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EDITORIAL

STUDENT AND WORKER

"Get back to your studies!" — a slogan often shouted by people who witness white student efforts to conscientize whites, irrespective of whether these efforts be in the form of pamphleteering, picket protests or marches.

In a certain sense some students have taken this advice to heart, both the literal message and the message implied by the tone of the speaker. A deeper analysis of the issues in South African society has led to a realisation that apartheid is, at very least, as much a result of economic oppression as of racialism. And a feeling that talking to white bigotedness is of minimal influence has led students to actively embark on a conscientization of the people who, by virtue of their real and potential economic strength, hold the future — but not the ballot form — in their hands.

The phenomenon of the Wages Commissions on the English-speaking University Campuses is scarcely two

years old, yet much of the South African labour movement's exciting resuscitation, particularly in Natal, must be attributed to their influence and to that of senior Wages Commission members who have "graduated" into Trade Union organization and allied fields of activity. Perhaps "scarcely" is the wrong word to use here for a description of student involvement ranging over two years, for such an involvement is a far cry from the isolated "reactionary" protests to which we are more accustomed. What is particularly impressive and promising among many Wages Commission members is the self-discipline and sacrifice they have shown. It is one thing to stand at a picket for an hour. It is a completely different thing to get out of bed before dawn day after day to pamphlet or recruit workers at factory gates, or to spend weekends in the bundu researching facts among farm labourers.

Yet perhaps it is precisely in the kind of contact with workers that such activities give rise to, that we can find

the secret of the continued efforts. The reality of apartheid is that workers *have* to be at factories in the dead of night to earn their pittance and that labourers are *obliged* to slave on remote farms to earn starvation wages. In picket lines we deal, of necessity, in abstractions, generalizations, ideals. Wages Commission activities deal more with the individual stabs of human anguish that make those ideals and abstractions alive, meaningful and worth fighting for.

Much important reform activity presently in progress in the labour field can be related to Wages Commission initiatives and assistance. The increase of overseas pressure on foreign investors to improve conditions for workers is an obvious example. Tucsa's recent return to a morally defensible stance after years of shilly-shallying and exclusion of Africans is a direct result of Wages Commission pressures inside some of Tucsa affiliates. In Natal, two African metal workers' unions are well under way. African textile, garment and leather unions are in the planning and inaugural stages. Management seems to be less intractable than before and almost everyone accepts the theoretical standard of the Poverty Datum

Line. Not all Wages Commission work, this, by a long chalk. The eagerness to organize of the workers themselves and their courage in the face of overwhelming odds has probably been the major catalyst. But student influence has been considerable.

There is, of course, a snag. Just around the corner lurks Schlebusch and company. The Nusas enquiry is not yet over. If Schlebusch does try to pin the Natal and other strikes on the Wages Commissions it will merely echo the thinking of the Security Policemen after the 1971 Durban Dock strikes — "Come on now. The Bantoes on strike were asking for R18 a week (the then P.D.L.). We *know* the Bantoes don't think like that. So it must be the students who have been making the Bantoes go on strike." If Schlebusch adopts this approach it will almost certainly mean that heads will roll among present and past Wages Commission members. Much worse, such an approach would mean that kragdadigheid is still the order of the day in the corridors of power. and kragdadigheid, if applied in the labour situation in South Africa at present means only one thing — blood.□

HELEN SUZMAN

Helen Suzman has received formal tributes from a great university for her sustained and articulate opposition to official policies in South Africa. Official South African response to this must be wry, at best; but it would be wrong to think of Mrs Suzman as not honoured in her own country, since there is probably no-one so much admired and respected here among the politically conscious of all races. Her achievement is recognised even by many determined Black Consciousness advocates (and perhaps their admiration is as significant in the circumstances as Oxford's).

So far from being daunted by her position as sole Progressive member in Parliament for a single constituency, she has spoken always as for a hundred other constituencies, from Soweto to Windemere. This is why her words have had a stature and reverbera-

tion greater than those of both official parties together. Fifteen million Black people in South Africa are politically non-existent; but in electing to speak for them she brings into parliament the pressure of their presence; and so the fantasy of the all-white deliberations is consistently challenged by sanity.

Her personal qualities — her sense, humanity, eloquence, doggedness, stamina, courage and humour — have matched her not only to the hour but to the continuing demanding years; and for South Africa, a country usually fated to political ill-luck, this has been a piece of superb good fortune. *Reality* endorses the accolades paid to Mrs Suzman by Oxford University, and congratulates South Africa on possessing so great an asset.□

THE ROLE OF THE WAGES COMMISSIONS

by Mark Dubois

(Mark Dubois is Chairman of the Wages Commission at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg).

South African society has so much that provokes protest that the poor would-be student dissenter knows not where to begin. Specialization within protest has been deemed necessary to render dissent effective. Hence the Wages Commission is a specialist committee whose focus of attention is the inequality of wages and job opportunities imposed by mere colour of skin.

The aim of this article is to inform people about the Wages Commissions which have sprung up at the English speaking universities in South Africa. The Pietermaritzburg Commission's activities will be described, since it is a typical example of wages commission activity. A brief section on the need for such action will conclude the article.

The idea of a Wages Commission was first mooted in Durban some 2½ years ago, and as a result of student discontent about protest methods, the first commission was formed under Mr C. Nupin (the present president elect of NUSAS). The Pietermaritzburg commission was founded at the beginning of 1972. The need, amongst other things, for finances and information led the commissions to join NUSAS under the affiliated NUSWEL wing.

At present the Pietermaritzburg Commission has some thirty members with a hard core of approximately 12. The structure is a loose one and other than the chairman, members elect to take on different tasks as the need arises. Members have often been accused of "bungling" and "meddling" without having the necessary experience really to know what they are doing, or to do it properly. Like most ill-considered accusations this is unfounded. Members are keen and dedicated and include many post-graduates or senior students. At present seven post-graduates are active, drawn from the fields of economics, accountancy, law and the arts.

The chairman of the commission is an ex-officio member of the S.R.C. and reports back to that body regularly. In addition to NUSAS funds the commission receives a small grant, for running expenses, from the S.R.C.

The question "What exactly is the Wages Commission?", can best be answered by describing what the Commission does.

One of the first projects to be tackled by the Pietermaritzburg Wages Commission was a survey of campus wages. Low wages, in many cases far below the Poverty Datum Line (P.D.L.) were uncovered and following some press publicity the wage structure of semi- and unskilled workers at the University was reviewed and substantially improved in April of this year. The Salaries and Wages Committee of the University stated that they were working towards P.D.L. salary levels for 1974.

The second research project was that into Wattle Farms of the Natal Mist Belt.¹ As reported in the 1972 Survey of Race Relations, some 20 farming establishments were visited and it was found that the majority of workers received an average of R3,17 per week, while in some cases the wages were as low as R2,06 per week. Rations were supplied, and on company-owned estates, housing as well. However, rations usually fell short of the level recommended by the South African Timber Growers Association.²

The Saligna Forestry and Development Company's Estates at Eston³ and the Government Timber Plantations in south-west Natal⁴ were the focus for subsequent research projects. In each case low wages, lack of rations in some instances, poor housing and surprisingly enough for a Government enterprise, wages that varied between estates, were uncovered and documented.

It is mainly these research activities that were spotlighted by the press in the first half of 1973. Public interest was aroused as a result of the "Guardian" articles on conditions on Midland Wattle Estates, owned by the Natal Tanning Extract Company, a subsidiary of Slater Walker, an English Company. It must be pointed out however that all major newspapers in South Africa received copies of the report long before British newspapers, and failed to show any interest until driven to do so by overseas rivals.

The result of overseas press publicity on all aspects of British investment in South Africa, was the establishment of a British Parliamentary inquiry which is still in session. Immediate benefits were also obtained for the workers, in that both Slater Walker and Courtaulds (who own the Saligna Forestry and Development Company) announced substantial improvements in wages, rations, housing, medical and educational facilities. Both announced their intention to raise salaries and rations to at least the P.D.L.

