of our country than most liberal publications. The glossy cover is 90% white with birds of passage and hope fluttering over the cities. The hard cover beneath is 95% black. □

BRIEF REMARKS ON ZULU LITERATURE

by D. B. Ntuli

(From a paper read at the Congress of the Afrikaans Writers Guild).

Various scholars have expressed their views on Zulu literature. Regarding fiction the main criticism has been that the Zulu writers are unable to portray characters convincingly. Ziervogel, for example, remarks:

Depiction of characters has not been developed by modern writers. They are often much better in describing incidents. (Ziervogel, p. 9)

Nyembezi is of the same opinion. He says:

Quite often characters are mere pegs on which the events hang. (Nyembezi, p. 9)

Referring to our review of Zulu literature which appeared in 1968, Gerard says that these

... comments teem with rather damaging strictures: clumsiness in plot development, unconvincing characterization, unnecessary didacticism, weird improbabilities ... (Gerard, p. 266)

One of the criticisms against Zulu writers is that they limit themselves to a few themes. We should point out here that no critic can express displeasure with a book simply because it is based on a popular theme. Thematic proto-types are limited and it would be absurd for any critic to expect writers to produce completely original works. We would insist, however, that a writer should abandon his story if he cannot add his individuality to the treatment of a well-known theme.

It is encouraging to note that some of the recent publications indicate the writers' attempt to modify the treatment

of well-known themes. The forbidden-love stories of the seventies, for example, have a new freshness because writers give an acceptable motivation for the father's reluctance to encourage an affair between his daughter and an apparently worthless boy.

Critics of Zulu poetry do not seem to have a very high opinion of this genre either. Mazisi Kunene does make a few encouraging remarks about the poetry produced up to about 1960. But his general feeling is that this work is immature. (Kunene, 1961, p. 231). An exception to this criticism is B. W. Vilakazi. As recently as 1974, about 40 years after the appearance of his first book of poems, Cope says:

Vilakazi is still the most successful Zulu poet to write in the Zulu language. (Cope, p. 64)

While the critics generally agree that we have not produced a second Vilakazi yet, I think recent publications show a definite improvement. There is a trend from the simple and straight-forward descriptions of phenomena towards a more philosophical outlook on life. We now find poems whose depth demands a reader's concentration if they are to be fully appreciated.

In a very severe criticism, Jahn, in fact, thinks South African Bantu literature is degenerating. He remarks:

Neo-African literature on the African continent began in South Africa ... The three great South African Bantu languages — Sotho, Xhosa, and Zulu — moved into the foreground one after another at about the interval of a

decade, produced many talents, and became literary languages . . . Finally the Bantu Education Act in 1955 swept away the mission schools and the scanty remains of a half-free literature along with them. What has since been authorized to appear does not deserve the name of literature; it is mere reading matter for primary schools. (Jahn, p. 44)

We do concede that the writers' response to the critiques published in the past has not always been what it should be. Some of the recent publications still have weaknesses which were pointed out in the forties. Nevertheless I notice definite improvement in all spheres of Zulu literature, and I find no grounds for Jahn's allegations.

Despite some favourable remarks I have made about Zulu works, it is clear that Zulu literature has not progressed as well as it might. Someone might say we are using a wrong yardstick. Iyasere says:

To assess a work by standards that are alien to it is only to judge one system of values by another, which inevitably leads to a mutilation of the art. (Iyasere, p. 109)

It is true that most of the critics of Zulu literature were brought up with a Western approach to literature. But it is equally true that the bulk of Zulu literature we have at present is patterned according to Western types and styles – which means, therefore, that Western standards of assessment cannot be regarded as being completely alien to it. Naturally within this approach an appreciation of those elements which are indigenous or traditional must be taken into account. I think the present-day critic is fairly broadminded. He complains of the violation of the basic literary requirements. I don't think there is any critic following any tradition of literary criticism who would condone the recurrence of a single story told by different writers who merely use different names for a similar character. No critic would praise a story whose clumsiness of plot is due to the writer's inability to eliminate irrelevant incidents. No modern-day critic would applaud a writer who steps to the fore to preach sermons to the reader every now and then instead of giving the reader a chance to make his own deductions from what is presented to him. An inconsistent character – unless the inconsistency is part of his personality – is unconvincing no matter what standards of assessment we use. A critic who knows the Zulu language and the customs of the Zulus is able to appreciate utterances and actions which are justifiable according to the practices of these people. His employment of the Western yardstick does not prevent him from taking account of the traditional which is often not appreciated by Westerners. In short, most of the critical essays on Zulu literature indicate that some Zulu writers have not mastered the elementary principles of these new modes of artistic expression.

I call them "new modes" because traditionally the Zulus did not have things like the novel and dramatic works in the modern sense. It would be expecting too much to hope that Zulu writers would perfect the novel which he started writing only about forty years ago. The same might be said of drama. The Zulu writer depends a great deal on the Western plays he has read which he has probably never seen on the stage. He starts writing his own play without anticipating the difficulties that the producer of that play will have. With regard to poetry the Zulu poet wastes a lot of time trying to employ old European techniques, like the division of the poem into regular stanzas and using different rhyming patterns – things which even some of the modern Western poets have discarded. This has a tendency of making Zulu poetry sound forced and artificial.

