

reality

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EDITORIAL

TRUST THE BANK

The Trust Bank has recently produced a 12-page pamphlet called 'Why You Should Stake Your Claim In Sunny South Africa'. It is designed to sell South Africa to (White) owners of capital, and (White) immigrants; it is glossy in appearance and full of confidence and enthusiasm; and it displays the same scrupulous and disinterested regard for accuracy and truth as one always expects to find in advertisements. We must concede, however, that it is somewhat lacking in detail and documentation; unkind critics might almost accuse it of vagueness or even evasiveness. In a spirit of disinterestedness equal to the Trust Bank's own, *Reality* offers these unattested declarations in support of the pamphlet's most significant assertions.

- South Africa ranks by all standards as one of the most attractive investment countries in the world (p.4)
 "I invested 45 years of my working life in this attractive economy. I now reap the remarkable dividend of a R5-per-month pension (paid every second month)

(signed) Z.Q. Xuma
- Our unique record of industrial peace is symptomatic of the peaceful co-existence of the various races in our country. Strikes of the order experienced in Europe, Britain and America are not known in South Africa (p.5).
 "We and our colleagues seldom strike; and this is absolutely and positively not because we will be arrested and imprisoned if we do. It is because we are perfectly satisfied with all our wages and conditions of work, and because we love our White employers."

(signed) X. Khumalo (Bus Driver)
 Z. Dhlamini (Dock Worker)
- A recent international survey of prices, costs and earnings, undertaken by a well-known Swiss Bank, indicated South Africa as one of the cheapest countries with the highest salaries in the world (p.8).
 "Our incomes are all below the minimum poverty line, but this survey proves to us that we are rich and comfortable".

(signed) Q.Z. Mtetwa and 90% of African workers.
- A prominent leader of the Indian Community has recently predicted that his people will achieve parity with the White population within the next 10 years (p. 8).
 "I stand by my clear, intelligible, meaningful and specific prediction."

(signed) Anonymus.

- Compared with the American Negro, the South African Bantu family already spends as much on items such as food, clothing, housing, transport, etc., as their counterpart in America. (p. 8).

"New York hospitals are crowded with Negro kwashiorkor patients".

(signed) Charles Diggs.

- True, there are still many 'imperfections' and lots of things South Africans themselves are not happy about and want to change. And changes for the better are in fact taking place (p. 5).

"The authorities welcome advice and criticism, and pay immediate and sympathetic attention to anyone who points out imperfections and injustices."

(signed) C. Desmond and 300 Cape Town students.

We hope this deals satisfactorily with the Trust Bank's credibility gap. □



LUTULI MEMORIAL SERVICE

by Alan Paton

On July 21st 1967 Albert Lutuli was struck down and killed by a train on a narrow railway bridge near his home. On July 23rd 1972 three thousand people gathered in the church at Groutville to attend a memorial service and to see Mrs. Nokukhanya Lutuli unveil the memorial stone which has been erected on his grave.

It was a church service which included prayers, worship, singing, speeches, even jokes. All white and Indian people had to obtain permits, because although the church stands on mission land, the short road to it runs through African reserve. These permits enjoined them to behave themselves with dignity, and to refrain from criticism of the Administration, the Government, or any of its officials.

These conditions were well obeyed. No one wanted particularly to criticise the Government and its officials. But from first to last there was a complete rejection, implicit and explicit of Apartheid, Separate Development, race discrimination of any kind whatever, and a complete condemnation of the injustices which are inseparable from these things. The permits were obeyed in the letter and totally ignored in the spirit.

ABSENCE OF FEAR

There was a complete absence of fear or hostility. The majority of the congregation was African, but there was a representative number of Coloured, Indian, and white people. Lutuli, and the memory of Lutuli, meant something to every person present. There was naturally not the same depth of emotion as there had been five years earlier. The congregation was quieter, but their beliefs and hopes were obviously the same as ever. It is true that the powers-that-be lash out just as viciously as they did five years ago, but there was no sign whatever that this inhibited the speakers or those who applauded them.

Mrs. Lutuli sat in the front row, where she had sat five years earlier, flanked by members of her family, including Dr. Albertine Ngakane from London. Mrs. Thulani Ngcabashe from the United States was not present, nor

her husband, nor Dr. Pascal Ngakane. Both sons-in-law had been refused visas to enter South Africa. As usual, Mrs. Lutuli was quiet and composed, serious for the most part, but smiling when there was a good story. Her face is that of one who has suffered and endured and never capitulated.

SECURITY POLICE

In 1967 the security police had sat conspicuously in the front of the church. In 1972 they were not immediately visible, certainly not from the platform. Their presence was not so palpably felt as it had been at the funeral. Why should that be? Were they behaving more considerately? Or were they more sure of themselves? Were they trying to behave less provocatively? Did they think that a memorial service was less dangerous than a funeral service? Not being in their confidence, I cannot answer these questions. Another thing was noticeable. A great deal of publicity had been given in the papers to the necessity for permits, but so far as my companions and myself could see, nobody was asked for one.

Several men — who quite obviously had been loyal adherents of Lutuli and therefore of the banned African National Congress, and who were dressed in a uniform of khaki shirt and long trousers, with beret, and carrying a flag of green and black — entered the church with stirring shouts of "Africa", "Mayibuye", and singing the song "We shall follow Lutuli." Since the Congress was banned, it has been illegal to display symbols, uniforms, flags, even photographs, which relate to it. Were these men breaking the law? Their uniforms and their flag were not identical with the uniforms and flag of the A.N.C. but there could hardly have been a person in the hall who did not understand that they were supposed to resemble the

originals. These men were repeating actions taken at the funeral service in 1967, and so far as I know no action was taken then.

One speaker seemed clearly to break the law. This was Mr. Sonny Leon, the leader of the Coloured Labour Party, who played portions of Lutuli's Nobel Peace Prize speech to the audience. According to Professor Tony Mathews, in his recent book *LAW, ORDER, AND LIBERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA*, not even the death of a restricted person lifts the ban on the publication of any of his utterances.

KEY SPEECH

The meeting under the presidency of the Rev. B.M.B. Ngidi, began with prayer, reading, and a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Hendrikse. The opening key speech was given by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. I quote from his speech, because it was of the same character as all that followed. He said of Lutuli:

He kindled a spark in men's hearts, he gave them the knowledge that God did not create second or third-class human beings, and by doing so Chief Lutuli struck fear in the hearts of all those who dehumanise and degrade other human beings for no earthly reason except that they were born with a pigmentation of skin different from their own.

For daring to stand for this he suffered the modern South African version of crucifixion.

That is what I mean when I say that speakers did not waste their time on the Administration and its officials. But they condemned utterly the system that the Administration and its officials were trying to administer. Chief Buthelezi struck a grave note which was to be struck again by others. Warning against the growing drift to violence, he said that if disaster overtook South Africa, the country — and by that he must have meant white authority — would be harshly judged because what Lutuli stood for had been "ignored for the sake of political expediency."

WELCOME

Chief Gatsha received a warm welcome and much applause. It is true that he is the chief executive of the new country of Kwa Zulu, it is true that he is involved in a white-conceived machinery, yet he has made it crystal clear — except to those who will not hear — that he does not believe in it, but that he believes it is his duty to act thus for his people. People who choose the lesser of two evils do not commend themselves to the adherents of the all-or-nothing school. In honesty we must return to this topic later.

I shall not weary the reader by writing about all the speeches. There were thirteen of them, and thirteen is enough. The speakers were there by Mrs. Lutuli's invitation, and she was no doubt assisted by advisers, but the choices were approved by her. There was Edgar Brookes, one time head of Adams College, Senator representing Africans, and National Chairman of the Liberal Party. Then the venerable Rev. Sivetye telling the story of Lutuli's life. Then Archbishop Hurley, followed by myself. Then Paul Pretorius, the President of the National Union of South African Students, who had elected Lutuli their Honorary President although he was *persona non grata* with the Government. The speeches were interspersed with songs from choirs; of the Durban African Teachers' Choir, one can only say that it is magnificent, of world class.

SELBY MSIMANG

Eighty-six year old Selby Msimang, a veteran of the A.N.C., one time colleague of Lutuli, Matthews, Xuma, Mosaka, and others on the ill-fated Natives Representative Council, one time office-bearer in the outlawed Liberal Party, said of white South Africa: "She has no peace. She is in perpetual fear Every white man and woman has to undergo intensive military training for an imaginary war." He was much applauded, as was Mr. Simelane, a colleague of Lutuli in the A.N.C., banned at the time of the funeral but now free to speak. It fills one with wonder that persons who keep silent when they are banned, speak the plain and simple truth when their ban expires. Then Sonny Leon who played his tape. Then Mr. Mayet, presumably to represent the Indian community; but why was the newly-resurrected Indian Congress not invited?

An unexpected speaker was Mrs. Helen Suzman, who had come specially from Johannesburg. The Rev. B.M.B. Ngidi, the presiding minister, asked the congregation to stand to honour her, and it did so willingly.

