



WEDNESDAY

August 71

PRO VERITATE

JAARGANG X NO 4 AUGUSTUS 1971

REDAKTEUR:

Dr. W.B. de Villiers

INTEKENGELD

Intekengeld is vooruitbetaalbaar

Land-en seepos: R1 (10/- of \$1.40), Afrika; R1.50 (15/- of \$2.10), Oorsee; 17/6 - Engeland.

Lugpos: R2.00 (£1 of \$2.80), Afrika; R3.50 (£1/17/6 of \$5.00), Oorsee; £2 - Engeland.

Nederland: Luchtpost-editie f 17,50; Zeepost f 7,50
Alle betalings voor Pro Veritate of het Christelijk Instituut voor Z.A. kunnen geschieden op Giro 8685 t.n.v. de Generale Diaconale Raad der Ned. Herv. Kerk te Utrecht, met opgave doel der betaling.

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Dear Dr. Vorster

Last month we published an *Open Letter* signed by 45 Christians in the Cape. It received much newspaper comment. *Die Transvaler* printed an article with reactions by Dr. J.D. Vorster, Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church. One of the original signatories of the *Open Letter* here replies to Dr. Vorster.

MY DEAR DR. VORSTER,

Some of us who signed the *Open Letter to South Africans* have been particularly interested in two reactions to it. The first is the silence (until the time of writing this) of Dr. Gericke, whose role in the Mercer-Chamberlain affair provoked the *Open Letter* in the first place. Is it possible that he has decided not to say anything because the *Open Letter* so thoroughly repudiated his attack on critics of our apartheid society? The second reaction is your own in *Die Transvaler* (19.7.71).

We think that it is a pity you did not read the 12 pages of the *Open Letter* itself before making your comments - instead of just a newspaper report. If I may make the comparison without disrespect, a cowboy who shoots from the hip is apt to aim rather wildly. And your aim was pretty wild in some ways, as perhaps even you will admit now if you have since read the whole document.

For one thing the *Open Letter* is not quite as superficial as you seemed to presume but a researched recital of basic facts and quotations from Nationalist Party leaders. For another you will have seen that it was nonsense to assert as you did that we were not trying to speak on the basis of the gospel, and theologically. There is in fact a considerable amount of theology in the *Letter*. You will have seen that you guessed our attitude to the World Council of Churches' "optrede" (if by that you meant specifically its grant to the guerrillas) and also to the "teologie van die revolusie" quite wrongly.

OPPOSE BOTH NATIONALISM AND COMMUNISM

You will also have seen that we did not oppose nationalism, as you supposed and alleged, on the grounds of "die sosialisme" or "links-liberale" politics "wat eintlik net die Kommunisme tegemoet kom". On the contrary we opposed it strictly on Christian grounds in accordance with Jean Lasserre's principle: "It is impossible to be both a Christian and a nationalist". On the basis of the gospel we oppose *both* the false gods of nationalism and Communism. You on the other hand, in your attack on us, defend "nasionalisme as sodanig" and so contravene the first commandment, "Thou shalt have no other god besides me". For everyone who links together Nationalism and Christianity (i.e. an ideology and the Word of God) as the *two* ultimate principles he serves (as the so-called "German Christians" did and as you do with your "Christelike-Nasionalisme") is guilty of contravening this commandment, that is,

guilty of idolatry. It is precisely this idolatry that the *Open Letter* is concerned to oppose.

Your attempt to associate us with Communism was an unwarranted smear. Yet by it you dramatically vindicated the *Open Letter's* point that the Nazis' technique of using the bogey of Communism against their opponents by calling them "Communists" or "tools of Communism" is similarly used in South Africa to smear perfectly non-Communist opponents of apartheid. The *Open Letter* even had the foresight to mention that you were one of the people most guilty in this regard! We may think also of your recent statement (in a letter about censorship but presumably meant as a general principle: "Die verskil tussen Rooi agitators en sg. bona fide-ontevredenes is net dit: die eerste weet wat hulle doen, die tweede nie" (Die Burger, 6.5.71)!!