There are other more serious factors which hamper the development of Zulu literature. It has been repeatedly

pointed out that Zulu writers always have a school child in mind. Nkosi, for example, comments:

Vernacular literature is more or less moribund . . . Since the government decides which books are suitable for reading in school, vernacular literature is subject to close official scrutiny. Controversial works dealing with sex, politics, and religion are automatically excluded. (Nkosi, p. 283)

Nyembezi makes a similar observation. He says:

The emphasis on producing books suitable for school use acts as a limiting factor on Zulu writers, it tends to cramp their style as they must keep in mind all the time the school children who are likely to be the main readers of those books. Writers who wish to cater for more mature minds find themselves handicapped. (Nyembezi, p. 5)

It is a tragedy that there are manuscripts which are not published because their standard is too high for school children of up to matriculation level. In fact some publishers are reluctant to publish anything that may be regarded as too difficult for students up to J.C. There are publishers who refuse to reprint a book whose literary merit warrants its prescription for degree courses, because the annual sales of that book will not be sufficient. This indicates that the publisher has no hope that ordinary people or adults outside the classroom will buy a Zulu book even if that book is aimed at adults.

A few people have expressed their ideas on why the readership of Zulu books is so limited. Kunene, for example, says:

. . . the low living standards do not allow literate Africans to have a large collection of books. (Kunene, p. 231)

Nyembezi is of the same opinion, and he adds:

. . . the conditions under which many Africans live are not conducive to the development of a habit such as reading. The homes are small and crowded and there is poor lighting which makes it difficult to read in the evening . . . (Nyembezi, p. 5)

There are other people who do not have these difficulties who will not spend money on Zulu books because they take it for granted that they will not derive any entertainment from books designed for school children. Instead these people spend much money on thrillers and romantic stories written by popular English authors like Agatha Christie and James Hadley Chase.

This is only a statement of the state of affairs. We do not justify the appearance of books of low standard just because those books are meant for school children. Some of the books used at schools should not have been published at all. Our observation is that some publishers use inefficient people to review their manuscripts. It is difficult to control this situation especially when there are so many publishing firms these days. One firm may have a qualified reader who has the development of Zulu literature at heart. He turns down a manuscript which he feels is poor or needs some improvements. The writer takes the same manuscript to another publisher who uses a less-qualified reader. The manuscript is accepted and published. The book is prescribed for, say Form 1, which means the second publisher will make money on it. What does the first publisher think of his strict reader? He would rather publish something mediocre than wait indefinitely for a good book which might just happen to be "too good" to give him good business.

This situation will not change unless something positive is done. A few remedies have been suggested. Kunene says:

The immaturity of these works also originates from the fact that there is no organised form of literary criticism

whose function would be to set up the standards.
(Kunene, p. 231)

I think it might be of help if a column was available in some of our newspapers where different people were invited to discuss various aspects of Bantu literature. The Zulus are lucky in this respect since they have a half-yearly magazine called *Umcwaningi*, in which, among other things, one finds very enlightening scholarly discussions on Zulu literature. Some services of Radio Bantu have programmes where new books and other literary topics are discussed. A serious writer who listens to such programmes and reads books on writing and literary theories can thus improve his skill. He will be able to avoid common errors found in the published works.

If a writer reads the works of colleagues in his own language and in the other languages, he is in a better position to avoid producing mere paraphrases of other people's stories. He can try to emulate the techniques employed by the successful masters.

Another suggestion is for writers to form a club where possible. They can circulate their manuscripts among themselves before approaching the publishers. In such a club obvious weaknesses like inconsistencies and irrelevancies could be eliminated. Of course members of such a club should be knowledgeable, objective and selfless.

Many critics have suggested that a writer should use the technique of his traditional literature as much as possible. With regard to the novel, for example, Joachim says

The African novel will begin an authoritative existence the day its writers abandon a sterile imitation of Western forms of expression and return to the native land to search for originality and a specifically African style.
(Joachim, p. 300)

Many voices have encouraged Zulu poets to make more use of *izibongo* as a basis for their poetry. Nyembezi says:

... a blending of the style of Izibongo with the European forms might produce some interesting new forms which might be a valuable contribution. (Nyembezi, p. 9)

Nkabinde is of the same opinion:

Izinkondlo zesiZulu azihlumele ezibongweni ukuze kulolongwe isu lobabamkhulu lona elalondolozeka lajamelana neziphepho kanye nezithiyo zonke emlandwini weNdlu emnyama. (Nkabinde, p. 16)

I agree with these views. In fact some of the best poems by people like J. C. Dlamini and others employ the style of *izibongo*. We admire the spontaneity of such poems. Of course it does not mean that the mere use of traditional devices will elevate any uninspired nonsense into good literature. There are many elements which contribute towards the production of an acceptable piece of art apart from the external structural forms. I think the Zulu poet is fortunate in that he can draw from so many established poetic patterns and manipulate these according to the themes of his poems and the effects he wants to achieve.

I wish to end this discussion on a note of optimism. Modern Zulu literature is still young. It would be too much to expect the appearance of many works of classical stature during this short period. The Zulu writer is after all still experimenting with new modes of artistic expression. At the same time we do not expect Zulu literature to crawl for centuries before it gets where we wish it could be.

Opportunities are created for Zulu writers to meet and discuss their problems. More critical essays are available to young writers. Zulu literature can be studied up to post graduate level. I think more people are keen to read good books in their own language. The Bureau for Zulu language and culture offers books to its members and thereby encourages them to read their literature. I don't think it will be very long before we get good writers who will produce material for developed minds. □

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FAIRBAIRN MEMORIAL ADDRESS

Delivered to the Conference of the Southern African Society of Journalists on 25 May, 1979.

by Barend van Niekerk.