The service was closed by Bishop Zulu, the benediction, Nkosi Sikelela, and Morena Boloka. Then we went to the graveyard to see the unveiling. This I cannot report upon, for I was unable to see anything. The crowd pressed round the stone, and how Mrs. Lutuli and her daughter Mrs. Goba found room to unveil it, I do not know. It was a pity that the stone had not been effectively cordoned off.

I have written that the grave and sombre note was sounded several times. Lutuli's dream was of one South Africa, a society open to all. Is the dream being made unrealisable by present events? Has white South Africa in its passion to preserve itself already destroyed itself, and by its cruel laws alienated black South Africa for ever? And must there therefore be war to the death? Nobody knows the answer to these questions.

CONFLICT

I wrote earlier that I must in honesty refer to the conflict between the pragmatists and the all-or-nothing diehards. One thing was noticeable. The new militant black body, the South African Students Organisation, was not represented. Why should they come, to stand on the same platform as Gatsha Buthelezi who is helping the white Government "to give some kind of authenticity to their lie?" Or Sonny Leon, who uses the machinery of the Coloured Representative Council? Or Edgar Brookes, or myself, white liberals who blunt the edge of revolution?

Will this attitude become more and more prevalent? The answer I think is Yes. Will it become predominant? The answer is I don't know. Judging by two things alone, the welcome to Buthelezi, and the applause for Helen Suzman, the congregation at Groutville still upheld Lutuli's dream of one South Africa, a society open to all.

What hope there is for relatively peaceful change, who knows? I tried to end my own address — otherwise grave — on the note of hope. I used as my theme one of Lutuli's own themes, the lifetime of knocking on a door that would not open.

Lutuli was a Christian, and one of the best-known sayings of Jesus is "knock and it shall be opened unto you." Yet how, and when, not one of us knows. But of one thing we may be certain, that time is coming.

So came to an end a great day, worthy of the man whose memory we honoured. Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika.□

UNVEILING OF THE ALBERT LUTULI TOMBSTONE

(One of the speeches made at Groutville on Sunday, July 23rd. 1972)

by Alan Paton

Mrs. Lutuli and those members of the family who are able to be present, I thank you for the honour of being asked to say a few words on this memorial occasion. I shall say a few words about the man whose memory we honour, and I am sure he would not mind that. But I should like to say a few words also about the work to which he gave so much of his life. I think he would like me to do that, because that work was close to his heart, and it is not yet finished. How much of it is done, no one of us knows. There are some people who think none of it is done, but that I do not believe. There are other people who think that the end of the work is near. That we do not know. We are not able to tell what the future will be. But there is one thing we are able to do, and that is to work for the future we desire.

There was a great writer in Europe called Franz Kafka. He wrote a famous book called THE TRIAL. There a man from the country comes to the city to look for justice. He goes to where justice should be, to the court of law. He knocks on the door, but the doorkeeper will not open for him. There he sits, day after day, month after month, year after year. And he goes on knocking on the door. But it is never opened for him.

For the greater part of his life Lutuli knocked patiently on a door. But it was never opened to him. Yet that was the work of his life, to knock on that door. And it has been, and is, and will be, the work of many of those who are here today.

ALL LITERATURE

I use this figure of knocking on a door because it is simple. Also because it is found in all the literature of the world. It does not mean just standing, with your hat in your hand, waiting hopelessly for someone to open. It means work, planning, organising. It means courage, resolution, devotion. It means patience, persistence, and a great strength of spirit. It means speaking, writing, persuading. It means trying to be the kind of person that Lutuli was. It means carrying on the work that Lutuli tried to do.

What is the use of spending most of your life knocking at a door that is never opened? Some people say it is of no use at all. I want to say to you today – and the Chief would wish me to say it – that this is not true. How you live your life is a thing of great importance. In a country such as ours how you live your life is a thing of great importance to many other people. If Lutuli had given it up, if he had stopped knocking on that door, we would not be here today to honour his memory.

There are two sides to this door. There is the outside on which Lutuli was knocking. There is the inside where sit the rulers, the men of power, who will not open. Sometimes we think that the ones who knock have no freedom. We think it is the ones inside who are free. What freedom is there to live in a house or room, and to be afraid to let anyone enter?

A MAN IS KNOCKING

Fourteen years ago I wrote some words for my white brother. I went to my brother and said, "Brother, a man is knocking at the door." My brother said, "Is he a friend or an enemy?" I said to my brother, "I have asked him and he says, you will not know, you cannot know, until you have opened the door." "There you are, my brother. You will never know if the man outside is a friend or an enemy until you open the door. But if you do not open the door, you can be sure what he will be".

There are already those who say that it is a waste of time to knock on the door. They say you must bring battering-rams and axes and break it down. That this will happen in the future, I cannot say. But that it may happen is nothing but the truth.

I am sorry to speak these grave words to you. But the longer they take to open the door, the harder they will find it to open. Meanwhile they have opened other doors, small doors, unimportant doors, that lead to small places, unimportant places, what one might call the servants' quarters. That isn't the door that Lutuli meant. He meant the door that would let him enter as a son of the house.

HE USED TO SAY . . .

He used to say – but of course the law says I cannot tell you what he used to say – although he has been gone from us these five years – so I shall tell you what he used to believe. He believed that this country – this country of South Africa – not Kwazulu or the Transkei or Vandaland – belonged to him, just as much as he believed that it belonged to you and me. Many of us remember that in 1959 when his restrictions were lifted, he went all over the country, and his leadership was accepted by many white people. So powerful was his voice, that he had to be silenced again. One thing is sure, that the day is coming when that voice will be heard again, and the voices of those who silenced him will be forgotten.

COMING TO AN END

I have one last thing to say. We are living in grave times. The rule of white supremacy is coming to its end. But it is often when the rule of rulers is coming to an end that they are most cruel to those they rule. We must be prepared for that. We all know that there are South Africans who have either left their country or intend to leave it. They want

the air of freedom, they want freedom for their children. Some of them have suffered, and they do not feel able to suffer any more. It is not for me to pass any judgement on them. But my closing words must be for those who cannot leave, who will not leave, who have duties to do here that they feel they must perform.

In our late Chief we have an example to follow. He was not allowed to use his great gifts in the service of his country. He was not allowed to use his great voice to speak the words of truth and honour. He was punished for his vision of a country that would be the one home of us all. Yet he persisted. And the way in which we can best honour his memory, is not to come here and make speeches and listen to speeches, but to carry on his work with the same courage and devotion.

Lutuli was a Christian, and one of the best-known sayings of Jesus is “knock and it shall be opened unto you.” How, when, not one of us knows. But of one thing we may be certain, that time is coming.

Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.□

CALM, OBJECTIVE — AND UNNERVING

(A review of “Labour in the South African Gold Mines : 1911-1960”, by Francis Wilson, C.U. Press)

by Mike Murphy.

Dr. Wilson clearly outlines the purpose of his new book on the first page of the preface:

“In this book I have focused on *one* sector of a complex and fascinating economy in the hope that, from the depths of a detailed case study some useful insights may emerge which would enable us to *understand* this particular society a little better than before.” (Emphasis added.)

He goes on to add that

“. . . the development of the gold mines has probably done more than any other industry to shape the structure of the whole South African labour market into the form in which it exists today.”

and on page 13:

“Indeed, for their labour policy in all sectors of the economy, the Architects of Apartheid have taken the gold mining industry as their model.”

Dr. Wilson does not attempt in his book to make moral judgement on the economic facts which he has researched, collected and systematically organised. His intention is to present the facts as clearly and objectively as possible and allow the reader to judge the morals of the situation for himself. The tone of the book is consequently very “cool”. His reaction, for instance, to the tables and calculations which he presents to demonstrate that Black miners’ wages have probably *dropped* in real terms over the period 1911-1969, is not to denounce the Chamber of Mines but to enquire what the economic and sociological forces are that have brought about this situation.

“Labour in the Gold Mines” is not a long book – the last chapter concludes on page 155 – but it is well structured and logically developed, jargon has been almost completely avoided and the style used is straightforward so that a wealth of information has been gathered into a very small space. The average person who is interested enough to commence reading the book should be able to read and understand everything except the very occasional stray phrase of jargon, though some patience is demanded of those who have little or no knowledge of statistics in unravelling a number of the graphic illustrations. 40 odd pages of tabular information are appended to the book. Dr. Wilson has thus avoided cramming the text with somewhat esoteric data and yet succeeded in providing added depth for the more specialised reader.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Chapter 1 gives the historical background of labour control in South Africa. Wilson points out that Nationalist accession in 1948 and the subsequent laws must be seen as an intensification of traditional controls, rather than a sudden change of policy. He demonstrates also the power of the mining financiers to make laws suiting their interests. Cecil Rhodes’ introduction of the Glen Grey Bill to Parliament in 1897 is an instance of this – Rhodes was Prime Minister at the time as well as chief mining magnate:

“You will remove them (The Natives) from that life of sloth and laziness, you will teach them the dignity of labour and make them contribute to the prosperity of the State, and make them give some return for our wise and good government.”