You accused us of playing "in ou Kommunistiese spel om alle teenstanders vir Nazi's te wil uitskel". However, the *Open Letter* did not actually call anyone in South Africa today a Nazi. What it did was point out that before its war-time atrocities were publicized the Nationalists themselves expressed great sympathy for National Socialism and its ideals, and that though there are important differences between National Socialism and South African Nationalism there are also very definite parallels between them. It further pointed out that this psychological affinity and these ideological parallels were to be explained by the fact that they are both different forms of the same phenomenon, namely, racialistic nationalism.

TO READ: A FIRST PRE-REQUISITE

Moreover, if you have read the *Letter* by now you will have seen that it was not *we* who invented the idea of this comparison and affinity but the Nationalists themselves! It was the Prime-Minister-to-be, Mr J.G. Strijdom himself, who said in 1942: "Duitse Nasionaal-Sosialisme ... kom seer seker naaste aan ons Nasionaal-Christelike lewensbeskouing in Suid-Afrika" (Hansard, col. 2070)! (Notice that it can be called "Nasionaal-Christelike" as well as "Christelik-Nasionaal"! It was Dr Verwoerd who was found by a court of law to have deliberately made his newspaper "a tool of the Nazis". It was our present Prime Minister who is reported to have said, "Christian Nationalism in South Africa is an ally of National Socialism" (RDM, 24.2.71). Presumably you would not call any of these men Communists or "links-liberale elemente"!

But perhaps there is an example even nearer at

home, which touches not only on the attitude of Nationalists to National Socialism but also on the even more serious question of the fatal compromise of many churchmen with the ideological principles common to National Socialism and South African Nationalism. In what follows I will merely quote three newspaper items - with the invitation, of course, that you should explain more exactly what lay behind them.

The first of these items is a report of an address you gave the preceding week-end to the University of Cape Town branch of the Afrikaanse Nasionale Studentebond, the parent body of the present ASB. Did you not know that anyone was present who would report the address? I quote:-

1. Report in the Cape Argus of Monday, 16th September, 1940 ('City Late' edition)

Ds. Vorster said he has just read Hitler's 'Mein Kampf'. That book, he said, showed South Africa the way to greatness. Hitler had given the Germans a mission. He had given them a fanaticism which enabled them to triumph over all other peoples.

"Only by following this example, only by such a holy fanaticism can the Afrikaner nation fulfil its destiny", he said. "South Africa shall become the leader of the world."

Mr. Vorster went on to say that ... the Afrikaners were the aristocrats of South Africa and they must shape their future in their own interests. No non-Afrikaner must ever again be permitted to grow rich here.

What was needed was a republic but not a 50-50 republic. "In our republic the Afrikaner shall not try to co-operate with the Englishman. We will dictate terms to the Englishman who will be compelled to accept. I see a new trek - the trek of Jews, of Jingoos and of all who will not accept our terms." ... In the new Christian national republic there could be no place for the English language.

They could no longer accept a liberal democratic system. A Christian national republic must be built which would obey the rule of the blood and not the ballot box. Never again must elections be held in South Africa.

In thanking Mr. Vorster, the chairman said that the "holy fanaticism of the A.N.S." would soon rule the university, and said that they were proud of being called Nazis.

2. Letter in The Cape Argus of Wednesday, 18th September, 1940

Your report creates the impression that I advocated a Nazi system for South Africa. This is definitely not true and I must repudiate it in the strongest terms.

I regret the fact that you gave publicity to a report so totally unfounded. As a Christian and Afrikaner I advocated a system founded on our past which

is definitely Calvinistic and must lead to the founding of a Christian National State.

The whole report is distorted and twisted and conveys an entirely wrong idea of what I said.

Anybody acquainted with our past knows that no foreign system can be applied to South Africa without committing an unpardonable offence to our Calvinistic past.