I believe in free speech and hence in a free press more than in any other civil right and I feel honoured to give an address which bears the name of a man who kindled the belief in that right in our country more than a century and a half ago. I am even more honoured by the fact of being able to speak to the very people who man the ramparts of that greatest of Western liberties in our midst, the pressmen whom Sir Edwin Arnold (himself a poet, scholar and pressman) called 'slaves of the lamp' and 'servants of light' when he wrote:

'Nor ever once ashamed
So we be named
Press-men, slaves of the Lamp, Servants of Light.'

I salute you, the pressmen, the 'servants of light' in our society and express to you my solidarity. My solidarity, as some of you may know, is one which has been steeled and re-inforced by my own experience — my *painful* experience I should add — in defending your and my rights of free speech from the dock of our criminal and civil courts. I make no bones about the fact that I am a *militant* when it comes to free speech and that I am intensely suspicious of and viciously opposed to any dilution or inhibition of my own rights of free speech and that the price which this commitment of mine has involved has been one I have been prepared to pay. And when therefore I talk today of the *price* I expect you as pressmen to pay at times for your commitment to free speech I do so *not* from a safely ensconced academic island but as someone who knows better perhaps than most people assembled here today what it means, metaphorically speaking, to put one's neck on the line when it comes to free speech.

Because I am such a militant and almost uncompromising believer in free speech I shall not go out of my way to state the obvious, in other words to hail the extraordinary and inspiring role of the press — or rather sections of the press — in the defence of free speech. My praise, my admiration and my solidarity are simply understood. Ultimately of course pious praise, necessary and deserved as it may at times be, speak less clearly than deeds and the deeds of the South African press — or some of their deeds — speak for themselves and do not need my praise. I shall, however, speak today on what I find wrong with our press and on what I regard as being out of line with the highest traditions of a commitment to free speech. And because I am such a militant, yes indeed radical, believer in the old fashioned liberal ethos on which free speech in the West has been predicated, I shall not be pulling my verbal punches. Nor shall my deep admiration for your *métier* and for the way in which, in your better and best moments, you have upheld the noblest traditions of your profession, constrain me from saying what I believe must be said. Now this latter point is not at all so obvious as you may perhaps wish it to be; if there is one holy cow in the so-called liberal establishment it is the press and on several occasions where I have directed even just the mildest

critique against the press — critique which was based on liberal premises — I received, apart from just blanket denials, quite a heavy dose of criticism for questioning what has in fact become unquestionable as far as the press itself is concerned.

Now from what I have just said you may already have noticed that I am not once more launching myself upon the litany of horrors perpetrated by the legislature, dominated by politicians who, after being caught out by the press in an unprecedented orgy of incompetence and quasi-corruption, are once again in the process of throwing up a legal barricade around a vital area — this time themselves — behind which they can gleefully continue to suppress the truth and enjoy the fat of the earth without having to care a damn about the fact that most of them today are not fit for any decent job in the unprotected world of competition for which a modicum of real talent or expertise is required. I shall instead be talking to you about what the *press itself* can do to maintain as much as possible of the core area of free speech and to improve its role as the 'servants of light' to which the Western democratic ethos has traditionally elevated it.

A major tenet of my belief concerning the press is, to quote the aphorism as regards governments, that the people get the press they deserve and that the press gets the degree of freedom it deserves. Naturally this aphorism does not apply absolutely but it applies with uncanny regularity over a wide spectrum of circumstances. For many years for instance, and indeed down to this day, the press maintained a very respectful distance from the workings of our higher courts and when on the rare occasions they did venture into that area they did so in tones oozing with respect which in many cases was wholly undeserved. Long before the re-discovery of the contempt laws our press as a whole largely failed completely to scrutinise judicial appointments, incompetence on the Bench, racism in the juris-prudence of our courts, political influences and the like. I have recently developed this theme in an article in the *South African Law Journal*¹) and in an address reprinted in *Reality*²) and I shall not now again discuss what is in fact one of the least discussed areas in relation to press freedom: the self-censorship or inhibitions of the press in relation to the administration of justice. Allow me, however, to make just three points in relation to what my critics regard as this hobby horse of mine: First; the administration of justice and the quality of its personnel, including its racial ideologies and predilections, is a vitally important topic in a democratic state. Despite this we find that the administration of justice is the least controlled pocket of power, partly on account of its vast nature, partly because of its somewhat esoteric nature and partly and perhaps most substantially, due to the fact that as far as its more controversial aspects are concerned it has always been treated by the press with a gentleness not reserved for other concentrations of power in the state. Secondly, this attitude is one which is not