The example of Slater Walker and Courtaulds must be followed by other farmers. For unless they do, they will lose their best workers to the more competitive employers. A great number of agricultural workers should therefore be shortly enjoying a higher standard of living. Naturally this improvement works in both directions, for who will benefit more from a healthier, better fed, better housed

and more satisfied work force than the employer himself? Some individuals have seen fit to challenge such wage increases, maintaining that they will not be able to afford to employ all their present labour force. Prices for agricultural products are in many cases at an all time high. Farmers, like any industrialist, should always be aiming at efficiency, and hence we can assume that the labour has been fully employed in the past. To dismiss workers because of increased wage levels, is to reduce efficiency, which must in turn affect productivity. Such an approach it is hoped, will not appeal to the "backbone of our country". In addition the benefits of economic stimulation, resulting from higher wages, will be enjoyed by farmers and industrialists alike; indeed by all of us.

Another aspect of Wages Commission activity is research into the various industrial wage levels being investigated by the Wage Board. Information concerning the state of the industry and the wages paid are gathered and formally submitted to the Board. Where demanded, oral evidence is also given. While not much significant success has so far resulted, the future of such research looks promising, and it is hoped that following a new, "model for presentations" developed by the commission, some cognizance will be taken of our submissions. In addition the informing of the workers of the hearings, and of their right to attend and to voice their grievances has yielded interesting results.



Pre-dawn scene at Howick, Pietermaritzburg: student enrolling factory workers in Trade Union. (Photo: J. Alferts)

The need for the dissemination of information, e.g. Wage Board sittings, is paramount, and to this end a workers newspaper was begun earlier this year. The paper runs to 8 000 copies an issue, and contains a variety of articles of interest to workers. The members of the commission help to write articles, print and distribute the paper. This is a mammoth task which often strains the commissions' resources. The paper is however, enthusiastically received.

Perhaps, the most important of the commissions activities, is in the field of labour organization. To this end a full time organizer is employed. 1972 saw the formation of a benefit society, and this year the Metal and Allied Workers Union was formed. Commission members give voluntary help in running these two organizations and perform many useful services for them. These organizations offer benefits to workers (free medical treatment, funeral benefits, and legal assistance with pass law problems) and to date, have a membership of 7 500 in the case of the Benefit Society, and 700 in the case of the Union.

At the July Congress of NUSAS in Johannesburg future activities were fully discussed. Research is planned into certain aspects of sugar farming and into Border industries. However all the commissions will concentrate on labour organization and the formation of Benefit Societies and Trade Unions.

So far, this article has largely been a commentary on the activities of the Commission in Pietermaritzburg. However the need for such a commentary was felt and hence undertaken with a view to informing the public of the nature of Wages Commission activities. There remains only one question to answer.

"Why are such activities necessary?"

Hamilton Fyfe quoted the following before World War I, "What are we going to do about the natives? Are they to be shut off by themselves in reserves? No, because the country cannot do without their labour. Are they to be taught to work with their hands at technical trades? — No because that would bring them into competition with the white man."⁵ This has been the constant theme of South African policy since that period. The White Trade Unions as well, have aided this policy. Professor J.L. Sadie in his Presidential Address to the Conference on Economic Development and Planning in August 1971 said, "Whatever the functional nature, and therefore the merit of the inequalities of incomes in the past, the growing inequality, at least between Bantu and non-Bantu during the sixties, is for the most part the outcome of the monopolistic power of the trade unions, which created unfilled vacancies and a good deal of overtime work in the more skilled occupations."⁶

Thwarted in the past by both Government and the White Trade Unions, the black worker has been at the mercy of White South Africa. Difficulties of organization, administration, and finance as well as fear of discrimination, have hindered the development of Black Unions. White legislation has done its best to nail the lid on this struggle.

A close analysis of statistics reveals the need for Black Unions, in order to try and reduce the ever increasing wage gap, and hence, to ease the suffering of Black South Africans.

Population and Wages of White and Black in South Africa in 1970⁷:*

	Total population	Econ. Active pop.	Average wage per month in		
			Manuf.	Mining	Central Gov.
White	3 751 328	1 471 000	R315	R341	R293
Black	15 057 925	4 972 000	R 52	R 19	R 52

(*African only)

Per capita real increase in White and Black wages 1960-1967 and Trade Union membership 1967⁸:

	Annual per capita real increase in wage (%) in			No. of Unions	Membership
	Manuf-turing	Mining	Central Gov.		
White	4,9	3,3	2,2	98	365 854
Black	2,8	1,5	1,3	14	16 040

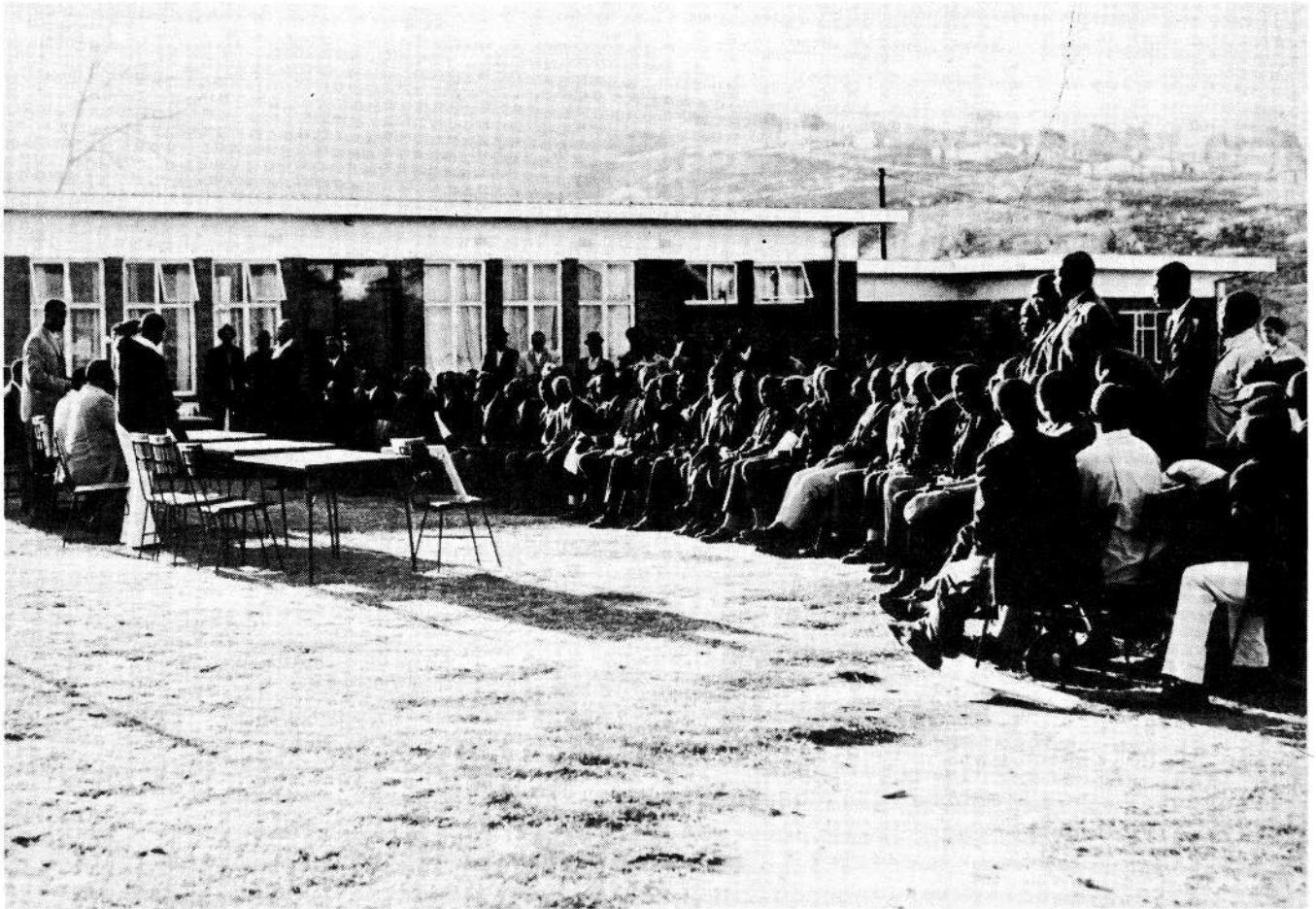
The two tables reveal the frightening reality of population, wages earned, the increasing wage gap, and the lack of trade union activity in South Africa. Whites have entrenched their position and are enriching themselves, at the expense of black workers. This policy, which is resulting in an increasing wage gap, can only lead to disaster.