Cape of Good Hope, Hansard, 1899, page 362.)

The second major factor in labour control, the power of the white mine-workers, was demonstrated in the crisis of 1921. The riots and bloodshed of the Rand white mineworkers’ revolt after the Chamber of Mines had cut wages because of the drop in the gold price is crucial to an understanding of the enormous pressure exerted subsequently by the White miners’ trade unions. As Wilson stresses, the White mine workers lost the strike but won the war. The threat of violence became a constant in the Chamber of Mines’ negotiations with white mineworkers, to the detriment of black mine workers’ interests. The failure of the strike called by the African Mineworkers Union in 1946, which was ruthlessly suppressed (in some instances Blacks were forced back to work at bayonet point) brought about the collapse of all Union activity among Black miners. The Chamber of Mines in an official statement refused to recognise organised bargaining rights for Blacks:

“... the Gold Mining Industry considers that trade unionism as practised by Europeans is still beyond the understanding of tribal Native . . .”

**“Tribal Natives and Trade Unionism”
(Transvaal Chamber of Mines, Johannesburg, 1946)**

Prime Minister Smut’s comment at the time was, “The Native Strike was not caused by legitimate grievances, but by agitators.” Since 1946 the attitude of the Industry and the Government has not changed in respect of this.

PHYSICAL AND FINANCIAL

Dr. Wilson devotes quite a long chapter to an explanation of the physical and financial aspects of Gold Mining. He describes various operations that take place underground,

both from the point of view of the miners drilling at the stope face as well as from the point of view of the planners who have to solve intricate problems of layout in developing a mine. It is made quite clear that gold mining is something of a gamble, depending for its success on the skill and precision of planners and miners. The battle against rising costs and the threat of falling profit margins is elucidated in sections on the organisation of the industry, showing how power is concentrated in a system of interlocking directorships, how the mining finance houses relate to each other in size, how the government calculates its tax requisitions and so on.

After this extensive background which the author has provided, the reader is in an excellent position to benefit to the utmost from the next five chapters, which are the core of the book.

The chapter entitled “Earnings” details the structure of black and white wages and how the ratio has changed over the years (from e.g. a white-black ratio of 11, 7:1 in 1911 to the 20, 1:1 ratio in 1969.) Dr. Wilson, then examines the Mining Houses’ claims regarding payment of wages in kind. Through his scrupulously fair and meticulous analysis, it becomes evident that the Whites’ earnings in kind are in no way inferior to those of the Blacks. Calculating with white cash earnings and black cash earnings, the 1969 white/black earnings gap is still 17, 9:1.

In analysing the supply of labour available, the author shows how the sources of labour have changed over the years, and explains in economic terms why the mines have found it profitable to recruit far afield to avoid having to compete with manufacturing industry for the local labour supply. **One of the most revealing graphical illustrations in the book shows how demand for labour is controlled by the colour bar (so jealously guarded by the White-mineworkers.) In terms of the power of the white trade unions and the need to cut costs the Chamber of Mines is “obliged” to introduce mechanization to replace the cheap black labour rather than the expensive white labour. Job reservation on the mines (together with the traditional black/white worker ratio, as rigorously defended by whites) has tended to create an artificial shortage of skilled workers which has forced white salaries up and held black wages down.**

Dr. Wilson suggests that it is only really during the 60’s that interest has been shown in the black worker as an individual who can be trained to greater efficiency. Aptitude tests and in-service training have been greatly expanded as a result. The main obstacle to the effective utilisation of “human capital” is the migratory labour system. Obviously, one does not train a man who is going to disappear after a year more than is absolutely necessary. However, Dr. Wilson offers some extremely relevant comparisons with other countries, notably Zambia, where the transition from a migratory labour force to a permanently-domiciled worker body has immensely benefitted both the mining industry and the workers involved.

There is no *one* reason why labourers are willing to leave their homes and sell their labour in some far off place. For Blacks from Mozambique and “the tropics” the main motive would appear to be an attempt to *improve* a standard of living which is above the local P.D.L. already, for in these areas the living off the land is still an adequate form of sustenance. South African blacks, however, would appear to be *obliged* to seek work in the mines or watch

their families starve in the grossly overcrowded "homelands" where the living off the land can supply only about 50% of a family's needs.

IMPORTANCE OF MIGRANTS

The importance of migratory labour for the mines is amply demonstrated in the chapter "Interaction of Forces" perhaps the most fascinating and illuminating of all. Before the 1930's the collusion between the mining finance houses to keep down black wages started because the mining houses were competing with each other for the limited supply of labour available. A company could raise wages and obtain extra labour at the expense of other companies, but this would create an atmosphere of escalating costs as each company strove to outbid the others. **Instead of doing this, the companies colluded against black labour so that wages tended to settle at a uniform low level. Some under-the-table bargaining went on in that some mines would try to attract labour from other mines by "secretly" offering various payments in kind, but this was more or less condoned by the companies because it was a much slower and less dangerous process than open competition in wages.**

After the 1930's, expansion of manufacturing industries posed a serious problem as regards the labour supply. In normal market circumstances collusion would have broken down at this juncture, but various *legislations* enabled the mines to isolate their labour from the competing sector. Both the pass laws and passport control favoured the mines at the expense of the manufacturing sector. The influx laws whereby the government "repatriated" unemployed blacks in towns, either inside or outside of the Union, was tacitly admitted as being an important factor in the sharp increase in labour supply by the "Mining Journal" in 1959. The Journal added, most significantly,

"Once repatriated, it is possible for the natives to apply for work on the mines."

The graphs presented by the author to elucidate the collusion are particularly informative, and the supporting textual comment throws much light on recent developments, such as Anglo-American's pressure against the collusion after 1967.

In the concluding chapter, entitled "Implications", Dr. Wilson emphasizes that to solve the problem of poverty in South Africa it is not enough to increase the size of the national cake. The evidence presented by a study of the gold mines indicates that unless the question of equitable distribution is satisfactorily answered, the gap between rich and poor will simply increase, no matter how large the national cake becomes. Dr. Wilson comes out strongly in favour of effective bargaining organisations for blacks:

"The existence of trade unions would, I submit, ease the process of historical change which if it continues to be bottled up can surely do nothing but explode." (page 151)

1967 AGREEMENT

The June 1967 agreement whereby the white miners gain the lion's share of the benefit from increased productivity resulting, not from the white miners' harder work, but from the employment of blacks in jobs formerly denied them simply points to the power of the white Trade Unions. Neither the government nor the Chamber of Mines has the power to increase black wages at the expense of white increases. Only a recognised Black Trade Union could effectively oppose White Trade Unions and stand for the interests of Black Miners.



Drilling at stope face

The author discusses the pros and cons of a minimum wage legislation and comes out in its support, though he emphasizes that such a legislation would only be part of the solution to the problem. Economic problems have their roots in the various structures of society and Dr. Wilson concludes his list of proposals by suggesting that South Africa's educational structure must be altered so that it does not discriminate against those who are not white.

"Labour in the Goldmines" quite definitely succeeds in doing what it was intended to do, namely increase the reader's understanding of the situation. The dispassionate way in which the facts are presented provides the text

with an eloquence from which the use of rhetoric, however justified, could only have detracted. **In the final analysis, the picture presented is indeed a bleak one. Black Labour is being grossly exploited on the gold mines, and there is precious little that can be done about it in terms of the relative powerlessness of both Government and Chamber of Mines when confronted by organised white labour. In the present political situation, given the prejudices and short-sightedness of white interest blocs, none of Dr. Wilson's proposals is at all likely to be acceptable. It is quite unnerving to find such a calm, objective analysis leading one to the conclusion that the only way out of the impasse appears to be an increasing black/white polarization followed by confrontation and, probably, widespread violence.**□

AFRICAN HISTORY IN SOUTH AFRICA

by Andy Manson

The serious study of the history of the pre-literate peoples of Southern Africa began after the Second World War with the foundation of new Universities in many of the Colonial territories and with the beginnings of an increased flow of students from Africa to the Universities of Europe and North America. These developments in the words of Professor Roland Oliver, placed University teachers of history, particularly those taking up posts in the new African Universities "under pressure to develop a kind of historical education relevant to the needs of African students".¹

From these beginnings there developed what Oliver called "a career pattern". Young history graduates in the Universities of Europe and America turned to specialisation in African history, seeing in such specialisation a path to academic posts in African Universities, from which in turn they might return to work in American or European Universities.

In South Africa, this pressure to develop a historical education relevant to the needs of African students was needless to say, not experienced. University education remained geared to the needs and interests of a white-dominated society. The establishment of ethnic universities — in themselves an expression of an albo-centric society — did nothing to change established thinking. Because the syllabi at S.A. Universities remained the conventional ones — Ancient, Medieval and Modern European history plus a little S.A. history and English history — young graduates gave no thought to the emerging schools of African history; instead they followed the conventional path of specialisation in European and British history.