unique to South Africa and in my *Law Journal* study³) I indicate how widespread this hands-off attitude is all over the Western world and how we have especially copied this reverence for judicial power from the British. Thirdly, and most importantly, because our press — naturally joined by an academic and practising legal profession which for generations have been characterized by their deep commitment to peace in their time and to the socio-political *status quo* — because our press has for so long failed to exercise a vigorous and outspoken role of scrutiny and critique over the administration of justice it was inevitable that when the time and circumstances were regarded as ripe and opportune attempts would be made to stifle any critique and so we have seen the growth of the contempt power, feeding in effect on the spirit of abdication of the press in legal matters for so long. And in the same way also can one explain the incredible judgment of Mr Justice Piet Cillie in the Gandar-Poggrund trial⁴) involving the Prisons Act, coming after a generation in which the prisons in any event constituted no legitimate area of incisive scrutiny, long before the enactment of the gagging provision of the Prison's Act. And so also do we still see the Press continuing to ban the words of Albert Luthuli after his death a decade ago on their own incredible interpretation of the law which may well, hallowed as it now is by time, also become the verdict of a court but which, as I think I have shown in a *Law Journal* article,⁵) makes no sense even in terms of our own restrictive legal narrow-mindedness. Think carefully about my proposition, it is indeed the touchstone of a militant doctrine of free speech in a society inspired by the democratic ethos — the proposition that as pressmen you get, at least in part but to a very substantial extent, the freedom you deserve.

Built into my argument about pressmen earning and in fact shaping the degree of press freedom they have, there is an implication or a reality which is far too seldom faced in all its permutations; the fact that the defence of free speech almost inevitably involves the *paying of a price*. Surveying our press as I do from day to day I see far too seldom, indeed almost never, manifestations of this willingness at times to suffer for one's belief in free speech. Put differently, I see mighty little commitment towards extending, painfully if necessary, the inchoate frontiers of free speech. There is at the present moment very understandably a deep sense of numbing shock about the ultimate gagging law now in the process of being spawned by a bunch of legislators who are determined never again to be caught with their corruption pants down and who wish to give themselves effectively the ultimate *carte blanche* for undetected corruption. But, let us be honest, how many of our newspapers on how many occasions have in the past indulged in the kind of Kitt Katzen investigative reporting which will now become impossible under this neo-fascist press gag? Or do you perhaps naively believe that the information scandal is the only uncovered corruption scandal in our midst? In other words, to what practical use was freedom of speech which you will now be robbed of actually put, before Parliament has put its jackboot down on corruption seeking investigative reporting? You, the journalists of the land, know the answers better than I and together with you I salute the inspiring exceptions — the Kitt Katzens, the Benjamin Poggrunds and the Lawrence Gandars — the inspiring exceptions proving the uninspiring rule; those who have in fact given press freedom just that extra sharp edge, that extra dimension and that extra extension which makes the rallying cry of free speech something more than just that empty parrot cry which it has almost become in our land. I said earlier that I do not administer to the press any prescriptions which I do not take myself and speaking for myself — and, I hope, for many colleagues — I cannot but wince at the daily sight of a lack of imagination in the greater part of our press to use press freedom more imaginatively, to use it more investigatively and to use it more effectively. You want examples no doubt of what

I mean and I shall furnish you with just two of immediate topical interest:

Almost three years ago the Soweto upheaval rent the fabric of what was left of our national conscience. What is today sometimes laughingly referred to as a commission of inquiry under the illustrious chairmanship of the honourable Piet Cillie — incidentally an old friend of the press as the author of the judgment in the aforementioned Gandar-Poggrund Prisons Act trial — was appointed to direct a shaft of enlightenment into the causes of this cataclysmic event. What has happened to this Commission? Who is the man Piet Cillie? What has it cost the taxpayer over the last three years to have a Commission which will bring out a report which will be instant history when it is published and which may involve a re-writing of the Oxford History of Southern Africa? Example Two: We have the Information Scandal Commission of Inquiry — that commission which the General so ungraciously dubbed a 'farce' — under the inspiring leader of the Free State Bench, our own version of the Special Watergate Prosecutor, the learned judge Erasmus. Two reports of this Commission have seen the light so far but I still await the first detailed calling-a-spade-a-spade analysis of these reports on the basis of simple laws of human probability or logic or common sense, using similar expressions and techniques as the press would reserve for, say, the philosophical meanderings of Andries Treurnicht or Albert Hertzog. Nor do we know a fraction of what we ought to know about the personality, qualities and idiosyncracies of the man who will, so the rumours go, become our future advocate-general administering to you, the journalists of our country, the gagging principles of the bill presently before Parliament.

Now of course, what I am saying in effect is that our press within the restraints of the law must be more imaginative in the taking of risks, in the courting of prosecutions, in the fighting of court cases, in the sharing of the risks of such court cases, in the use of court procedures as well as in the better use of the tools of the trade of a creative writer: irony, wit, sarcasm, lavish praise and, above all, truth. Truth, we assume in terms of our democratic ethos, will often, and perhaps mostly, when given an airing, win out against untruth; and we assume also, and in our inspired moments we act on that assumption, that the weapon of truth intelligently used can countervail most attempts at its subversion and repression. Essentially, and you know it only too painfully well, our press gag laws are geared not to the achievement of some positive aim, such as the achievement of good race relations or clean government but at the suppression of truth. However, with imagination, dedication and resourcefulness our press can use the mighty weapon of truth, both in court and outside the courts, making certain attacks on the truth so embarrassing and so painful that the assailant will think very hard before assailing it. If the free press in this country pooled its resources, sharing the risks and sharing also the costs — and this indeed is a suggestion I am now seriously making — and if it uses the weapon of truth, the unpalatable truth I should add, I dare say you have little to fear from any of the laws, yes from the *minefield of laws* in your favourite cliché, as far as upholding the essentials of your journalistic ethos is concerned. There will be much you will not be able to say directly but in all conscience you will be able to say enough, albeit indirectly or deviously, in order to keep you in business as 'servants of light'. And the reason for this is something which you will do well to ponder: that the truth — the 'full catastrophe' of the truth in Zorba's phrase — is a mighty weapon indeed and it is a weapon which is today borne also by the Afrikaans press. In fact, as recent history shows, it has at times been borne more outspokenly by sections of the Afrikaans press than by sections of the English press. And then we still have the marvellous institution of the courts whose doors can really not easily be shut and where, once inside, you can speak