The reason for Wages Commission involvement in the activities outlined above is its sincere desire for practical action in an attempt to reduce the wage gap and thus avoid disaster. While such a statement would have been laughed at a few years ago, it is our submission that many South Africans are today tending towards this point of view.

Government legislation has created machinery which is a hopeless failure. Remember the statements of industrialists following the Durban strikes and the press photographs of labour officers (there are 14 in the whole of South Africa) negotiating with strikers in the presence of armed police and with riot vans in the background. In fact only 10% of the firms questioned in this regard are on record as saying that labour officers helped in resolving disputes.

The Wage Board is not able to regulate wages in the light of Company Profits, trends and performance. The Minister of Labour said, "There is the case of a specific employer in a specific industry who at a Wage Board inquiry during the past year (1972) maintained that the basic wage for the worker could not be increased by

Trade Union meeting in Edendale. (Photo: J. Alferts)



92 cents per week. They opposed the increase which was proposed only last year by the Wage Board. But just before the strike was imminent, the same concern was prepared to increase the wage immediately by R2 per week."⁹

A glance at Wage Board determinations for unskilled labour is enough to show the unrealistic nature of their determinations. In fact their increase hardly keeps pace with the rising C.O.L. and inflation in South Africa.

Unskilled Labour Wage Rates per Week (Determined in April 1973¹⁰):

Area	Designation	First Year(R)	Second Year(R)	Third Year(R)	P.D.L. (R)
Durban and Pinetown	Male	13,00	14,00	15,00	18,03
	Female				
Pietermaritzburg	18 +	10,40	11,20	12,00	
	Male	12,00	13,00	14,00	
East London	Female				17,68
	18 +	9,60	10,40	11,20	
	Male	10,00	11,00	12,00	
	Female				
	18 +	8,00	8,80	9,60	

The worst aspect of these wage levels however, is that even after three years of work a man will not be earning a P.D.L. wage. Another disturbing trend is the differentiation between male and female wage levels. At a time when most western countries are lessening this gap, South Africa appears to be entrenching and enlarging it. The final point to make is that wages at this level exclude workers from the benefits of the Unemployment Insurance Act. The above points serve to show the inadequacy of existing machinery to safeguard workers rights and to improve their lot. The commission is of the opinion that in the light of this failure, the solution lies only in the creation of Black Trade Unions.

What are the results of the low wages that Black Workers receive? Many are migrant workers and so the statistics of Dr A. Barker are relevant. In the Nqutu District the population has increased from 46 000 in 1962 to 80 000 in 1972. Not only is the land overloaded, but on average homeland families receive no more than between R10 and R20 per month from migrant workers. This has resulted in widespread malnutrition and disease. Dr Barker maintains that 30% of all his patients have pellagra and 74% of all children who come to the hospital are below the 3rd percentile on the Boston Scale."

What is the importance of this to the Industrialist? Horner states, "It is logical to assume that poverty breeds

malnutrition and that productivity of unhealthy workers is low, There is evidence to support the view that this is the situation in South Africa."¹² By reducing the wage gap the industrialist will therefore have a more productive labour force.

The absurdity of the arguments that "productivity must precede wage increases" has long been evident. A man whose subsistence needs are pre potent, (i.e. living below the P.D.L.), a man whose wage increases are no more than a few cents a week, and who is expected to increase his productivity will not have any motivation to work at maximum efficiency level. Only by increasing wages, substantially reducing the wage gap, ending poverty

and adequately motivating the worker can South Africa hope to survive.

The Wages Commission is involved in labour organization and research in an attempt to put into practice the argument set out above, for the breach in the defences of South Africa is the hunger of the masses which, unless satisfied, may have repercussions that will endanger all of us. The very nature of this article has meant that all ideas and activities could not be fully described. However it is hoped that this article satisfies some of the curiosity that surrounds the Wages Commission and the rationale behind its activities.□

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CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI SPEAKS TO COLIN GARDNER

Gardner: What are your present feelings about the whole question of the allocation of land to KwaZulu? And a sub-question: when whites who are discontented with the present plan say that you are discontented too, are they not in fact being hypocritical? Are they not discontented for opposite reasons?

Chief Buthelezi: I don't regard them as my allies. If they reiterate what I am saying, it is with completely different motives. They use us as a whipping-boy, as far as the whites are concerned. They like to say that this Government is irresponsible - that they are creating a black state, and blacks cannot be trusted, and this is going to be a nest of communism, and so on. I really dislike that very much. I don't consider them my allies in any sense.

Gardner: In fact they are almost at the opposite pole?

Chief Buthelezi: They are the worst, actually. We do not accept what the Nationalists are offering; but **they** are much worse than them. They are not saying this out of benevolence for the Zulu people at all.

Gardner: What do you feel is the present position in regard to the land issue in KwaZulu? What is going to happen?

Chief Buthelezi: I honestly cannot prophesy what is going to happen. Mr Vorster said to me in March that he cannot go further than what he has proposed. In other words, the consolidation map as it stands now is all he offers. And he has said that if we don't want to take what he is offering, independence on his terms, then we can remain as we are - which is rather interesting to me. Does he mean that his policy has failed? This was supposed to be a solution. Now if he says that we may

have to remain as we are, certainly we are not going to be satisfied. All the liberatory movements which existed before were concerned about the black man getting human dignity and equal human rights in his fatherland. And we are just as concerned. We cannot under any circumstances be satisfied in remaining as we are now, as the Prime Minister suggests.

Gardner: You once proposed that KwaZulu and Natal might form into an independent state. Do you see any possibility of that happening in the immediate future or the more distant future?

Chief Buthelezi: I cannot read what people say: I can only put a proposal. I've put this proposal in all seriousness. I think that if a non-racial state developed in this part of South Africa, people all over the world would be interested. African countries would be interested; so would nations overseas, — that such a thing as that could emerge in this place that is so sickened by racism. So, personally, I offer this to the Natal whites in earnest: I mean it. But of course I see it is a hot potato, because many people tend to be afraid: if something goes wrong in an African state, then of course it affects people here; and then they tend to fear that this might happen to them. This I perfectly understand. But I don't think it is justified in view of the fact that there are some African states, with black majority governments, where things are not going wrong. I think personally that it would be a good thing, especially in Natal, and the more so as we have all race groups here — Indians, Coloureds and Whites, minority groups whose rights could be safeguarded by a bill of rights. I think this is something feasible, provided people can get out of this cocoon of fear. And if a state like that were to come about, I think I've got a golden key which could open African markets.

Gardner: I'd like to say that I personally would be delighted at such an arrangement. I know there are a few white businessmen in Pietermaritzburg who are interested in the idea, but how many there are I cannot say.

Chief Buthelezi: Quite so . . . I am concerned about racism. Though I myself am a black consciousness man, I'm so sickened — I've grown up in a society of racism, and I'm sick and tired of it, and I don't think I'd like to live in a racist society, whether it was white-oriented or black-oriented: I'm not interested in that.

Gardner: Do you feel that white liberals and radicals have any important part to play in South Africa at the moment? Or are they irrelevant (as is often said) or are they a hindrance to the real changes that need to take place?