Probably your correspondent was sufficiently out of harmony with that past not to grasp the essential idea of my speech.

(Signed) J.D. Vorster.

3. Editor's Leader in the Cape Argus of Wednesday, 18th September, 1940

The Rev. J.D. Vorster - apparently a "General" in the (Ossewa Brandwag) movement - has furnished us today with a hot, though completely vague denial of advocating a Nazi system in South Africa. He seems unconscious of the fact that when he advised students to take 'Mein Kampf' as their guidebook to greatness, when he adjured them to follow Hitler's example, and when he advocated an expulsion of the democratic system, of the ballot-box and elections, he was, in fact propelling students into the path of a Nazi revolution - students who, as their chairman said, were already "proud of being called Nazis". We can only absolve Mr. Vorster of the charge of being duped by the Nazis when we receive a report of an address in which he has denounced the pagan principles of the Hitler creed and the racial brutalities of its system ...

The efforts clearly being made to use the Dutch Reformed Church as the Ossewabrandwag organ and instrument constitute as sinister a move as could possibly be imagined. We feel sure that the Church hierarchy will realise the danger, and take energetic steps to resist a movement which contains within it all the germs of destruction for the Church itself, as well as the State. The so-called "holy mission" is nothing less than the "revolution of destruction" which brought Hitler and his gang into power in Germany and which, if successful, would produce the necessary chaos in South Africa for the triumph of paganism here.

PER SLOT VAN SAKE

So far the quotations. You will forgive me, I hope, if I sign this letter to you with a nom de plume. I would have liked to sign my own name. However, as you yourself stated to the Secretary of the S.A. Council of Churches in December 1968 that the Department of the Interior had sometimes revealed to you "personally" its reasons for taking action against so many churchmen (Sunday Times, 24.1.71) you will presumably know that it is not always safe to be too critical of apartheid on Christian grounds.

GUNTHER DEHN

Are there Limits to Machines?

Peter Onesta

THIS ARTICLE TRIES to show that machines cannot do our thinking for us. A computer can perform only those operations built into it can do only the operations programmed for it. The idea that machines think, may be due partly to the mystique which surrounds computers. Some results from recent developments in axiomatic theories throw a critical light on this sort of mystique.

In the society of which we are part, there appears to be uncertainty about what machines can do. There is, among many of us, an attitude that machines are going to usher in a great new era and that all we shall have to do, is to mechanize everything. Others feel somewhat oppressed by this idea and tend to reject machines, but they cannot always give satisfactory reasons for their rejection.

The question is important, because machines are thought of as aids to teaching, sometimes even as replacements for teachers. For example, in *The Listener* (10 June 1965) Stuart Maclure mentions that the subject of statistics is being taught to first-year students at the University of Strathclyde by closed-circuit television. Third-year mathematics will be taught to engineering students by television, not because of a shortage of staff, but because the lecturers have felt that they could teach better in this way.

The aim of this article is to show that there is not an unlimited use for machines. The use we can make of machines, is limited to what is known. This result has been established. Machines are tools or aids. Because of the amazing speed with which computers work, some people feel that they will be able to initiate discovery.

The attitude of many people may be summarized in the words of D.H. Lawrence ... alert science does not ask us to believe the commonplace assertion that water is H_2O , but school children have to believe it.

A parallel case is all this modern stuff about astronomy, stars, their distances and speeds, and so on, talking of billions and trillions of miles and years and so forth; it is occult. The mind is reveling in words, and intuitions and instincts are left

out, or prostituted into a kind of ecstasy. In fact the sort of ecstasy that lies in absurd figures, such as 2 000 000 000 000 000 000 000 000 000 miles or years or tons, figures which abound in modern scientific books on astronomy, is just the sort of aesthetic ecstasy that they experience from Matisse's pictures. (Introduction to His Paintings).