the truth with devastating effect. Of course, even in the face of the truth you may be turfed out of court in the face of the obligatory language of the law but once having aired the truth inside court, under the protection of the privileges available to you there, you may well find that whatever victory is achieved against you will be short-lived and Pyrrhic indeed. And somehow you even may find that the jackboot principles so easily enunciated by the motley collection of farmers in Parliament do not quite enjoy the same respect in our courts where, despite shortcomings and the risk of manipulative machinations, there prevails still a different ethos where the suppression and dilution of truth cannot be quite as easily perpetrated as in Parliament.

Of course, we know now that we have a government which will no longer even hesitate to close a newspaper as was done to the *World* in 1977 and as was threatened to the *Sunday Express* earlier this year. Against that ultimate threat I have no strategy to offer you other than that of total editorial and managerial solidarity of the press as a whole and the knowledge that if you were to be shut down for conveying the truth, fairly and responsibly and in terms of the best traditions of Western journalism you would in any case have outlived your usefulness. No amount of appeasement or equivocation would help and being part of a process of appeasement you will serve neither the cause of justice nor the cause of your journalistic ethos. If the people of South Africa take the banning lying down — and I include here our black leaders who should at this very moment be in the forefront of the fight for press freedom but who have in fact largely left it to the tattered remnants of the liberal establishment — they would not have deserved you in any event and they will then deservedly sink with you to the trash heap of burnt out Western democracies. What I am in fact saying is that the press must develop new strategies of resistance to the moves against it and provided that its strategy is based on the relentless advancement of truth and on quality reporting and on militant solidarity amongst yourselves you may well see the frontiers of free speech extended again and not contracted as you now fear. What many of you from the English press do not always fully realise is that, as far as the basic defence of certain civil liberties is concerned, the Afrikaans press and big segments of the Afrikaans intellectual establishment will not allow a free press to go down the drain without a fight. Their belief in press freedom is a new one but it is not less seriously held than yours and at times even, because of the exhilarating novelty of the struggle, I have the impression that the belief in press freedom amongst Afrikaans pressmen is stronger and more committed than that of segments of journalists of the English press. The challenge is yours to see to it that they become your brothers-in-arms for the defence of free speech and for the exciting struggle to extend free speech.

I alluded a minute ago to *quality* and I wish to conclude by addressing myself to another seldom discussed aspect of press freedom. Whatever you may think about the excellence of your product I will be dishonest if I failed to tell you that the average product turned out by the South African press is bad, lacking in quality, depth and brilliance. Freedom to concentrate on trivialities and ephemeral trash does not deserve the label of free speech. Let me hasten to add that I have not joined the ranks of the Federation for the Protection of Virginal Values and I believe strongly that for those who want it a segment of the press must cater for the unintellectual and even anti-intellectual tastes. I know also as well as you do that your product must sell in order to survive — a reality of life which inevitably involves a certain amount of pandering to the more mundane, trivial and sub-intellectual tastes of the uneducated or half-educated masses. But what terrible price are we not paying in the loss of depth and quality by your drive at times to find and cater for the lowest common denominator in our society! As journalists you claim the right, and very

correctly so, to scrutinise the government and to rip open incompetence and mediocrity and all kinds of other venal sins of our rulers but apart from going only for the jugular vein of the *Citizen*,⁷) what record have you got about looking at your own quality and that of your peers? Or do you perhaps seriously suggest, as does the government in relation to corruption, that there is indeed on this score no problem to look at? That your product is indeed, both by our own and by international standards, the best we can expect in the circumstances? Once more, as far as quality is concerned, you and I know the happy exceptions proving the unhappy rule and I salute them with you. However, can the average South African newspaper which daily lands on your breakfast or dinner table *in any way* compare with the best quality newspaper in the English speaking world? I speak to journalists — to *quality* journalists, I should add — more often than what is good for me and how often do they not tell me in the most mournful and desperate terms about their own personal struggle on their newspapers to fight mediocrity and banality! You the leaders in your field know what I am talking about. You know yourselves how you sigh with delight when arriving at Heathrow airport you pick up the *Times* (hallowed be its memory!) or the *Guardian* or the *International Herald Tribune*. What newspaper in South Africa can in just one *single* respect on a continuing basis be compared with these newspapers, or with the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, the *Welt* the *Monde* or the *Washington Post*? Perhaps I should put my rhetorical questions more fairly and ask you what *real effort* is made and by whom to make the South African newspapers comparable to these paragons of quality? We know some of the more obvious reasons for the general lack of quality of the South African press but there may be many more. What has been lacking — unforgivably lacking — has been any candid discussion of the problem of quality; indeed, there has been no real public admission in the press of the existence of a problem! And yet, do not forget that when the screws are really put on you your one major defence will be the *quality* you represent in your newspapers, together with the unflinching solidarity of your contemporaries and the truth you promoted.