Chief Buthelezi: Well, since I believe in freedom of speech, I believe that therefore the rights of individuals should be entrenched and safeguarded. And I believe that, just as I have a right to have my opinion, those white groups that are described as liberal or radical have an equal right to have their own opinion. And I believe that it isn't fair to write them off as a hindrance, because I think that in a sense they may be a conscience of this country. Because ultimately, on a long term

basis, whether we like it or not, white and black — I think we'll just have to accept each other. Ultimately we have to — so that if these people are committed to a non-racial society, I think they have a right to do their own thing. And I don't think one must question their bona fides.

Gardner: But, looking at the problem from the point of view of a black person who is wanting to bring about a redistribution of power, would you tend to think that they could be helpful to this cause?

Chief Buthelezi: I think each one of us has a commitment. I have a commitment, here, to my people first of all, the black people, and to the rest of South Africa in so far as we are all here — we have been placed here by destiny, cheek by jowl, whether we like this or not. I think this is a fact. I think that perhaps I've gone over the period at which, as a student, I thought perhaps there could be a black take-over. But I do believe that blacks are entitled to full human rights here. But at the same time I accept that whites have also become indigenous to this country, in the same way as Americans are to America, Canadians to Canada and Australians to Australia. They've become indigenous. Of course the only thing that I deprecate is the white oppression of my people. And I feel that if my people were to have human rights and so on, and if perhaps whites would accept that they were safe in a black majority government — I mean, that's all there is to it. I don't believe that there is anything practical about imagining that some people may be swept into the sea, or that they should go away; I don't think so. I don't think they have any other home, after three centuries.

Gardner: Perhaps a difficult question — what in your view will make or might make the whites as a whole transfer or share their power? What is going to do this in the end?

Chief Buthelezi: I don't know: it seems to me that appeals to Christian ideals, western democracy, humanitarian considerations — we're not going to get a significant number of proselytes through this. And therefore I'm very sorry to say that it would appear to me that they're not going to be prepared to consider anything unless something provides some kind of trauma for them. It seems that it is quite realistic to think so.

Gardner: Some sort of confrontation which is going to make them revise their ideas?

Chief Buthelezi: Exactly.

Gardner: Then of course — don't you think? — they'll start listening to the appeal to their Christian conscience.

Chief Buthelezi: I think so.

Gardner: I hold the rather cynical view that on the whole people listen to Christian appeals when something else has told them that it is wise to do so. Most people don't respond to simple exhortation.

Chief Buthelezi: After all, Christianity has been around for 2000 years! I would agree with your assessment . . . □

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

by Leo Marquard.

I have for some time been wondering about the origins of black consciousness, what it really means, and what I, as a liberal, think about it. I have read many statements about it and for the most part I find it impossible to distinguish the language and idiom of black consciousness from that of nationalism.

I have known and lived with Afrikaner nationalism and think I understand something of how it came about and how it works. I think I understand, too, how nationalism in Europe was generated during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and how it fed upon itself to such an extent that it became self-perpetuating. But that was not white nationalism. It consisted of a number of nationalisms such as French, and to a lesser extent German, and they had two important characteristics. First, they were mutually antagonistic except when, for example, French nationalism found it advantageous to encourage and combine with Italian nationalism, purely on a temporary basis. In the second place, every separate nationalism was founded on the awakening of national consciousness.

I can understand the concept of Zulu or Bemba consciousness and how it becomes Zulu or Bemba nationalism. But what puzzles me is how black consciousness can emerge into black nationalism in South Africa, let alone Africa. Zulu and Sotho nationalisms are not one nationalism, and the leaders of the new states in Africa are fighting hard to suppress local nationalisms. In Zambia, for instance, President Kaunda seems to me to be anxious to avoid clashes between Bemba and Lozi nationalism; but there is as yet little sign of a Zambian nationalism.

If one is to accept the statements of those who profess to propagate black consciousness in South Africa they go one step further and wish to call all South Africans who are not classified as white, black. I can understand that the term nonwhite is negative and has all kinds of undertones; but I do not believe that all those who are not white are black. Yet we are being asked to call them that and are told by some Coloured leaders that they, too, are black. This seems to me as irrational as our population registration. Coloured or Asian leaders may support what they think to be black nationalism, but this does not make them black nationalists. Mr Adam Small and others say openly that they call themselves black because they want to show solidarity with all the oppressed people in South Africa. That is an honest statement though I do not

think it is sensible to try to make words mean something different from their accepted meaning.

I do not know where the idea of black consciousness started. As far as I am aware it is American in origin, though it may well have been triggered off by the spectacular success of African nationalism since the last war in ridding itself of colonialism. But it seems to me to have become popular as black power in the United States and to have been exported from there. As far as I know the conception of black power as a kind of all-in union of separate black nationalisms has not made much impact in Africa. Nor, if history is any guide, is it likely to do so, for it implies an African *internationalism* in whose existence it is hard to believe.

I do not like black consciousness and its off spring, black nationalism, for the same reasons that I have never liked nationalism of any kind because it is a self-seeking doctrine that, however much it may protest to the contrary, thrives by the oppression of other groups. When I read a statement recently about black consciousness I found it full of the sentiments, even the phrases of Afrikaner nationalism which I distrusted when they made their appearance fifty and more years ago. There was the same talk about securing your own national identity, your own language, and your own culture, and in that glorious day when that has been achieved, you will be able to accept on equal terms the English-speaking South Africans, or the whites, as the case may be. And I thought to myself: 'Do we have to go through all that a second time?' I know that there were weighty reasons for the rise of Afrikaner nationalism just as there are for the rise of anti-white movements, but when I see what nationalism has done to South Africa and to the rest of the world, and how difficult it is for it to 'stop going on', then I dread the rise of black nationalism. Whatever its advocates, black, Coloured, or white may say it won't stop at securing its own rights.

As a liberal I mistrust nationalism whatever its colour and however noble its expressed ideals sound. I regard it as an unmitigated evil whose aims, so nobly and grandly proclaimed, are illusory, whose methods always end in the worship of power for its own sake. I understand black consciousness but from what I have seen of it so far I find it difficult to believe that it is not black nationalism in thin disguise. Hence my distrust of it.□

THOSE WHO WENT TO LONDON

Those who went to London
Did not take the coward's way
Though they feared the invaded house
And the searching strangers
And the child's stare
And the long silence of the cell.

They have lost the folded hills
And the black skies
And the seas
And the long silence of the land.

But those who did not go
Are not brave
Though they stay to speak or not to speak
And forget the child's stare
And the searching strangers
And the friend within the cell.

They will live through each day's lie
And will lose their laughter
And their talking with the child
And the friend's word,

Save those who weep.

Jacob Stern.

A HUNDRED YEARS

IN OPPOSITION

A review of *Outlook on a Century: South Africa 1870–1970*; ed. Francis Wilson and Dominique Perrot; Spro-cas and Lovedale Press, 1973; R15.

by Marie Dyer

Outlook on a Century is a collection of editorials and articles from the 100-year-old *South African Outlook*. This journal, still appearing regularly, is the oldest in the country, having been first published in 1870 at the Lovedale Mission as the *Kaffir Express*. Writers such as Jabavu, Thema, Dube, Schreiner, Brookes, Gandhi, Kerr, Z. K. Matthews, Paton, have contributed to it and are represented in the collection.

The continued existence of the journal, and the extraordinary contemporary relevance of many of even its oldest articles, clearly reveal the venerability and consistency of the anti-apartheid tradition in South Africa. The centenary editorial (Oct, 1970) points out that the *Outlook* was founded before the *Afrikaner Bond*, and is almost twice as old as *Die Burger*. In 1880 and 1894 editorials 'drew attention to the two traditional policies of the country, and reiterated its belief that legislation which had the effect of widening the chasm between black and white was unchristian and would be disastrous' (p.1)

For 100 years, as this principle with its implications has been steadily breached and eroded, the journal has defended it; often, perhaps, too mildly; usually, until recently, more in sorrow than in anger (though there are some outbursts of noble passion), but consistently, patiently and humanely.