PLAYED NO PART

Thus the country with the most sophisticated traditions of historical scholarship in Africa failed to play any part in the creation of the new African historiography. So the African historians were caught up in a self-perpetuating tradition of scholarship that left them largely oblivious of the transforming developments that were occurring elsewhere. What could be the reasons for this failure? .

Undoubtedly a significant reason is found in the historiographical traditions of this country. Until recently the central argument of Afrikaner historiography was anglophobic, and woven into this negrophobic, in content. That the attack was negrophobic as well was completely incidental; it was not because White English-speaking historians shared a pro-African bias. Indeed the early English writers (G.M. Theal and G. Cory) were just as reluctant to regard the coloured races as worthy of sympathetic consideration as the Afrikaners were. More recently, however, the line of Afrikaner historiography has moved into a more direct attack on Africans. **This is**

due to the diminution of British influence in South Africa, the rise of African nationalism and the rise of a liberal school of South African historians such as J.S. Marais, W. Macmillan and Leonard Thompson.

INHERENT DIFFERENCES

Gustav Preller, a leading Afrikaans historian of the inter-war period, asserted that modern science had proved that there are inherent and unchangeable differences of quality, intellect and moral stamina between the races. This theme was pursued by J.A. Coetzee and P. van Biljon and expanded by G. Cronje, a sociologist at the University of Pretoria. For Cronje racial differences are a natural phenomenon. God keeps the races apart, South Africa should be ruled only by Afrikaners; the Whites, Coloured and Africans should be separated socially and in terms of land; Asians should be sent out of the country². Thus Cronje (1947) attempted to give historical basis to the policy of apartheid. Later publications began to distort the truth. N.J. Rhoadie and H.J. Venter³ claimed that the official, the sailor, the soldier, and the casual visitor to South Africa were the only white progenitors of the Cape Coloured peoples. In fact the Bastards, some of whom were later known as Griquas, were the product of miscegenation between the trekboers and Hottentot women. They also claimed that the Boers had a stronger aboriginal claim to this country than the Bantu. This is untrue. Monica Wilson has shown that Africans were in the Cape in the mid-fourteenth century⁴. It is an unfortunate trait of much Afrikaner Nationalist historiography that it cannot distinguish between myth and fact.

Even the most modern of Afrikaans general history books tend to see five-sixths of S.A.'s inhabitants as non-population⁵. "500 years — a history of South Africa" is an example. This is ludicrous. How can the Trek or the expansion into Natal be seen unless the Difaquane (tribal dispersions after Shaka) and its repercussions are analysed? How can one comprehend the basis of the Bantustan in the Transkei if African resistance to white encroachment on the eastern frontier is passed over as "Kaffir Wars 1 to 9"? How can the nature of industrialisation in S.A. be studied if the role of the black worker is left unexamined? Yet "500 years" pays precious little attention to those matters.

STEREOTYPED

In this same book (printed in 1969) Rhodes and Kruger are seen as stereotyped characters (one the bad Imperialist-Capitalist, the other the good unifier of Afrikaners.) The reason for this, one feels, is not because the author has not read the evidence rejecting such a view (e.g. Blainey's "Lost Causes of the Jameson Raid") but because this interpretation best fits his concept of history as people struggling to retain a corporate identity. It typifies the Afrikaners' unconscious acceptance that when racial groups meet there is little or no interaction. Interestingly this book omits many of the more controversial subjects of Afrikaner nationalism, such as the Broederbond. This somewhat ambiguous attitude is, one feels, part of the current attempt (proved somewhat spurious by events preceding the Brakpan election) to smooth over differences between English and Afrikaner in an effort to unify white opinion.

BLIND

The point of all this is to show that many (but by no means all) Afrikaans historians are blind to the general pattern of South African history — to the interaction of

South Africa's diverse peoples as opposed to their separation.

With these historiographical traditions it is not surprising that many South African (and particularly Afrikaans) historians have given little consideration to African history.

Such a vision is tragically myopic, for Afrikaner historians will only understand the history of their own communities when they learn to take the history of Black Africans seriously. For similarities between the two are striking. Both were small-scale closely knit communities, based on a subsistence agriculture, with wealth based on cattle. Both were egalitarian and tended to fragment easily along lines of kinship. State formation was common to both. Both were dependent on outsiders for trade in basic supplies and luxuries, and neither had the money or technical expertise to develop the mineral wealth of South Africa discovered in the late nineteenth century. Both had to face the problem of resistance or collaboration with the mightier British Empire and both had to face rural impoverishment and adapt to an industrial environment. So much could be learnt from comparative study, yet so much South African history has remained hidebound by its refusal to acknowledge the roles played by all the race groups.

SEPARATENESS

Of course the crystallisation of apartheid "justified" by much Afrikaans historical writing, has made the basic acceptance of another racial group's history, so much the harder. One need not dwell on this save to mention that the idea of racial "separateness" has become entrenched in the schools. Consider the general policy preamble to the latest report on Differential education.⁵

"The South African attitude to life, is characterised, among other things, by striving after the *retention of identity*, which implies that the South African national groups must, in the first place, retain, preserve and amplify their identities *This national characteristic attitude to life is of a Christian nature* In view of this it is the aspiration of the white population to *guard their identity* without sacrificing the necessary respect of the other national groups and the granting of reasonable living conditions to them." (our italics) What alarming paternalism and vagueness we find in this last sentence. Obviously one should not look to a South African School history syllabus to get a balanced view of the history of all the racial groups.

Thus the tradition of Afrikaner Nationalist historiography and the history in S.A. schools is entirely in conflict with the OXFORD HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA'S view of S.A. history as the "interaction between peoples of diverse origins, languages, technologies, ideologies and social systems, meeting on South African soil."⁶ It comes as little surprise then, that the writing of African history in South Africa is only a relatively recent development.

PROGRESS

However progress is being made. African pre-history and tribal histories are being researched and written up by many scholars at the English-speaking Universities. The study of Sociology, Anthropology and Archaeology has reached the stage where it is possible to reconstruct South Africa's history before the coming of the white man. A course in African pre-history is now available at the

University of Natal. A body of committed academics, such as Professors Mason, Inskip, Wilson and Webb are leading the field in the production of accurate information regarding South Africa's past. Moreover their work lacks the impassioned political overtones that have been discernible in the criticism and work of several European and American Africanists. Whereas their work has been conducted in the face of indifference and hostility from Research Centres in South Africa, the American or European scholar is given much more encouragement to research. Furthermore their work lacks the embarrassingly paternalistic tone that often characterises overseas scholarship. Thus even if South Africans are late in researching African history in South Africa, one is gratified by the hope that this work will stem from a genuine interest and commitment to South African history as a whole. I am not suggesting that all British and American scholars lack integrity; far from it, but many histories of African societies have been written for dubious reasons: often for the self-interested, furtherance of a career.

BLACK HISTORIANS

Black South African historians have had little opportunity to investigate their own history. University syllabi and lack of research facilities have severely handicapped those who might take an interest in the subject. Outside of South Africa African historians are now producing good histories of Africa. In most cases the backlash from colonialism and political and economic suppression is absent from their work and the deliberate denigration of the White man's activities in Africa is no longer a feature of their writing. When Black South African historians finally come to write their own histories it is to be expected that there will be a tone of self-justification about their work; such is the perversity of the apartheid system in general and, the Extension of the Universities Act in particular.

The new Africanist historians in South Africa appear to be determined that the increase in the study of African history will not lead to an exaggerated view of this history. Consequently many are unwilling to lessen the amount of world history included in the University syllabi. Nearly all English-speaking Universities include British and European history in their courses. Consequently when African history is introduced at University level it will be seen in the perspective of world history. This, on the whole is fairly commendable. However, Universities are committed to producing teachers and such University history has to follow the School syllabus. The amount of African history in such syllabi is pitifully small and this remains a stumbling block to the teaching of African history at University level.

However at the moment there are over 100 syllabus Committees meeting in the Republic and a draft issue of one of the History syllabus committees included a good deal more African history than there has been in the past. It is, at least an indication that the study of African history is being recognised as a necessity. Still, the syllabus Committees by no means have the final word.

PROBLEMS

Another good reason why African history should not be introduced comprehensively is because it contains problems which are not normally contained in other branches of history. In African history one cannot rely on written material and other sources of information have to be used. Briefly these sources of information include:

- a) Archaeology – this is possibly the most useful source but is still, relatively, in its infancy in South Africa.
- b) Botany has given us an idea of previous botanical structure in South Africa and provides clues to the development of food production.
- c) Linguistics helps us to trace the movements of peoples by a study of languages. Assisted by the existence of a distinct linguistic relationship between many African groups the extent of a people's dependence on one another and the nature of this relationship can be studied.
- d) Ethnography or the study of contemporary cultures makes it possible to see what cultural traditions remain in a society and what practices have been dropped.
- e) Oral tradition. This has to be properly verified and synthesised before it can be accepted.