We all like to hear nice things about ourselves and no institution in our society basks so snugly, and very understandably, in the sun of its own adulation and that of others as does our press. And here, I can hear some of you say, I come and direct at you more than just polite and peripheral criticism. But let me remind you that it is *my* freedom, more than that of the press as institution which is at stake today in this land. As institution the freedom of the press is primarily that of achieving better sales, more revenue and better profit. But you and you alone stand between me and the loss of *my* freedom in all its permutations; you did not prevent the callous killing of Biko but we know that you prevented many other Bikos. And so you must forgive me if I look at our press as institution through the angry eyes of someone who is seeing his own liberty eroded; who sees his liberty eroded at the hands not only of those whose hands are dripping with the blood of the liberal values they have already killed but also of those in your profession who scorn the use of more imaginative weapons of assault in defence of press freedom and the liberty of our people. I end by saying that the institution of the press, more than any other institution and I exclude none, is the last, the very last tatter of liberal respectability in our midst and for what you have done for *my* freedom and for the quality of *my* life I honour and admire you. In all honesty, however, I must record my distress that I see the substance of press freedom — and hence of *my* freedom — eroded by forces also from within your ranks, not by design but through complacency and abdication. I commend to you my belief that within your hands lies part — only part — of the remedy to turn the tide as regards the erosion of free speech and my unshakeable conviction that by firmly committing yourselves to the belief that

free speech shall not die, it *shall not die!* I commend to you also my belief that by directing some of the ingenuity, the skill, the resourcefulness and the purposefulness at your own institution which in recent times some of you directed at the Government, press freedom and free speech will not die. Free speech dies most violently when one's belief in it dies and I commend to you ultimately that you must never start believing that free speech is dead; change your tactics, improve your excellence, sharpen your wits, develop new weapons, and flex your muscles and you will never fail to find the soft underbelly of those opposed to your essential role in our society with all its problems and its challenges and where you can strike your hardest blows for the values on which your journalistic ethos is based and for free speech and freedom itself. □

- 1 'The Uncloistering of the Virtue: Freedom of Speech and the Administration of Justice' in (1978) 95 SALJ pp. 362-393 and pp. 534-573.
- 2 *Reality* November 1978.
- 3 Op cit pp. 561 ff.
- 4 *S v SAAN* 1970 (1) SA 469 (T).
- 5 'From beyond the Grave – A Critique of Current Practice concerning the quoting of banned persons after their Death' (1975) SALJ 314.

COMPARISON OF THE SYLLABUS OF THE BANTU EDUCATION DEPARTMENT WITH THAT OF THE TRANSVAAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT AND OTHER RELATED MATTERS.

by Curtis Nkondo

(Mr Nkondo is one of the leading figures amongst those Soweto teachers who have resigned in protest against the Bantu Education system. This article, prepared sometime ago, is intended as the first in a series REALITY hopes to publish on a new educational system for South Africa – Editors.)

Before 1955, education in South Africa, for all races, was run by the Provincial Administrations. The syllabuses were identical for all racial groups. But when the Nationalist Government came into power in 1948, this system was thought to be unsuitable, and drastic steps were soon taken to introduce Apartheid in Education as well. It was decided that each race group should have its own system of education.

Dr Verwoerd, the architect of Bantu Education, (in Hansard) said that the "Curriculum", to a certain extent, and educational practice, by ignoring the segregation or "apartheid" policy, was unable to prepare for service within the Bantu Community. By blindly producing pupils trained on a European model, the vain hope was created among Natives that they could occupy posts within the European Community, despite the country's policy of "Apartheid". This is what is meant by the creation of unhealthy "white collar ideals" and the causation of wide-spread frustration among the so called educated Natives.

It is on this statement, therefore, that Bantu Education has been modelled. Special syllabuses based on this new brand of education were drawn up. Mother-tongue became the medium of expression and instruction at Primary schools

for all subjects except English and Afrikaans. Apartheid within apartheid came into being with the creation of ethnic schools, ethnic school committees and ethnic school boards. Ethnic Training Colleges were introduced, open universities were closed to blacks, to be replaced by tribal or bush Universities. Mission schools which for years had been doing excellent work in the education of blacks were forced to use the syllabuses of the Bantu Education Department. In protest, the Anglican Church decided to close down its schools, the Catholic Church grudgingly accepted the policy in order to have some authority over its schools.

Bantu Education is totally rejected by blacks. There was a country-wide protest when it was introduced. And if blacks had been consulted, such a system would never have seen the sun. Protests and boycotts were vehemently suppressed and crushed. The irony in Dr Verwoerd's Statement is that, Bantu Education has produced the worst kind of frustration. In addition, Bantu Education has produced resentment and hatred.

The riots, 1976 and later, stem from the black people's rejection of Bantu Education. It is unfortunate, tragic and regrettable, that the authorities look for the causes of the riots elsewhere. In any case this is seen as a deliberate

attempt to perpetuate the system. Black people reject Bantu Education, and this has been spelled out clearly. Bantu education must at all cost be scrapped. This is the issue on which prompt action is required to avoid further riots and the concomitant adverse results.

Apartheid by its very nature means **Providing Unequal Amenities**. Those in power always arrogate to themselves the best things in life, Bantu Education is definitely inferior to that of other groups. It has to be inferior, so that the blacks must, in the words of Dr Verwoerd, never aspire to "green pastures". Green pastures are succulent and healthy. To be denied this means that the black man is subjected to academic starvation.