Much of the fascination of the book—often a melancholy even a dismal fascination—is its evidence that anxiety and concern have been voiced for scores of years over the problems which are still acute now. Poverty, passes, migrant labour, forced removals, the right to strike, the rule of law, church and politics—these are consistent subjects throughout the book, as the following brief extracts show.

Pass Legislation. Editorial, June 1889

Any Native who does not carry this certificate, who may have lost in on a journey, or forgotten to take it on every occasion, when he goes a short distance from his house, is liable 'to a fine of twenty shillings, or in default a month's imprisonment with or without spare diet and hard labour'. But penalties such as these belong to the criminal code; and under just laws, in any country, can only be inflicted for crimes or offences against life or property, or morality or decency. Is it then a crime for a native to live in the land where he was born, and which was his was his before it was ours, and is he to be liable to criminally penalties for the non-possession of a document whose value is merely arbitrary? It is certain that many will fall victims to this law, through error and omission as well as by intent. In the criminal statistics as they are summed up each year all these offences will go to swell the totals of the crime of the country, and will help to make the Cape Colony appear worse than it really is. Is this manufacture of crime and criminals on a purely non-moral basis to be called statemanship?

The Pass System. Editorial, July 1940.

It appears as if the system has been kept in being and intensified through the influence of a certain class of employers, who want labour forced into their service without the necessity of attracting it by better wages or better conditions. Is then a proper function of the state by criminal process to force labourers out of one area in order to compel them to go to another, where conditions may be less desirable? The procedure only needs stating to stand condemned. This is not the way free countries assist employers or the unemployed.

What benefit to the state can be placed to the credit of the pass system, to counterbalance the insult and humiliation it inflicts directly or indirectly upon two thirds of the population, the undeserved imprisonment of great number of most inoffensive men, the rankling sense of injustice produced in the hearts of its victims, and the bitterness against the White race and, most unfortunately, against the police?

The pass system may have had, and may still in some limited degree have, its uses; but, regarded as a whole, it is a wrong way of doing things, unsound in principle, oppressive in effect. It has become a form of social persecution.

Broken Homes. Editorial, January, 1920

Any one coming into contact with the Native people at their homes is soon forced to realise the harm that is being done to Native family life by the repeated and prolonged absences from home of the men who work at the mines, the docks, the railways, and the city stores. A large proportion of the Native male population is always away from home. As boys of seventeen they begin to go; with intervals at home to rest and to plough their little plots, most of them continue going until they are middle-aged, that is until they have sons to go in their place. A large proportion of these men send home or bring home the money they earn; some even injure their health by overeconomising on their food in order that they may bring home more. A good proportion, in spite of the temptations of the towns, remain sober men and faithful to their wives. Is it surprising that others fail? 'Where is your husband?' you ask some poor woman. 'He is at the Mines.' 'When did he go?' 'Three years ago.' 'Does he send you money?' 'No.' 'What is the matter; is he drinking?' 'I hear so.'

Unhappily there is another side to the question, and it is not surprising that there should be another side. Many of the wives have no homes of their own. The erection of a house, even a hut, is beyond the means of many of the men; the wife also would be afraid to live alone; therefore she lives along with some other family, in the same room it may be, because a round hut has often to accommodate all and sundry. A young man came home from work and found that during his long absence at Cape Town his attractive young wife had fallen victim to some young scoundrel who has probably been a school mate of hers. The wife was packed off to her home. Phthisis developed and not long after the birth of the child, the writer saw her at home. Emaciated and weak, her bright looks faded, she was a mere spectre of her former self. She was in a state of extreme mental distress. 'I can't sleep' she said. Her lost home, her husband's unforgiving anger, her ever-present sin.

Effects of Migratory Labour, D. W. Semple, November 1946

It is no part of my duty to assess the damages and apportion blame for the evils of our migratory system,

but I am constrained to say this. Countries that were involved in the war know at first hand and very sorely what disruption of the home means, for in many cases all the sons and some of the daughters were away from home for years. The condition was bearable only because it was a war condition, and always there was the end of the war to be looked for—'this one thing I do'. We have grown so accustomed to the African people having to go to work and leave their home for indefinite periods, we accept it as a matter of course. But we ourselves would regard it as intolerable and utterly wrong if we could not stay at the place where we work and have our wives and families with us. We are guilty of a great sin in our facile quiescent acceptance of such a condition, and though we may say we can't help it and that it is none of our doing, God will not hold us guiltless. It is no use railing at the millionaires and the other lesser creatures who have made fortunes out of gold shares and who don't care a hang at what cost to the souls and bodies of the mine workers. We are all involved directly or indirectly, for we are citizens of the Union of South Africa, and the reason why our taxation is so relatively light is that the Government takes so much of the running costs of the country out of the gold mines.

Community of the Careless, Anthony Barker, April 1970

Economic or even social analysis of migratory labour will fail to reveal the full picture of its costs in terms of human misery. To learn this you must listen to the lonely wife, the anxious mother, the insecure child. Small tokens, it may be said, yet straws blown by the rising wind, indications of the gale that blows around the bend of the decade. It is at family level that the most pain is felt, and we cannot forget that the African cultural heritage enshrines a broader, more noble concept of family than that of the West. The extended family has proved a marvellous security for those for whom, otherwise, there was no security at all. The extended family is a net wide enough to gather the child who falls from the feeble control of neglectful parents; it receives the widow, tolerates the batty, gives status to grannies. Migratory labour destroys this, by taking away for long months together, the father, the brother, the lover and the friend. Each must go, and no one fools themselves that these men can live decent lives in a sexual vacuum. The resultant promiscuity is but one aspect of a mood of irresponsibility. For your migrant is concerned with nobody but himself; his own survival is the only survival that he can influence by any act he performs. He may be well fed; doubtless he is. He may be well cared for; doubtless he is. He may have the companionship of others like himself. Yet the food he eats cannot fill the bellies of his children, nor the blanket he sleeps under warm any but himself. His care, his love, his family loyalty cannot reach out to his wife, nor caress his children, nor extend to the grandmother who brought him up.

*Orlando 'Model Native Town'. Neil Macvicar,
March 1940*

Take the £4 6s 8d. man, an abstainer, occupying a three-room house. Rent 25s. railway fares 8s 6d., poll tax 1s 8d., burial society fees 2s 6d. Total for items that must be paid £1 17s 8d. This leaves for food and other items a margin of £2 9s. But the food alone costs £3 14s., plus supplements. It is obvious that in the case of neither of these typical tenants can the family be fed on the wage earned; at best they can be half-starved on it.

It is clear that the average man living at Orlando cannot himself support a family. He cannot ask a woman to share his home, cook his food and look after his children on the usual basis that he has a wage sufficient to maintain the home. His wage is sub-economic.