The study of African history requires some knowledge of these disciplines and so the introduction of such a course requires some discrimination. For example, first year University students may not be able to handle this type of course.

In this article I have tried to show why African history in South Africa has been so slow in developing, the changes that are taking place and the commendable nature of this change, and why African history needs to be introduced carefully. This might suggest that South African historians stand a better chance of producing a lively and objective African historiography. To some extent I am suggesting this. **In the long run however the future for African history in South Africa looks very bleak for apartheid creates a society and institutions which destroy the foundations from which history needs to operate successfully. Until there is some change of heart African history can never come to real fruition in this country.**□

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REMOVALS

by David Hemson

'Awakening on Friday morning, 20 June 1913, the South African Native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth.' Sol Plaatje, author and veteran of the African National Congress wrote these words in 1915. He said that the revolutionary changes in the lives of African people were not realized until the end of June when many farm tenancy agreements expired.

For many Africans, the realisation that they would have to move has come quite recently.

The increased intensity of the Government's resolve towards full 'separate development' has entailed the removal of hundreds of thousands of black people, placing increased pressure on the African reserves.

The original Land Act of 1913 has been reinforced by subsequent legislation, particularly the Bantu Trust and Land Act of 1936, and the government's aim is to 'Iron out the anomalies' in their drive toward total territorial separation.

WAR

Over the years the sequences of the process of removing Africans from lands which have been occupied by them for centuries has become plain. Control over the land had been brought about by war, and the spoils distributed to the white settlers who formed the basis of the frontier militia. In the beginning most of the settlers acted more as rentiers than as farmers, but with the growth of urban markets the large scale farms were stimulated to produce for these markets. The farm economy was initially built on the surplus labour of the African tenants who have been reduced to a form of serfdom, but with the growth of capital intensive agriculture this labour is now redundant. **Despite the capital intensive agriculture, however, the farming sector remains politically paramount and labour control has become a duty of the state in the interests of the idealised small farmer. It is from the agricultural sector in the main that the occupants of the dumping grounds will be coming.**

To deal firstly with war and land allocation. During the wars of colonisation against the Xhosa and Zulu people in particular, after military victory huge tracts of land were handed over to white settlers. The white colonists, often thoroughly ignorant of the past history of land ownership and African laws and concepts governing the use of land defended their farms with great tenacity against the 'Kaffir hordes'. Every war brought further confiscation of land, and further schemes for colonisation.

The process is best illustrated in the history of land ownership in Zululand.

ZULULAND

In 1843 the British Commissioner agreed with Mpande that the Tugela and Buffalo rivers should form the north eastern boundary between Natal and Zululand. In 1855 trouble began when a group of farmers, led by one Cornelius van Rooyen, who had been given grazing rights in what is now the Utrecht area, claimed the territory as their own and spread abroad the incredible story that they had purchased the land from Mpande for a hundred head of cattle and produced a spurious document in support of their claim which they alleged to have been signed by him.

In addition to this unlawful seizure of land the Boers were encroaching on the northern border of Zululand and were reported to be erecting a line of beacons which penetrated deep into Zulu territory.

The Zulus protested to the British authorities in 1861 but their attempts to get justice were frustrated until 1878 when a Commission found that **'there had been no cession of land at all by the Zulu King, past or present, or by the Zulu nation. Permission had only been given to squat and the land was looked on as belonging to the squatter for only so long as he occupied it, for the Zulu nation acknowledge no individual title to any land whatsoever.'**

The report of the enquiry was, however, withheld from Cetshwayo. The British annexed the Transvaal and the new British Transvaal Government now allocated this disputed territory to the Boers. All they had to do now was to claim their farms, which they would then occupy under British guarantee.

In this way land which had been allocated to the Zulus by the Border Commission would eventually be taken away from them in spite of the Commission's findings that the Boers had no claim to the territory.

After the British war against the Zulus in 1878 they were robbed of 2 260 260 acres of land by a band of 'freebooters' who took advantage of the military defeat. These areas include Vryheid, Babanango, and Louwsberg magisterial districts, as well as the farm lands in the Melmoth district which were the best part of Zululand.

When Zululand was finally declared British territory it was agreed that no colonist would be permitted to settle in the area. Following the World Wars, however, soldiers have been given large tracts as a type of compensation. Zululand, once pledged to be protected against the intrusion of white settlers now has an aristocracy of sugar farmers.

TRANSVAAL AND FREE STATE

Conditions were rather different in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State where firm measures were demanded to control Africans on Farm land, and where the occupancy of land was rather different. After the Land Act of 1913 the commissions which followed delimited 'white' and 'native' areas which had previously not been under definite and continuous ownership. Whites were finally apportioned 87 per cent of the land, and Africans 13 per cent.

One of the primary objects of the Act was to secure greater control over the black people living in areas 'owned' by white farmers.

After the South African war the Boer people were impoverished by the great destruction of the British armies, and many were forced to migrate from their land to the mines. African foremen were left in control of the farms, and were largely responsible for the increased agricultural output after the war. These farms were operated on the half-share system which allowed the African farmers half the produce of the land for their labour.

As these share-croppers brought the land into production in many areas they earned enough to buy the land for themselves. But more importantly, tribal communities would pool their resources and then have enough money to buy back land which had been confiscated by the military or simply occupied by white farmers.

Mr. Pixley ka Isaka Seme negotiated the purchase of a block of four farms in the Wakkerstroom District in the Transvaal for the Bakgoloke tribe displaced in the Free State. General Hertzog raised the cry of 'black peril' and the nervous Minister of Native Affairs, J.W. Sauer, introduced the Land Act in 1913 to bring this redistribution of land to a halt. At the time of its enactment there were loud complaints that the tribes were offering higher prices for land than whites. Figures presented in Parliament showed that Africans had purchased 162 512 morgen from 1909 to 1912. As Merriman urged the white representatives, 'every good government should set its face against communal purchase'. Tribal organisation was proving dangerously resilient in a new set of circumstances.

TIGHT CONTROL

The other major aspect of the legislation was to tighten control over the Africans living on land 'owned' by white farmers.

This would prove a difficult problem. As the Minister of Native Affairs, Sauer, said: 'Although many people were there illegally it would be very difficult indeed to deal with some of these people who were squatters on land which they and their ancestors had occupied for 60 to 70 years'. That was the case in the Transvaal and in Natal. Some of them had been there from time immemorial, long before the white man.

'In such cases these people were only technically squatters and they had a right to a full and fair consideration when they came to deal with them.'

In fact the legislation had the effect of turning squatters into labour tenants and destroying the independence of the share-cropper. White farmers were given the power of turning squatters and labour tenants off the land.

Sol Plaatje recorded the desperate trekking of these people who went from farm to farm pleading with the white farmers to take them on as labour tenants. Often their livestock and possessions were sold off at very low prices.

This process which started in 1913 has continued with varying degrees of pressure up to today and has been described by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi as 'the great Black trek'.

FUTURE OCCUPANTS

These people are the future occupants of the resettlement camps, as well as the aged, disabled persons, widows and women with dependent children, other 'superfluous Bantu', and owners and residents of privately owned African land and mission stations.

The condition in which people have been moved and the desperate situations in the resettlement camps have been documented by a long succession of courageous persons, among them Peter Brown, H. Selby Msimang, John Aitchison, white journalists, Cosmas Desmond, and now David Russell.

For years these people have been providing the information, on unemployment, repression, disease rates, and starvation. For their courage most have earned banning orders.

When the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Dr. P.J.G. Koornhof, saw these conditions in September 1971 he said: 'Something must be done and done soon. What can be done to ease this misery?' Yet the people who are still in direct contact with the resettlement camps like David Russell in the eastern Cape say that nothing has changed. Despite the Minister's words, these resettlement camps fall directly under the control of his department which has moved over half a million Africans, and his alone is the responsibility.

WHERE FROM?

Where have the people who are now forced to live in these miserable resettlement camps come from?

Recent reports state that they come from four main sources: from the cities and towns, from the white farms, from mission land and 'black spots'.

Many of the occupants of the resettlement camps are those 'Surplus' people discarded through urban legislation. Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act defines the legal rights of Africans in urban areas, and the procedure whereby Africans may be endorsed out of towns. The Department of Bantu Administration and Development is putting increasing pressure on urban Africans to leave the towns and reverse the flow of Africans from rural areas to urban areas.

Administrative procedures have been tightened and the aged and other 'superfluous Bantu' are being endorsed out of urban areas. Most will end their days in resettlement camps.

Large numbers will also come from being displaced from white farms. In Natal alone it is estimated that about a million Africans will be requiring places in resettlement camps, and according to Chief Buthelezi, 'there is unfolding one of those great human tragedies for which South Africa is becoming well known'.

As the prices for land are sky-rocketing, so the pressure on those labour tenants still remaining is increased. Machinery has cut decisively the numbers of workers needed for the full operation of white farms. In 1918 there were only 291 tractors in South Africa, in 1955 there were 87 451, and in 1970 there were 210 000. As more capital is invested in farming, so the number of farm workers declines proportionately.