We would like to make it abundantly clear that black children have the same aspirations as children of other racial groups. There are no aspirations divinely set aside for one racial group.

Any differences made in educational systems are artificial and unacceptable. Such differentiations are seen as a means of perpetuating servitude. We strongly maintain that what is good for white children, is equally good for black children. Colour differences are immaterial and irrelevant. Bantu Education has brought frustration to the blacks. And this frustration is becoming dangerous to all racial groups. There are many people in this country, both black and white who are aware of the retarding effects of Bantu Education. An examination of the different syllabuses clearly supports this view.

Bantu Education department stipulates that the child must be at least 7 years old before he is admitted to school. A child may be admitted to a Transvaal Education Department School when he is 5 years old provided that he turns 6 before 30th June of that same year.

In effect this means that a white child born on March 30th 1970, will be able to enter grade 1 (sub A) in January 1976. His African counterpart born on the same day will only be able to go to school in 1978.

School readiness and maturity of the child are not considered in either case, but studies have shown that most children are ready for school at the age of 5½ years or 6 and that they are receptive to the new stimuli at school and learn quickly and easily at that age. The African child is forced to waste two of the most receptive years of his life waiting until he has reached the required age. We can only surmise the child's frustration which at the other end of school probably turns to resentment when his counterpart (white) Matriculates at the age of 17 years and he, with any luck, i.e. if he has managed to withstand poor teaching etc. can only matriculate at the age of 19 years. White pupils therefore, have at least two years advantage over the African child.

Time allotted Weekly Standard 1 and 2

Bantu Education Department:	Transvaal Education Department:
Religious Education 1 hr 40 2 hr 30
Afrikaans 4 hr 30	Std. 1 4 hr. Std. 2 4 hr 30
English 4 hr 30	Std. 1 4 hr. Std. 2 4 hr 30
Home Language 3 hr 30	
Arithmetic 3 hr 30 4 hr 00
Environment Studies 1 hr 30	History 1 hr. Geog. 1 hr
Health Education 2 hr 05 30
Writing 1 hr 30	Std. 1 1 hr 30 Std. 2 1 hr
Music 1 hr 30 1 hr
Arts and Crafts 1 hr	Std. 1 1 hr 45 Std. 2 1 hr
Gardening 1 hr	Art..... 1 hr
	Science..... 1 hr
<hr/>	<hr/>
26 hr 15	Std. 1 22 hr. 15 Std 2 23 hr 30

Geography – (Std 1 to 5)

The Transvaal Education Department stipulates that 1 hour per week should be spent on this subject whereas only about half an hour per week is allotted to it in the Bantu Education Department, the other hour being spent on History and Nature study. Obviously the Transvaal Education Department is able to cover far more work than the Bantu Education. The following subject matter is covered in Std. 1 by Transvaal Education Department, but only Std. 2 by Bantu Education Department. (The Bantu Education Department pupils are therefore 3 years behind T. Edc. Department pupils when the age restriction is added) ÷ Topography of the local area (in much greater detail than B. Edc.) Climate, Employment, Transport.

By the time the T. Edc. Department children complete Std. 2, they have been taken out of their home districts and have been introduced to a much larger area of their country and their world than the B. Edc. Department children, who have only learned briefly about the physical features of their province. Transvaal Education Department children have the Globe and World map and have learned about children of such adverse cultures as Eskomos, Pygmies, Arabs, Japanese and West Europeans. The Transvaal Education Department treatment of local areas is much fuller than that of the Bantu Education Department. The Transvaal Education Department pupils learn about five different types of farming: Stock, grain, fruit, tobacco and vegetables, and about mining, industries and fishing in a fair amount of detail. The subject matter is covered regardless of whether it actually occurs in the local area or not.

The Transvaal Education Department children are also introduced to working on their own on projects concerning the role of transport. They are introduced to the institutions in their area and to the services they render to the community.

Teachers' Guide: Bantu Education Department devotes six paragraphs to this, whereas the Transvaal Education devotes twelve pages to guidance for teachers.

The Aims: It is in comparing the aims of the Bantu Education and the Transvaal Education in teaching the subject that the largest gap is found. The aspirations and expectations of the Bantu Education pupils are confined to domestic matters only, whereas for the Transvaal Education pupils the World is their stage.

Compare. "The knowledge and skills gained by the use of these aids must have as their objective, the leading of the child to an understanding of news reports and events and to the knowledge of the place which he encounters constantly in his reading and discussions." **Transvaal Education Department**".

With: "At this stage the pupils' experience of life is determined largely by social and economic influences to which he is subjected within the community in which he lives and moves. The experience which he has within his community should serve as a basis and an understanding of any other experiences which he may have and which are not connected directly with the life of the community". **Bantu Education**".

Compare also: "The arousing maintaining and enriching of interest which relates to the knowledge of the earth and its peoples may be strengthened by means of

- Simple understanding of the interdependence of the different South African Population groups; some insights into social relations, population density, religion and customs . . .

- (b) a simple understanding of the interdependence of peoples and the accompanying international relationships and problems. "Transvaal Education Department".

With: "The pupil should realise that he is a member of a particular community and that he is bound by various ties to particular groups of people in that community, as they are represented, e.g. by his home, his school, church, residential area and his tribe. These groups serve him directly and indirectly and he in turn owes them loyalty and co-operation. At a later stage, larger loyalties can be developed." "Bantu Education".