Eviction, Editorial May 1914

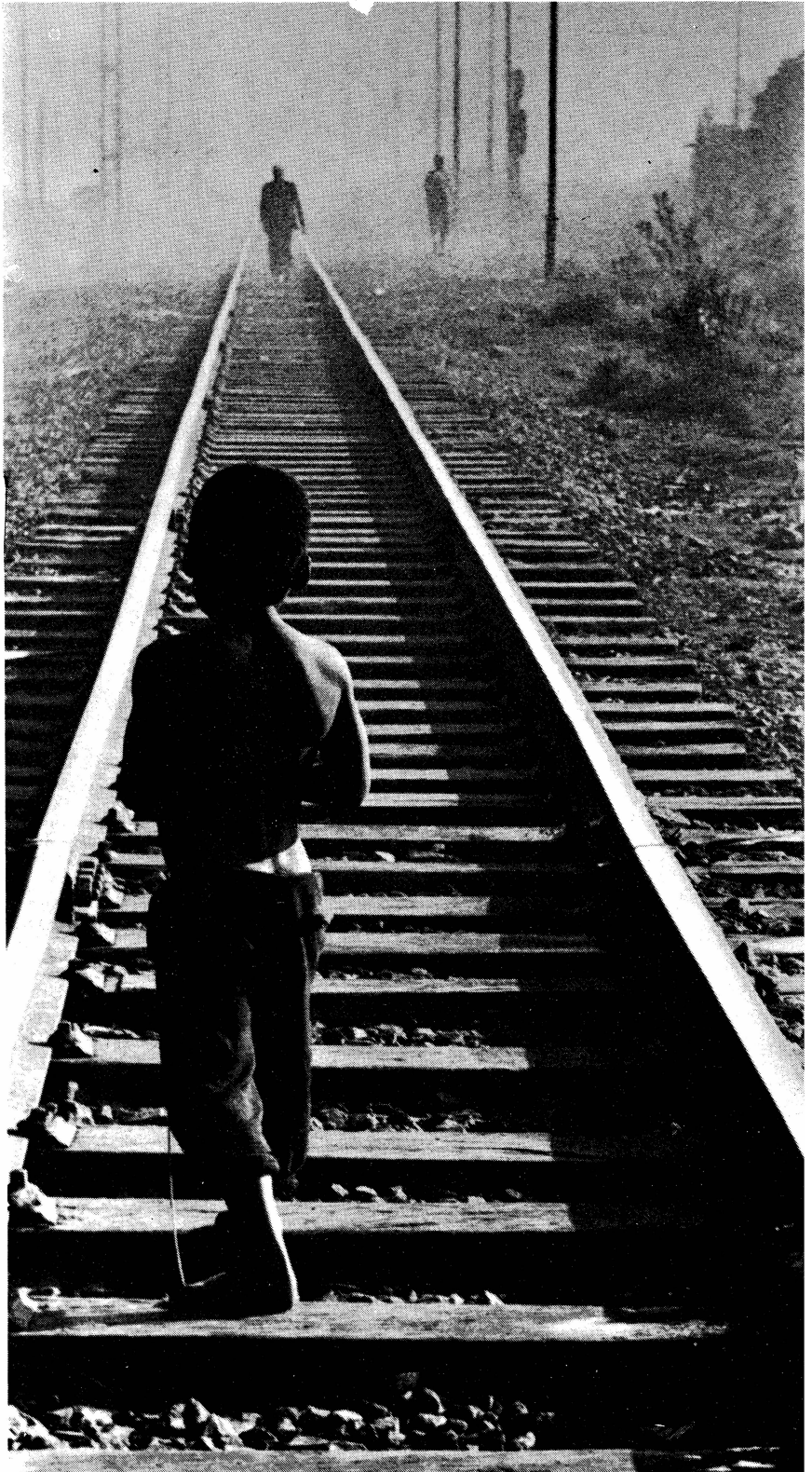
But it is to the harsh condition under which these changes are being made that we direct special attention. In one instance that has recently come to our notice, a chief and his people have been living on land on which they and their fathers have dwelt for eight generations. This 'farm' recently was purchased by a farmer resident in another Province who decided to terminate rent-paying conditions previously in existence between the former owner and the Natives, and to substitute labour conditions, under which even the chief, an old man, has been required to give service. The people were called on to quit their houses, which are square buildings of bricks and timber and thatched. Most of the people are Christians and had erected a good building which they used for church and school purposes. In connection with this the new owner gave less than one month's notice in the following terms: 'This is to notify you that I can let you have the school building no longer. I bought the farm and wish to receive same at the end of of your school quarter.'

In another instance from the Northern Transvaal the Natives have been given only three months to leave the place occupied by them and their fathers for generations. They have to abandon their houses with their beams, doors and thatch, and their school-room.

These are typical instances exemplifying the hardship, and the callous enforcement of 'rights' which is going on. The Native Affairs Department when appealed to, indicated that in such cases Natives may have a claim for compensation for buildings they have to abandon a claim which it might be advisable for them to seek legal assistance to enforce. Few Natives in such circumstances would go to law, knowing full well that the expense of such suits would consume most, or all, of any compensation that might be awarded to them.

The long road. (Photo: Peter Magubane)

(acknowledgement to 'The Classic')



FROM PROTEST TO CHALLENGE

A review of *From Protest to Challenge, Vol I. Protest and Hope 1882 – 1934*, by Karis, T. and Carter, Gwendolen M., selected by Sheridan Jules (Hoover Institute Press, Stanford University, California).

by Edgar Brookes.

The volume under review ("Protest and Hope") is the first of a trilogy. The two volumes yet to appear are "Hope and Challenge, 1935-1952" and "Challenge and Violence 1953-64". The general editors, well-known to many South Africans, are Professor Thomas Karis, of City College, City University of New York, and Professor Gwendolen M. Carter of Northwestern University. The volume presently under review has been compiled by Dr Sheridan Johns of Duke University.

The very nature of the trilogy implies certain assumptions – that the role of African leadership is vastly more important in South African history than traditional historians have made it, that it is worth recording in detail, that its movement towards fulfilment and liberation is right, that the time for requests is passing and the time for demands has arrived. These assumptions, by and large, are the assumptions of "Reality", which must therefore welcome this monumental work.

Even if their views are different, all students of South African affairs would be bound to welcome this documentary history. It fills, and fills well, a gap in our historical records, and is edited with skill, reasonable impartiality and great thoroughness.

In pre-Union days appeals to the Crown or to the British Government were frequent and not unjustifiable. It took the Africans a long time to realise that Britain had, in effect, abandoned them to the ruling South African Whites. This final abandonment, strangely enough, was the work of the British Liberal Party which, with quite indefensive optimism, sacrificed them on the altar of Afrikaans-English reconciliation after the Anglo-Boer War. Petitions to King George V are recorded just before World War I started (20th July 1914) and just after it ended (16th December, 1918). "It is with painful regret," say the petitioners in the latter document, "that we remind Your Majesty that those Victorian principles with which our people associate with the high ideals of the British Constitution have been departed from and in the main dishonoured and ignored by Your Majesty's representative governments in South Africa." As late as June 1925 there is recorded a petition to the Prince of Wales by the Transvaal Mine Clerks' Association.

It is to be noted that as late as 1930 Africans describe themselves as "Natives" or occasionally as "Bantu".

As one reads through these documents, one is struck with the dignity and good sense of them, and the ability of the writers, certainly not less than that of the leaders of the present day. There were some very great men in the period 1882-1934. As one reads these documents one is filled with a burning shame that White South Africa did not react as it ought to have done to their decency, honesty and tolerance. If the White man's place in South Africa is in peril today, it is due to his own fault. We Liberals must have our own moment of truth – and of penitence – as we realise how easily we dismissed some of these potent, courteous but devastating arguments.

Nor is it South Africans only who need to be ashamed. Many of those Englishmen who are so smug about South Africa in this second half of the twentieth century ought to realise that Lord Milner and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman no less than General Smuts let these moderate, reasonable and courteous representations fall to the ground while there was still time to do something constructive with them. It is they and others like them who have, by their failure to do anything effective, led the South Africa of 1973 into the quicksands and morasses of the present day.

When one reads the works of D.D.T. Jabavu, Sol Plaatje, V. Selope Thema, Z. R. Maabane or H. Selby Msimang, one cannot but feel sad at the contrast between them and some of the crude black militant leaders of today. But who created the movement for black exclusiveness and black aggression? Surely the white man, not merely the advocates of baasskap and apartheid, but the timid and hesitating well-wishers, the so-called friends of the Africans who put comfortable living and the *status quo* above the justice of God. Few of us who lived before the apartheid election of 1948 can escape some burning feelings of penitence about our inadequacy.