To understand what machines are capable of doing, is to have to study mathematical logic and syntactical languages as vehicles for the communication of meaning, and this is a technical affair. For this reason, most of us are unfamiliar with it. Indeed, Professor Cohen has some rather hard things to say about this lack:

Die Kleurling Waarheen?

Beyers Naude

AS EK MET U oor die verhouding van die Afrikaner tot die Kleurling praat - en dus implisiet ook oor die verhouding van die Kleurling tot die Afrikaner - dan doen ek dit nie omdat dit 'n interessante of prikkelende tema van diskussie van die oomblik is nie, maar omrede van 'n ernstige en toenemende bekommernis oor die vraag of daar nog wel 'n verhouding bestaan wat die grond kan vorm van 'n sinvolle diskussie?

EK VRA DIE VRAAG omdat die vervreemding tussen die blanke, by name die Afrikaner, en die Kleurling wat besig was om op te bou vanaf 1956 met die tontrekkery rondom die vergroting van die Senaat, die afgelope jaar skielik in tempo en intensiteit toegeneem het tot so 'n mate dat talle van hulle reeds hul rug op die blanke gekeer het. Vir enigiemand wat 'n elementêre sin van geregtigheid het, wat 'n mate van sensitiwiteit besit oor menslike reaksies en wat in gereelde kontak met denkende Kleurlinge was, moes dit lankal duidelik geword het hoe ernstig en ingrypend die vervreemding is wat die afgelope jaar tussen Afrikaner en Kleurling gegroei het. Hierdie vervreemding hang ten nouste saam met die politieke gebeure in ons land waar bestaande basiese regte stap vir stap aan die Kleurling ontnem is. Ek noem net die vergroting van die Senaat in 1955 ten einde die Kleurling van die gemeenskaplike kieserslys te verwyder, die Rasseklassifikasiewetgewing, die aanname en toepassing van die Groepsgebiedewet, met as finale daad van vernietiging van die ou vertrouensverhouding die benoeming in die Verteenwoordigende Kleurlingraad van persone wat ondubbelsinnig deur hulle eie gemeenskap verwerp is.

●

Geen wonder dat die huidige verhouding 'n radikale afwyking is van die ou tradisionele houding van vriendelikheid, onderdanigheid en selfs gedweë onderworpendheid - 'n houding wat by sommige gegrens het aan kruiperigheid om tog net maar die guns van die blanke te wen. Verby - vir altyd - is daardie tyd. In die korte tydperk van minder as 'n jaar het 'n ander lewenshouding na vore getree: 'n nuwe besef van menswaardigheid, 'n nuwe aggressiwiteit wat vir homself opeis wat die Kleurling regtens toekom. Maar meer nog: uit die frustrasie en die verbittering van jarelange diskriminasie het gegroei nie alleen 'n aanvoelbare woede oor die veronregting wat hulle aangedoen is nie, maar ook 'n doelbewuste verwerp-

ing van die blanke, en by name die Afrikaner, deur 'n toenemende aantal van die kultureel meer ontwikkelde Kleurlinge. Te lank is die menswaardigheid van te veel Kleurlinge deur te veel blankes op te veel terreine van die lewe aangetas dat dit ongestraf kan verbygaan. En stadig word dit duidelik watter prys die blanke, en by name die Afrikaner, vir hierdie miskenning gaan betaal:

★ Die Afrikaner se taal, die kultuur- en kerktal van die oorgrote meerderheid van Kleurlinge, word in toenemende mate deur die jong geslag van Kleurlinge verwerp en vervang deur Engels.

★ In die stedelike gebiede vind daar by die jeug nie net 'n afval van die Kerk in die algemeen plaas nie, maar 'n doelbewuste afwending van dié Kerke wat apartheid ondersteun en/of beoefen - dus by name van die N.G. Sendingkerk.

★ Die toenadering op 'n baie late stadium van die kant van blanke (en by name Afrikaner-) studente, tot die studentegemeenskap onder die Kleurlinge word deur baie aanvanklik begroet met 'n siniese aanmerking soos: „Wat laat julle dink dat ons nog met julle wil gesels?”.