SURPLUS LABOUR

But farming in South Africa is still based on the surplus labour of the African farm workers, and state officials and white farmers are actually increasing their stranglehold on Africans living on white farms. It is now almost impossible for an African farm labourer in South Africa to escape from the white farms. In 1968 Mr. Andries Vosloo, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD) told farmers: 'It is not only the Government's policy that Bantu farm workers may not move from the farms to the urban areas to work there, it is clearly provided for in legislation. A record of every registered Bantu farm labourer in your service is kept in a central register in Pretoria, and the position is that the labourer cannot be employed in the urban areas, because as soon as his service contract has to be registered it will be established that he is a farm labourer, and then he cannot legally be taken into service.'

Bantu Labour Control Boards consisting of officials of B.A.D. and farmers control completely the movement of

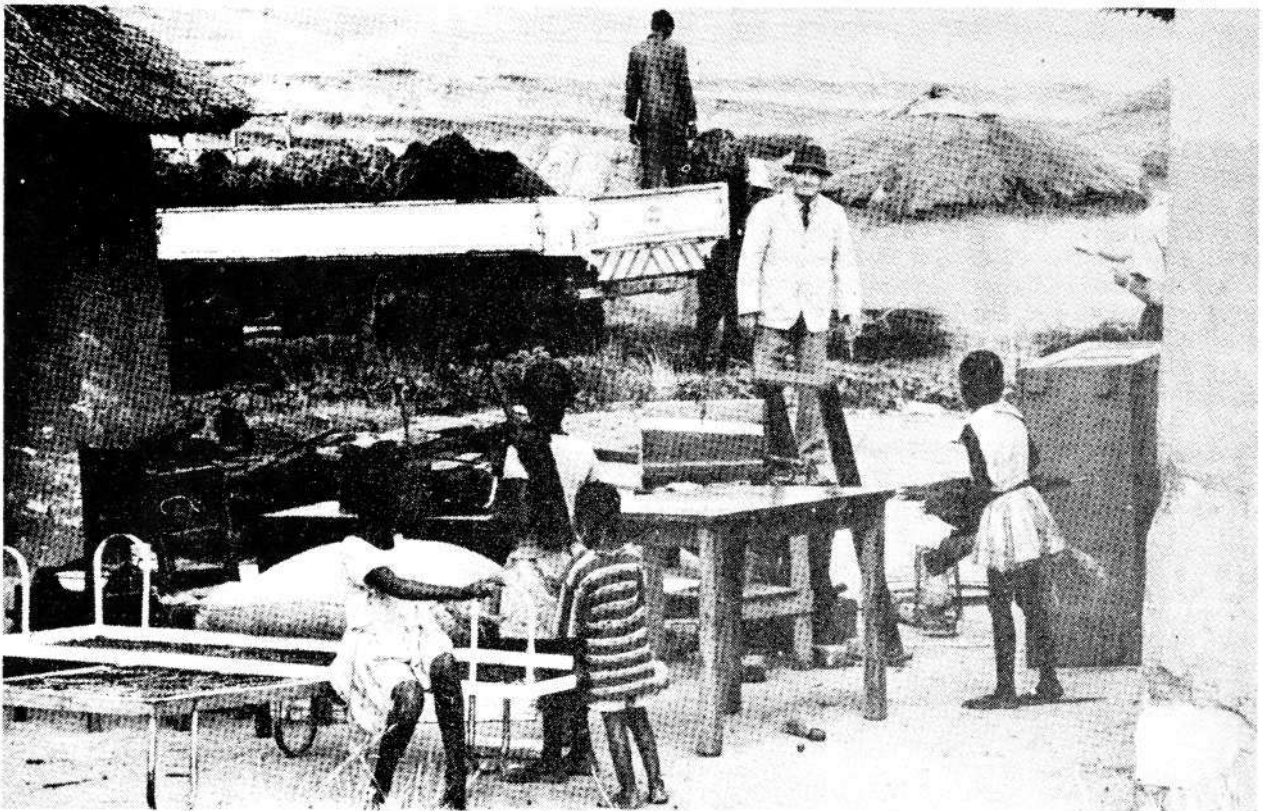
African workers in white rural areas, particularly in stopping the 'infiltration' of farm labour into urban areas. The despair engendered by this regulation has brought African workseekers to commit suicide.

These controls have been largely successful in fixing African labourers to white farms, the only remaining escape route being the resettlement camps. In 1960 35 per cent of the total population of adult males were employed in agriculture, while during the same year agriculture constituted 11 per cent of the gross domestic product. South Africa is distinguished in having the highest ratio of the percentage of labour in agriculture in terms of the contribution of agriculture to the gross domestic product. In Israel where agriculture also contributes about 11 per cent of the gross domestic product only 14 per cent of adult males are employed in agriculture. These figures indicate that a permanent surplus of labour is being maintained in the agricultural sector to depress wages and to provide for control of the impoverished.

While the rapid mechanisation of agriculture removes the necessity for a high proportion of African labour in agriculture, the rigid controls imposed leave the resettlement camps as the only possibility for farm labourers. The removal of farm labourers is taking place rapidly at a terrifying cost in human suffering.

WEENEN

Recently a number of farm workers from the Weenen district were dumped in the overcrowded Msinga reserve. Weenen district has been an area where a protracted struggle has taken place between farm workers and their employers for the past few decades. Over the years the power of the white farmers has been reinforced by legislative



'Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house?'

and administrative measures which have enabled them to substitute wage labour which has no rights to the land and produce of the farm in the place of labour tenants who enjoy some residential permanence.

The farmers used a variety of measures to expropriate the labour tenants. About 200 African tenants were made home-less after tractors towing a steel cable demolished 21 huts on a farm belonging to P.H. van der Westhuizen in November last year. The farmer had got a court order in the Weenen Magistrate's Court to evict the Africans as illegal 'squatters'. The police were used in other instances.

By May 1972 it was reported that scores of farm workers and their children displaced by the abolition of the labour tenant system were starving in the Msinga reserve. The Natal Mercury reporter wrote that pellagra, malnutrition sores, incipient kwashiorkor, and loss of weight were clearly evident. These families were given no land for ploughing, not even gardens, had no water or medical facilities.

The government required their Chief Simakade Mchunu living in Msinga to provide them with land, but the destitute families were not welcome. The older residents already living in real poverty objected to their presence. The newcomers had no firewood and the other residents objected to their using cow dung as a substitute because they had no stock. The farm workers dumped in the area have to live under canvas or crude wattle and daub. On rainy days their clothes and furniture are soaked, and the bags of mealies brought from Weenen also become saturated.

The process of expropriation has become formalised and administered by the Department of Bantu Administration. In July 1970 a total of 36 areas under the jurisdiction of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in South Africa were prohibited from having further labour tenant contracts.

The prohibition notice was issued in the name of Philip Torlage, Chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission who played an active role in forbidding tenant agreements in the Weenen district.

The magisterial areas included in this prohibition include large areas of agricultural land in the Transvaal and Natal. In Natal these include the areas which were occupied by the 'freebooters' in the 1880s: Vryheid, Babanango, and all other magisterial areas where agriculture is of any significance.

WHAT HAPPENS

What happens to a labour tenant who is given notice to leave the farm he has lived on for years? An example was given in an article appearing in the Daily News.

'William' was given three months notice to move from a farm in the Louwsberg district. His family was one of seventeen families evicted from this farm. He had been on the road for ten months looking for somewhere to live before he was interviewed.

He could not find any place in the reserves where he could farm because they are already overcrowded and the sparse grazing is overstocked. He went from official to official with a bundle of soiled trekpasses.

The farm from which he had to move had been bought by a new owner who gave the families three months' notice to quit. 'When I asked him where we were to go he said it was none of his business so we did not move. A few weeks after the notice expired the police came to arrest us. Whenever we asked what to do they all said there was nothing they could do about it.

At one time somebody said we should go to Paulpietersburg, but I am not happy to go there because there is no water, no houses, no pasture, nothing there at all and we were told we could not take our cattle.

'We are not being difficult, but we want somewhere to live.'

William went to the local Bantu Affairs Commissioner who told him the old farm system had ended. He took the particulars of the 17 families and said the matter would be passed to Pretoria.

The Magistrate warned him to leave the farm with his family and livestock. Then he set out for Pietermaritzburg to make representations there and Paulpietersburg was again suggested. 'But there's nothing — particularly no water. Where can we go? Nkosi, my case is this ...'

He is fated to join resettlement camps set up for old people, widows, the 'surplus appendages', such as Limehill, Morsgat, Sada, Illinge, and Dimbaza.

BLACK SPOTS

The occupants of resettlement camps also come from 'black spots' which were bought by African people before 1913, or which are isolated areas in the middle of white areas falling foul of the grand strategy of territorial separation.