Professors Karis and Carter and Dr Johns have put us all in their debt, not merely by getting between the joints of our armour of complacency, but by preserving a permanent record of the humanity and decency, moderation and good-will of the past generation of African leaders. These are great qualities. They are not dead. Even now if white South Africa were to wake up and face facts and ethical demands, our coming together in unity would not be impossible. But if (which heaven forbid) South Africa should go down in blood and fire and tears, this volume will show conclusively that it was not the work of the earlier African leadership that this should be so. □

THE NEW SPROCAS VISION

A Review of South Africa's Political Alternatives:
Report of the Political Commission of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society.
(Spro-cas Publication. No. 10) Johannesburg, 1973

AN ACCOUNT OF THE REPORT

by Marie Dyer

The Spro-cas political commission undertook an ambitious task: to formulate a statement of the Christian doctrine of Man; to derive from this a set of ethical considerations applicable to political life; to examine the present political situation in South Africa and to evaluate it in the light of these considerations; in the many areas where it fails to satisfy them, to consider the possibilities for change inherent in the situation itself; to consider the theoretical and practical validity of other current or conventional proposals for political change; and finally itself to suggest both immediate and long-term strategies for change which could progress from the present situation to a system embodying its ethical principles in a practical and satisfactory way.

If the task was intimidating, the achievement is impressive. Again and again the reader is almost daunted by the rigour with which difficulties are confronted and implications pursued, the closeness with which conventional assumptions are scrutinised, and the coherence with which arguments are presented. The conclusions reached and suggestions offered may be controversial; but they have been reached openly, lucidly and with a total absence of evasion.

The ethical principles established are the basic ones of equality, freedom and justice, and the 'derived' ones — with an admirably logical account of their derivation — of the rule of law, guaranteed civil rights, and effective participation in government. The very scrupulous examination of the present South African system exposes it — not unexpectedly — as flouting these principles in almost every possible way.

In investigating the special nature of South Africa's political problems (with many references to other sociological studies and researches, particularly those into the heterogeneous American society) the report

suggests that the peculiar intractability of those problems results not from South Africa's diversity of races as such, but from the fact that the racial cleavages coincide with other lines, principally those of economic exploitation, political domination and social stratification. Thus conflicts arising at one level over specific issues will rapidly be generalised into other spheres; and the intense group conflicts so generated must be regulated by force. The task for South Africa is seen as one of moving from this kind of society, which is fundamentally unstable and must be held together by coercion, to the stability of an open 'pluralistic' society, in which power is widely diffused and in which there are cross-cutting affiliations of all sorts across the lines of cleavage.

Political concepts often recommended for application in South Africa are thus subjected in the report to a double scrutiny: first, whether their adoption would satisfy the commission's ethical principles; and second, whether they would effectively promote the establishment of an open pluralistic society. Ideas like the common society, separate development, liberal-constitutionalism, the qualified franchise, the two-party system, are carefully examined. In addition, the report mentions other less familiar but also relevant systems operating in some European countries — for instance the 'consociational' system in which sub-cultures (those in Holland are Catholic, Protestant and secular) have a large measure of social autonomy; or 'corporate pluralism' as in Norway, where a major area of decision-making and participation by citizens is in bargaining with the government through interest groups.

The report rejects each of these concepts as being in itself unlikely to fulfil the conditions established. It will be recognised that in its inability to adopt the principles of liberal-constitutionalism, the report seems to be rejecting a system for which liberal democrats have consistently campaigned: in particular, the formula

of universal suffrage, a rigid constitution and a Bill of Rights, which has often been regarded as the only democratic ideal. In acknowledgement of the almost unprecedented nature of this rejection in South Africa the report presents a cogent defence. It suggests that the liberal-constitutional system, in concerning itself almost solely with the relationship between the individual and the state, would not confront the main difficulty in South Africa, which is its divided pluralism (implicit in an adherence to the system is the expectation or hope that conflicting White and Black nationalisms would simply disappear). It argues that in plural societies with rigidly divided group interests the franchise easily becomes a battleground in which groups seek to dominate each other, and that extension of the franchise in South Africa might do no more than provide the possibility of a plural society under Black domination. It points out that the system does not in itself help to achieve equality in areas not directly concerned with relations between the individual and the state; and concludes that the system as applied in a racially divided society is calculated to intensify the politics of race.

In setting out short- and long-term goals, and recommending strategies for change in South Africa derived from these investigations and conclusions, the report sets out specifically to avoid the kind of 'utopian' proposals often recommended — proposals which would only work when all the obstacles preventing their adoption had of themselves disappeared. (It may be argued that all proposals not made or endorsed by the present government are utopian in this sense; but the report suggests that there are conditions under which the government might modify its rigid stance — for instance a crisis, which the report does not predict or define, but insists it would be irresponsible not to provide for, in which the previously unbargainable issues become bargainable; or a progressive and intolerable intensification of the strains and illogicalities inherent in the Separate Development policy). Thus the recommendations of the report accept in part the 'group' system now operating in South Africa. The report acknowledges the fear and scepticism with which liberals regard the group as a political category; but asserts that acceptance of this idea involves no transgression of its own ethical principles, provided that the groups are formed by voluntary affiliation and leave freedom for individual affiliations across the cleavages between them.

The recommendations of the report are formulated into a Model for Transition, divided into two stages, whose main proposals are these:

The First Stage — starting from the present system in which the central government is still responsible to a parliament elected by the White group.

- A 1 The removal of inequalities and injustices and the provision of better opportunities for all people in education, economics, occupational mobility, collective bargaining, social security and welfare.

- 2 The liberalisation of society in the areas of political dissent and protest, freedom of the press, censorship, voluntary association.
- 3 The safeguarding of the defence force from the monopoly of any one group.
- B 1 The setting up of representative Regional (not ethnic) authorities, and the definition and extension of their powers.
- 2 The setting up of representative communal authorities to accept some powers of local government and to negotiate in the interests of unfranchised groups in the common areas.
- 3 The setting up of regional planning and co-ordinating committees with representatives from regional and communal authorities, and also from interest groups like trade unions and agricultural associations, to assume responsibilities in matters transcending the competence of regional and communal authorities.
- 4 The progressive devolution of decisive policy-making, executive and administrative powers from the central government to the regional and communal authorities.
- 5 The creation of standing ad-hoc committees, with representatives from all authorities, groups and interests, to accept an increasing measure of control over national matters like influx control, transport and communications.
- C The setting up of independent tribunals to supervise action taken under security measures like the Terrorism and Suppression of Communism Acts.

After a round of negotiations, conferences and conventions, comprehensive constitutional changes are envisaged for the *Second Stage*, for which the commission's recommendations are more general. The major recommendation is the establishment of a *Federal Government*, to determine matters of national policy and to be responsible to a legislative assembly representative of all the citizens of the Republic. (The composition, powers, and election procedures of this assembly would be decided in the round of conferences; the elections could be indirect with regional and communal authorities acting as electoral colleges, or could embody some form of direct election combining constituency and proportional representation)

Civil liberties and minorities' rights would be entrenched and protected by an independent judiciary. Present security laws would be repealed and replaced by democratically acceptable ones.

In the creation of an *Open Society*, allowing some degree of *Optional Segregation*:

- 1 Multi-racial Regional authorities, set up as in stage 1, and with similar powers, would remain.
- 2 Communal authorities — including White communal authorities — would control and provide facilities for their own groups in their own group areas.

3 Multi-racial local authorities would control common areas — i.e. all commercial areas and all open residential areas (for those who chose to live outside group areas).

4 General cultural councils would provide facilities for people who did not wish to affiliate with a communal authority or make use e.g. of its educational facilities.

5 All services supplied by the federal government and local authorities in the common area would be available to all citizens.