★ Die uitbarstings van woede en geweld by Gelvandale en Oudtshoorn moet vir elke ingeligte en objektiewe mensekenner 'n aanduiding wees van uiters gevaarlike onderdrukte menslike gevoelens wat dreig om op 'n gegewe oomblik onbeheerbaar 'n koers te kies wat vir almal, wit sowel as swart, onvoorspelbaar nadelige gevolge kan hê.

★ Daar is verder die snelle ontwikkeling van die Swart Mag-idee wat, in sy positiewe sin, geweldig veel kan doen om die Kleurling sy menswaardigheid te laat ontdek en tot uitdrukking te laat kom. Maar in sy negatiewe vorm lei dit tot 'n reaksionêre verwerping van alles wat wit en Westers is - dus ook van die Afrikaner - en 'n toekeer tot die Bantoe en die Indiër as deel van die „swart” gemeenskap om

gesamentlik die slawejuk van blanke oorheersing af te gooi. So ver het hierdie proses reeds gevorder dat ek waag om te beweer dat in die verhouding van blanke tot Kleurling die inisiatief, psigologies gesien, nie meer in die hande van die blanke is nie, maar dat dit reeds besig is om in die hande van die Kleurling oor te gaan - net soos die psigologiese inisiatief van die Bantoetuislandbeleid nie meer in die hande van die Regering is nie, maarreeds besig is om in die hande van manne soos Kaiser Matanzima en Gatsha Buthelezi oor te gaan.

● In die lig van bogenoemde ontstellende maar voor- spelbare ontwikkelings nou die vraag watter lesse ons uit die ernstige mistastinge van die afgelope jare kan leer en watter slaggate ons in die pad vorentoe moet vermy?

(1) Die tyd is verby - vir altyd verby - dat die blanke, en by name die Afrikaner, oor die toekoms van die Kleurling kan beraadslaag sonder die volle aktiewe en gewillige deelname van die Kleurling in sulke debatte en diskussies. Ek weet dat ons, in die tipiese paternalistiese houding van meerderwaardigheid, nog altyd voortgaan om as blankes elletlange diskussies oor die Kleurling te voer. Daar is niks wat die opgevoede, denkende Kleurling vandag in sy menswaardigheid meer krenk as die houding van so baie blankes om hom te sien as 'n „fenomeen”, 'n „verskynsel” 'n probleem wat bestudeer, bespreek en „opgelos” moet word nie. Het ons as Afrikaners dan die les van ons eie geskiedenis vergeet waar ons met geregverdigde woede vervul was oor die feit dat die Engelse oor ons lotgevalle en ons toekoms beslis het sonder dat ons behoorlik daarin geken en geraadpleeg is?

(2) Die tyd is verby - vir altyd verby - dat die blanke, en by name die Afrikaner, die Kleurling kan mislei met slimpolitieke sette of allerlei goedkoop argumente om apartheid te probeer regverdig of in stand te hou. Ek noem as voorbeelde net die volgehoue sinlose spekulاسie oor 'n afsonderlike tuisland vir die Kleurling. Of die hoogs irriterende bewering van hoe baie die witman vir die Kleurling doen. Of die kinderagtige bewering dat die Kleurling eers sy identiteit moet ontdek en bepaal voor hy 'n volwaardige plek in die samelewing kan inneem - asof die mees wesenlike van 'n persoon se identiteit nie sy menswees is nie!

(3) Die tyd is verby - vir altyd verby - dat die Afrikaner-Christene aan die Kleurling kan dink as 'n voorwerp van sending in die ou tradisionele paternalistiese sin van die woord. Ek is bewus van die opregtheid en toewyding waarmee bv. 'n groot aantal studente van Stellenbosch nog „Sendingwerk” onder die Kleurlinge doen. Hoe goed ookal bedoel is dit 'n verouderde vorm van evangelisasie wat net nie meer aanvaar word of sal opgaan by die nuwe geslag van Kleurlinge wat vandag tussen ons leef nie. Enige geestelike aksie van watter Kerk ook al wat die ge-

ringste sweem van meerderwaardigheid vertoon of van 'n onbewuste neerbuigende houding van ons - weet-wat-vir-julle-goed-is, sal net nie meer aanvaar word nie.