An example of this type of displacement is shown in the case of the Kunene tribe. This tribe lived on the farm Hlatikulu in the Glencoe District. There were about 4 000 people on 8 000 acres, the land had many springs and streams, good grassland, and an annual rainfall of about 30 inches.

These people were moved to the farm Vergelegen which has sandy soil, thorn scrub, poor vegetation, and about 10 inches of rain annually. They were moved from an area where intensive farming was possible to an area where it was obviously not.

The major problem with the resettlement camps is that they are sited miles from industrial centres. Resettlement accentuates the migratory labour structure, and further destroys African family life.

In other countries where large numbers of people were being displaced from rural areas, industrial occupations were springing up and these people constituted the growing industrial labour force. In South Africa employment opportunities for Africans in urban areas are being reduced deliberately by the Physical Planning Act and administrative measures, and the policy of decentralisation of industry is providing only a limited number of jobs.

The administrative procedures adopted by B.A.D. ensure the creation of a vast rural proletariat hemmed in by influx control and stagnating in dire poverty. Agriculture requires a large number of workers for short periods of employment particularly for harvesting maize) and the



A place to stay

'homelands' contain the reserve army of farm workers which can be drawn upon at will.

The process of administrative expropriation and the severity of controls over mobility have caused many African people to be unemployed, and a recent estimate put the number of African unemployed at 1 288 269; a huge reserve army of workseekers which depresses the wage rates offered in the scramble for jobs during the annual migration from the reserves to industrial centres. The most desperate areas within the reserves are the resettlement camps themselves.

DR. KOORNHOF

Dr. Koornhof said during his tour of resettlement camps in September 1971 that these resettlement camps would be stopped.

'Places like Sada, Dimbaza and Illinge, will no longer be established for widows and old folk. They will be settled in the normal, well planned modern townships and, as far as possible, near work opportunities, but not specifically where they are thrown together.'

Yet resettlement camps are occupied by persons who have been denied the opportunity of employment in industrial areas. Many people living in Dimbaza had worked in the Western Cape from where they were endorsed out: from Worcester, Wellington, Mossel Bay, Knysna, Burgersdorp, Middleburg, and Beaufort West.

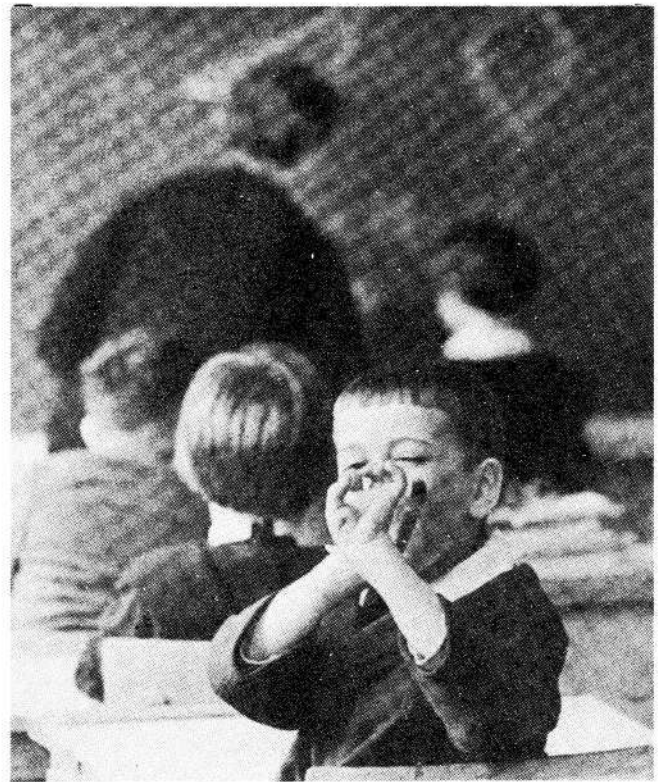
African women in resettlement camps are denied the opportunity of domestic work while their husbands will be fortunate to earn half of the poverty datum line in urban areas. The lack of employment leads to utter destitution. As David Russell said: 'I've never seen such concentrated and depressed poverty as I've seen at Dimbaza. **The people are completely at the mercy of the local magistrates for the right to state welfare.**

While Dr. Koornhof has said that this type of resettlement camp will be stopped, it is difficult to see how this is possible without a complete change in policy. The pressure on labour tenants would have to be removed and 'surplus appendages' allowed to remain in urban areas.

As you read these lines there are families struggling along farm roads and national highways looking for a place to stay. □

SCHOOLING FOR CAPITALISM

by M. Murphy



Student radical?

Recently a number of radical¹ critiques have been published which deal specifically with the societal model on which South Africa is based – I am thinking in particular of Rick Turner’s “The Eye of the Needle” and the Report of the Spro-cas Economics Commission. It seems evident to me that any serious thought about Education must be preceded by precisely this kind of critique of society, whatever its conclusions may be. For any educator who has no considered aim in his lessons, or whose aim is limited to the immediate imparting of some particular item or items of knowledge, or whose aim extends to only such things as “a good matric” or “producing a good citizen” is more than likely a very convenient agent for someone else in authority who *has* made a more radical analysis than his own. An educator, like a citizen *cannot*, whether he wants to or not, take a non-political rôle. The citizen who is silent and “gets on with his own affairs” and is “not interested in politics” is acutally plumping his weight right behind the status quo, whatever it is. The teacher who is “a mathematician not a politician” effectively hands himself over to the people who plan educational policy to do with as they wish. In short, every educator is educating *for something*, and it is up to him to analyse what he *wants* to educate for in as broad and radical a perspective as possible. Otherwise he may in all innocence, be hoping to do good but in actual fact be doing the opposite.

The chapter on Education in “The Eye of the Needle” frequently quotes Ivan Illich and in this article I intend using his book “Deschooling Society” as a starting point in looking at some aspects of educational practice in South Africa.

Illich’s criticism of schools is radical to the extent that he proposes completely abolishing them (where schools are defined as “the age-specific, teacher-related process requiring full-time attendance at an obligatory curriculum”) He maintains that schooling is not synonymous with learning, that in actual fact most people learn more *out* of school than in it, even in rich countries where people spend a very high proportion of their lives attending school. But much worse than this, school is not simply an institution which does not promote learning as well as it should do, it actually

teaches the *wrong* things. It is at this level of criticism that Illich’s broader critique of society becomes evident. He has no particular academic interest in education as such (God forbid that anyone should). His concern is how educational institutions relate to the society which is fundamentally affected, for better or for worse, by their character. He analyses human society, as it appears to him and seeks the causes of its defects. As human beings we can pass on either good or bad to our descendants and Illich applies the results of his critique of society to what is probably society’s most “vulnerable” or influenceable point, the actual “passing on” point, education.

MANIPULATES

For Illich a *bad* human society is one which manipulates people, and of all human institutions, Illich sees schools (apart from asylums) as the most manipulative. What is more, schools prepare people for further and lifelong manipulation by other institutions. “School” says Illich, “is the womb of the consumer society”.

1. I use “radical” in its etymological and normal dictionary sense, not in the sense in which the Government uses the word “Communist”.

How does school manipulate people?

Firstly, school is compulsory for people of a certain age. Whether they wish to learn what the school offers, whether they are ready for it, whether they are interested or not is immaterial. Children between certain ages are obliged to go to school. Truant officers hunt down the disobedient.

Once they are at school they become conditioned to the axiom that learning is the result of teaching, (which is implied in the idea of compulsory schooling anyway). **It takes until the fourth or fifth year of university's somewhat different atmosphere (in some departments) for the student to grasp that since he has learned to love, to feel, to speak, to politic and to play without a formal teacher he can also learn maths or biology without lectures. Of course it is good that no one finds this out too soon. What would become of the teaching profession?**

The concept of childhood which is behind this kind of manipulation implies that human beings of a particular age have no maturity, no rights, and no innate curiosity. This is socially and psychologically indefensible.

But, if one assumes this concept of childhood it is a logical second step not only that they should be busy being taught for x years of their life, but that the teachers should plot out *what* they should be taught. This is not wrong only because some children ("difficult children") are obliged to take subjects for their matric for which they are not suited. If this were all that was wrong, an extension of the American "options unlimited" would almost solve the problem. No, the point is that learning should never be dissociated from interest or the desire to learn, and interest simply cannot be channeled into seven subjects (starting at point A and proceeding to position B) no matter how wide and varied the choice. Human beings simply do not think along the same sequences of thought. It is as natural for me to follow up a first lesson about the symbols a and b as used in algebra by enquiring about the culture of the Middle East or about metaphors in literature, as the syllabus setters presume it to be to add a and b together or subtract them from each other. The American system, offering a host of options, avoids this point also. I might opt to take a course in pottery, but there is no valid reason (apart from the sacrosanct syllabus) why I should not find the potter's wheel's mechanism more interesting and lay my clay aside until I have investigated to my satisfaction.