6 Authorities in group areas, and private bodies, could impose some segregation at their own expense, if they so wished.

A BRIEF FURTHER COMMENT

by Colin Gardner

This comment is brief, not because *South Africa's Political Alternatives* is uninteresting or unimportant, but for precisely the opposite reason: the book inspires a good deal of that appreciative silence that is the proper response to an achievement which is both subtle and revelatory; and one senses that one must resist the temptation to provide one's reader with a body of secondary commentary which may get in the way of the work itself. The Report, the last and the most elaborate of the reports of the six spro-cas commissions, deserves above all to be *read* — carefully, thoughtfully, imaginatively.

To say this is not to say that the Report is necessarily wholly "right". No study which provides both a full analysis of the present complicated political situation and a series of strategies for creative future development could conceivably be infallible. I personally find most of the Commission's arguments convincing, including almost all of its criticisms of some of the central policies that were adopted by the now-disbanded Liberal Party (I was myself, like several of the signatories of the Report, an active member of that party); but at the same time I think one cannot but be grateful for Dr Edgar Brookes' minority report which sturdily reaffirms the traditional liberal viewpoint. The majority report and the minority report are at one as to the basic ethical principles which a just political system must embody: the tension between them in regard to strategy and tactics seems to me to be, at the moment at any rate, a healthy one.

One of Dr Brookes's criticisms of the Report runs like this: "I do my colleagues the justice — and it is no more than justice — to say that they have framed their report with an honest and earnest desire to make that impact which they feel traditional liberalism to have lacked. But, subconsciously as good South Africans, they have considered the impact on the white voters, and forgotten what impact their report would have on the black community and on world Christian consciousness."

These remarks pinpoint interestingly, though I think rather unfairly, one of the Report's main achievements, and its one serious shortcoming. Deliberately avoiding the eloquent denunciations which made up so large a part of the rhetoric of the old liberal opposition, the Commission has produced a document which could be

read and responded to even by many supporters of the Nationalist Government. Clearly the Commission has worked on the assumption that it is right to try to talk to the people who have power, and to offer them — since it seems possible to do so — a not dishonourable way out of their present dilemma. Perhaps no book on South Africa written by a liberal or by liberals has ever before had quite this appeal.

But of course in a country where the range of political attitudes and experiences is so wide, speaking to one group of people is apt to involve neglecting or indeed insulting another group. In fact — and this is another of its achievements — I don't think this Report would offend any reasonable person, whatever his race, or any but fanatical groups of persons. But the Report is not likely to be immediately *accepted* by most blacks, for several reasons: the fact that it suggests a way of progressing from the present hated situation is bound to be a cause of suspicion; the very complexity of its analyses and proposals is likely to be regarded by many as yet another instance of wily obfuscation; but most important of all, the Report is written and signed only by white people. For various reasons (the chief of which was I believe the understandable reluctance of many blacks to commit themselves to public declarations which might arouse a punitive mood in the Government) the spro-cas commissions consisted mainly of whites. The Political Commission had only one black member, Dr W. F. Nkomo; and he died before the Report was written. In one most unhappy respect, then, *South Africa's Political Alternatives* resembles the calamitous Anglo-Rhodesian settlement proposals . . .

This Report deserves a better fate. But it cannot hope to succeed properly unless it is widely circulated and thoroughly canvassed among influential blacks — as well as among influential whites. Indeed I suspect that circulation and canvassing will not be sufficient: the Report will have to be added to, modified, rewritten in various ways. It is perhaps a starting-point rather than a finishing-post (it is only fair to add that the Commission does not claim to have predicted or controlled the future). Still, in the deadlock, the logjam, that the country has endured for so long, a starting-point is what is needed. I believe that this Report offers us all the chance of a flying start.□

ADVICE TO A YOUNG LIBERAL

by J. W. Macquarrie.

Look, my boy, I love your optimism but do you realise what you are up against? First we've got to get the Nats out of power, then the U.P.'s. If by that time you are not an old age pensioner, if we are not all slaughtered by Black Power, and if we get a Prog. government, — even that will have to be facelifted a bit before it's quite acceptable to a dyed-in-the-wool liberal . . .

I see. Well, I admire your spirit. Never say die. But if you are really serious about pushing the liberal cause, you'll have to make a few sacrifices. Risk Robben Island? House arrest? Bread and water? Solitary confinement? Voluntary confessions with three-foot (beg pardon, metre) lengths of rubber lie detector to refresh your memory? Come, come, surely not all that. But I'm thinking of something more prosaic and more demanding.

Don't be angry with me if I'm a little personal. For one thing, you'll have to see a barber, see him soon, and see him often. A real old conservative barber. Preferably one who trims the stockbroker fringe. Better still, a man who shears senior police officers. A short back and sides man.

It's no good arguing with me. I know that the length is but the guinea stamp "the man's the gowd for a' that." But I didn't make this world. Beards, side-whiskers, Air Force handlebars, Genghis Khan droops, shoulder-length ringlets, five o'clock shadow at 9 a.m. are, to echo the words of a much quoted Nat paper-back on education, "nothing less than the deadliest danger to us". The man in the street, the voter, takes it as axiomatic that long hair goes with sleeping in until the early afternoon, frousty bedrooms, wife-beating, three-day shirts, drug-taking and way out lunatic political opinions.

The same with clothes. That poncho, those jeans, that jaundiced shirt, that neon tie. They express your personality, do they? Well, wear them and be damned. But for Heaven's sake don't preach liberalism in them or you'll set back the millenium by a millenium. Burn them, I say. Scare the crows with them. Put them on Guy Fawkes. Hand them over to NAPAC or a jumble sale. And that suede hand-bag! Give it to your girl-friend; patch your shoes with it. But don't mix drag with liberalism.

Your spare time activities? What liberalism needs as much as anything is a strong leavening of lawn-mowing, bowls playing Rotarians who wash the family car on Sunday morning and take Fido for a run after lunch.

Bird-watching? Ballet? No, my boy, too risky. They sap confidence in your respectability. Horses now. Breed them, ride them, or back them. Take up polo. No, not water polo, but real gentlemanly polo with real gentlemanly horses. Get a few of your pals interested in fox-hunting and haut école and you'll be worth your weight in voting-papers. Make it jakkalsjag and we'll get you on to the Senate or maybe even the Publications Board.

So mucy for the frills. Now for the real crunch. What job do you mean to train for? To sell liberalism what you need is a good solid bourgeois job. Engineering in all its branches. No, wait a minute, not structural. That's too close to architecture and, to John Citizen and Jan Burger, architecture is too close to the arty-crafty, to the la-di-da. Business, now, big or small. Industry, Commerce. These are safe bets. Accountancy? Yes, that's a good line. The man in the street trusts accountants — neat rows of figures with nothing doctrinaire about them, dark suits, white shirts with cuffs cascading over the hands. The voter is confident that men who support laundries support the status quo. Dry-cleaning and demonstrating, he feels, and for that matter, property and protest, plate-glass and politeness, real estate and third estate, simply don't mix.

So you see your choice seems rather restricted. No novelists, no poets, no journalists, no play-actors, no painters — since Hitler's day, not even house-painters. The public knows just what kind of private lives the scribbling gentry and the mountebanks and the rest of the lowdown high-brow riffraff lead — late nights, wives on the short-term plan, kitchen sinks chock-a-block with burnt saucepans, dirty plates and decaying food, weird ideas, the lot. And no clerical gents. If you're a DRC. parson and a liberal then, to the voter, you must be out of your mind. If you're an Anglican, or Presby. or one of that crowd — well, he asks, what else can you expect? Quite a few doors closed but you've still got a lot of latitude.

So there you have it, my boy. See your barber. See your tailer — one who caters for elderly commercial gents. Get a lawn and a lawn-mower. Get a poodle and a nice lead. Join the Lions, the Masons, the Round Table, the Chamber of Commerce, the bowling club and the Old Patagonians. Set up as an internal auditor or as a manufacturer of macaroni, noodles or non-ferrous nuts and bolts. Then preach the gospel of liberalism for all you're worth. And by 1984, with just a few more like you, we'll have it. We'll have liberalism in our time.□

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