White pupils are encouraged to get a "World view", blacks are not.

"The scope of this study is therefore his social economic, and natural and physical environment, since these aspects make up the "world" in which he lives and moves". "Bantu Education".

Compare the incompatibility of the following statements in the Bantu Education introduction of environment study:

"The following stages of observing, systematising or classifying should be quietly but consistently followed by the teacher, who must bear in mind constantly that she is gradually leading her pupils to develop their powers of thinking, reasoning and expression as well as of observation and appreciation".

"Furthermore she must realise that laws are necessary to the people of any community for harmonious living together. Consequently, teaching should lead the child to do naturally, and therefore willingly, what society has presented as correct, good and commendable."

No African child can accept that what society has prescribed for him in the way of Apartheid laws, Group Areas, Job Reservation, Homeland Government etc. are CORRECT, GOOD and Commendable" if he has developed his powers of thinking, reasoning and also his power of observation. This is a classic example of "EDUCATION FOR DOMESTICATION" and Soweto students and others are no longer willing to be "DOMESTICATED".

Arithmetic. The syllabuses for the first four years are identical.

History: There is very little history in the Bantu Education Department lower primary environmental study. In Std. 2 the children learn about two past heroes and these are the only persons with names that they learn about in two years, the other people being functionaries e.g. doctors, shopkeepers, factory workers etc. In contrast Transvaal Education Department pupils in Std 1 learn 16 stories about real persons in the past. In Std 2 they study the Transvaal in a fair amount of detail from the stone age until the present. They learn about the homes, customs and implements of the early dwellers of the Transvaal before the arrival of whites. They study the lives of rural Africans and the first contacts with whites – Missionaries, hunters, traders, travellers and the first Trekkers.

They have a choice of five groups of famous South Africans ranging from the discoverers of gold, authors, a painter (Pierneef), railway development (Machado and Pauling), Kruger Game Reserve (Kruger, Stevenson, Hamilton, Volhunter, and Orpen) an architect. (Baker), poets (Totius) and A. G. Visser) a sculptor (Anton Van Wouw).

They also learn about the following internationally famous people who have served mankind: Shaftesbury, Durrant Sr, Rowland Hill, Elizabeth Fry, Bell, Baden Powell.

As with Geography, it appears that the Africans are being educated for "DOMESTICATION" and their history is simply being withheld from them. The Transvaal Education Department history is horribly slanted but the children are at least made aware that there were famous people outside of South Africa.

General Comments:

Africans and whites write identical examinations at the end of Std 10. Where do Africans make up the gap in subjects like Geography and History?

Why is so much time devoted to the learning of English and Afrikaans? If English were, for example, used as the medium of instruction in the Primary Schools, the children would learn it naturally while they studied History, Geography, Arithmetic etc. and more time would have to be used for subjects like Geography and History, which are badly neglected in the present system.

The language issue will be handled elsewhere. But it needs mentioning here, because language policies affect the quality of teaching of Arithmetic, Mathematics and other subjects like Science. Because people have to be taught Arithmetic in the Primary Schools in their mother tongue, they are at a disadvantage when they enter Secondary School, because they cannot handle Mathematical concepts, which require an understanding of English and which cannot be adequately handled in an African language. Even at primary school level, words coined for use in the teaching of Arithmetic do not find a use in the normal spoken language. Many pupils, therefore, find Arithmetic difficult and unpleasant, and the difficulties thus generated at Primary School level by language problems are carried through to Mathematics at secondary school level. The resulting high failure rate at Junior and Matric in Mathematics is to the disadvantage of the black students who seek admission to technical and related fields. The difficulty of finding black students qualified to follow such courses is, therefore, directly related to language teaching in the primary school. Ultimately, political decisions about the use of language among pupils work their way into the later career development of young adults.

A child spends seven years in the primary school. For the first six years he uses a language unsuited to his adult needs. For those who survive to Matric, the last six years of their education are through the medium of English, but much of this time is spent in helping the pupil to use the language correctly, rather than in concentrating on developing and understanding of the subjects which are studied. Ultimately the pupil has a poor command of both English and Afrikaans and the individual subject. It is small wonder that many black children, even graduates, are at a disadvantage in communicating their ideas and developing a sophisticated understanding of concepts.

We therefore, strongly believe that English should be a medium of instruction from the first year at school. In short, we do not want to perpetuate tribal societies. As it is, the level of frustration generated by language difficulties is such that many fail to appreciate the use of continuing their education, and this finds its expression in the dropout rate. □

A SOUTH AFRICAN TRAGEDY

by Vortex

It was a time of destiny,
A time for patriotic fire:
The nation paused to watch what God
And their fellow-humans might require.

The scene was set in a brand-new place
In a brand-new country (specially made);
Thousands of pilgrims came to see
The foundation-stone of the future laid.

If all went well on this memorable day
The wrongs of the past would be proved right,
And all that had undermined the volk
Could be shown to be the result of spite.

The trial began, and at first looked good,
But gradually Fortune turned to Fate,
And then the catastrophe occurred:
Kallie Knoetze was numbed by Tate.

The nation mourned, with flags half-mast;
The Cabinet met to discuss the mess:
They slammed double standards in the West,
And blamed it all on the biased Press.

But the H.N.P. made a statement too:
The disaster showed they had been right —
In every sphere of South African life
A black should never challenge a white. □

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