INFLEXIBLE

Schools are obviously too inflexible to offer an answer to these problems and Illich proposes what he calls "Learning Webs" as a substitute. It is only fair to point out that Illich's highly original proposals are *examples of the sort* of institution that would replace schools, *not* detailed blueprints in 349 carefully graded steps. Illich's "Learning Webs" would be flexible, free and open to all who are willing to share what they already know with those who desire to learn it. The four networks involved would be: (Deschooling Society, pp. 78, 79)

- (1) Reference Services to Educational Objects – which facilitate access to things or processes used for formal learning. Some of these things can be reserved for this purpose, stored in libraries, rental agencies, laboratories, and showrooms like museums and theatres; others can be in daily use in factories, airports, or on farms, but made available to students as apprentices or on off-hours.

- (2) Skill Exchanges – which permit persons to list their skills, the conditions under which they are willing to serve as models for others who want to learn these skills, and the addresses at which they can be reached.
- (3) Peer-Matching – communications network which permits persons to describe the learning activity in which they wish to engage in the hope of finding a partner for the inquiry.
- (4) Reference Services to Educators-at-Large – who can be listed in a directory giving the addresses and self-descriptions of professionals, paraprofessionals, and free-lancers, along with conditions of access to their services. Such educators, as we will see, could be chosen by polling or consulting their former clients."

LEARNING ENVIRONMENT

What Illich is proposing is the logical continuation of the fact that we learn more things out of school than in it. He proposes creating a "learning environment", where the emphasis would be on sharing, or what Illich calls "conviviality", the exact opposite of manipulation. Illich's critique of the schools springs from a critique of the quality of human society, and the proposals he makes with regard to schools and to education are designed to remedy the failings of society in general. Unquestionably, the immediate implementation of his suggestions would demand an immediate change of heart among people in authority. This is very unlikely and Illich is obviously not expecting this. What he does hope for, and this is surely legitimate, is that some kind of lobby for institutional educational change along these lines can be established. **To dismiss Illich, as one of his critics¹ has done, by stating that "Man is never short of lofty aims, he merely can never decide on principles of implementation" is to avoid the point with an indecorum hinting strongly at the right wing defence mechanisms all too familiar in South Africa.** One may not shy off moral imperatives because one has not been supplied gratis with a closely detailed map of how to achieve them. The *real* nub of the "moral problem" is most often not the lack of "principles of implementation" but a lack of *willingness* on the part of individuals to take moral imperatives seriously. This has the very disturbing corollary that although I cannot change society immediately, I change myself and start working towards the "vision of the good".

How does Illich's critique of society/schools apply in a South African context?

I have purposely not referred, in my summary of some of Illich's main points, to his economic arguments – that expenditure on schools has no natural ceiling – and his remarks about the immorality of spending, for example on each of the U.S.'s graduate students an amount five times greater than the median life income of half of humanity. Nor, in the following section, do I intend concentrating on the gross discrepancies between the amount spent on white education per capita and the amount spent on black education per capita. What I propose to consider is how it comes about that such intolerable discrepancies are tolerable to the vast majority of white people in this country. In other words, I attempt to link up some of the failings in our society with the manipulatory character of even our best-financed schools.

1. Philip J. Foster: Comparative Education Review, October 1971: p 274

TEACHER

Let us look, firstly, at the rôle of the teacher in the average White South African school. The teacher is far more than an instructor. He also has the duty of being moral guard, physical guard — the teacher who sends the pupil who is unwilling to work out of the classroom usually has to explain this action to the headmaster — moral judge, jury and executioner. For any person who has such far reaching powers of interference over another person to treat the other person as a person requires something of a minor miracle. Apart from these onerous duties the teacher is also expected to "get his class through the exam". A high failure rate in his class is *his* responsibility. The effects of this on the average well-intentioned teacher are disastrous. He very soon has to crush all sensitivity towards pupils' boredom and unwillingness to tackle work for which they have little spontaneous interest. He becomes perforce an authoritarian and disciplinary figure. What is worse, the pupils come to expect this kind of attitude from teachers. A teacher is either a good disciplinarian or a bad one, and if he is a bad one he will soon suffer the brunt of the frustrations of his pupils who cannot relate to him as a person. This basically repressive situation is accepted, by and large, because it "achieves results", material results, in the form of matric certificates.

Is it stretching a parallel too far to compare this master pupil relationship with the master servant relationship between whites and blacks in South Africa? , a master

servant relationship which is justified on the grounds that it is in the blacks' own interest — "Look what we've done for them! "?

STRUCTURE

Since Marshall Macluhan we can no longer ignore the importance of *how* one learns as an influence on *what* one learns. No matter how "liberal" the principles taught by any particular teacher, if these lessons are given in terms of the I-tell-you-, you-listen-and-accept authority structure, the chances are that the pupils will imbibe the structures rather than the content. Nor do "discussions" which are really "guess-what-teacher-is- thinking" sessions change this situation.

Reinforcing and underlying this authoritarian pupil/teacher relationship, is the curricular system in use in South African schools. The Adults know best. The best thing for the children is Maths, Science, English, Afrikaans, History and Biology. This will equip them to fit in well to our society. There's a choice available too, for those who are so awkward as to be different — one can do a third language instead of a Science, or Geography instead of History. The almost complete stifling of personal preference and spontaneous interest which these structures impose on an individual can be directly related to the kind of manipulative advertising that abounds in every public place: "Fill up with B.P. Super Enerjet — Five different octanes to choose from. B.P. has just the right octane rating for *Your* car". Illich's remarks



Daumiers "Teachers and Small Fry".

suddenly come alive: "School shapes the progressive consumer. School is the womb of the consumer society". The uncritical acceptance of the actions of both local, provincial and government authorities can obviously also be directly traced to the authority structure in schools. Being constantly told what you have to do, having all your work programmed for you produces a kind of psychological impotence, a diffidence in one's ability to look after oneself. Can one perhaps point here to a connection with that strange white terror, the "swart gevaar"?

Perhaps one of the least questioned and most deeply engrained aspects of our school system is the use of competition.

Many teachers tend to delude themselves that at least their "brighter" pupils are motivated by interest in their subjects. In fact many pupils who do well do so because doing well is their main pleasure and stimulus. For the "dull" students competition is a whip rather than a carrot, but it can be equally effective in making uninteresting work somewhat more purposeful. No one will deny that competition is, given the present attitudes of people towards each other in capitalist society, an essential part of that tried and trusted capitalist concept "incentive".

Capitalist society depends on competition for its continued existence.

DEPERSONALIZING

As practised in schools competition is fundamentally depersonalizing. Given the set syllabus and given the set curriculum every child is graded according to marks, a quantitative measure. Everybody knows that one cannot judge a human being on a quantitative scale but this is somehow forgotten in school. What "really matters" in schools in terms of a school's public image, is the number of successful matriculants. What is worse, this is what "really matters" to the pupils themselves by the time they get to their tenth year at school. A matric, for most pupils, is quantitatively interpreted in terms of future salaries (or university entrance qualifications and even higher salaries). Somewhere in this mad scramble for more material goods, even the mundane concept of quality becomes lost, while vague mumblings from the occasional pulpit about the "mammon of iniquity" meet with blank incomprehension.

Competition is the opposite of co-operation, sharing. Before we are willing to co-operate and share with someone else we usually want to accept him as an equal – not because he is the same as I am, but because he is different i.e. because he is an indefinable totality of qualities from whom I can derive much richness if I offer him something of myself in co-operation. This attitude is clearly morally superior to one where I exploit the other for material gain, yet it is competition, not sharing which is emphasized in school. The redistribution of economic resources which seems essential if South Africa is to enjoy a future of true peace between its peoples is being actively discouraged by the individualistic, competitive – as opposed to personalistic cooperative – nature of schools. What whites learn in school is that other people are there to be used for material gain. The "rat race" begins at school and there also are the seeds sown for the future exploitation of the black worker.

To those who say that selfishness (and hence competition) are part of human nature, one can only point out that a responsible society will do everything in its power to lessen the effects of this, not buttress it in the institutions specially designed to build a better tomorrow. I do not believe it is far fetched to trace these lines between the state of our society and the character of our schools. Judging from the official reaction to the "Youth Awareness" pamphlets handed out at high schools early this year, government and educational authorities are also very much of the opinion that the present constitution of White South African society depends greatly on the kind of schooling which white children receive. The hue and cry raised by white "liberals" and others about Christian National Education is probably largely misplaced. C.N.E. is only a symptom of far more serious problems.

Presuming my analysis is correct, what can the average well-intentioned teacher do in this situation, short of resigning? I am convinced that one can work actively towards some form of implementation of Illich's principles without necessarily being fired, though one's success in this would vary from school to school and depend also on the subjects one was teaching. However, it would require as much space to outline a programme along these lines as it has taken me to outline a few of Illich's principles and apply them to the South African context, so I have no intention of tackling this topic now.

To conclude: a recommendation to read and reread Illich's *Deschooling Society* (Calder and Boyers, London 1971, R4.45, pp 116). It is surely a milestone in recent educational writing. □

- N.B.**
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