● En nou ten slotte die vraag: Watter positiewe aksie is nodig om die blanke, en by name die Afrikaner, weer nader aan die Kleurling te bring - en die Kleurling nader aan die Afrikaner? Weens beperktheid van tyd - en op gevaar af dat dit misverstaan of opsetlik verkeerd geïnterpreteer kan word, noem ek die stap wat ek as die belangrikste beskou op elkeen van die hoofterreine van ons menslike bestaan:

(i) POLITIES moet aan die Kleurling sy volle burgerskap in 'n gemeenskaplike samelewing gegun en gegee word. En hierdie reg moet nie eers gegee word nadat die Kleurling gedwing word, vanweë jarelange vertraging en uitstel, om dit met een of ander gewelddadige aksie op te eis nie. Dit moet nou reeds gedoen word, op 'n tydstip waar die regte oomblik reeds lankal aangebreek het. Want om op die regte tyd aan 'n mens se regmatige aansprake te voldoen is één bewys van die beoefening van geregtigheid.

(ii) EKONOMIES moet die beginsel van gelyke loon vir gelyke opleiding en gelyke arbeid aanvaar en binne 'n billik-bepaalde tydperk ten volle in toepassing gebring word. Daarom moet die sisteem van werkreservering soos tans op ons Kleurlingbevolking van toepassing gemaak word, herroep word. Sonder geregtigheid is daar geen blywende voorspoed nie.

(iii) OPVOEDKUNDIG moet dieselfde geleentheid wat elke blanke geniet aan elke Kleurling aangebied word sodat 'n steeds groter aantal inwoners van ons land 'n hoër standaard van opvoeding kan bereik en die groots moontlike ontwikkeling van die hoogs moontlike persentasie talente kan plaasvind.

(iv) MAATSKAPLIK moet al die volgehoue pogings en om geforseerde maatskaplike skeiding te handhaaf - pogings wat reeds klaar misluk het en nog meer gaan misluk - so gou soos moontlik gestaak en verwyder word.

(v) KERKLIK EN GODSDIENSTIG moet by name die Afrikaner-Christen sy houding van afsydigheid en afsondering teenoor die Kleurling-Christen opsy sit en hom tegemoetgaan met dieselfde openheid van hart en hand waarmee Christus van hom verwag om elke ander Christen, van watter stand of volk of taal ookal, tegemoet te tree. Ek wil met al die erns van my siel pleit dat veral ons studente, voordat dit te laat is, alles in u vermoë sal doen om die deure wyd oop te maak sodat gereelde kontak, gesprek en ontmoeting kan lei tot nuwe begrip, wedersydse erkenning, egte waardering en ware versoening.

★ ★ ★ ★★ ★ ★ ★

(Dié toespraak is voor SAAK, Universiteit Stellenbosch, op 5 Mei 1971 gelewer).

Interracial Contact is Lawful

This summary was prepared in Cape Town by Mrs. Marquard in consultation with several lawyers.

ALTHOUGH RECENT legislation has considerably restricted contact between White and non-White, there is still scope for meeting between the races. Proclamation R26 of 1965, which re-enacted Proclamation R25 of 1960, substituting "place of entertainment" for "public cinema", and the recent Prohibition of Political Interference Act have made many of the public unsure of what is lawful, so that they are hesitant to invite members of another race to their houses, or to arrange interracial meetings. It may therefore, be helpful to say what it is still lawful to do.

Generally speaking, while many contacts between individuals and groups of different races are still lawful, what is forbidden is mixed public entertainment, and eating or drinking together in a place of public entertainment. Provided these things are private they are lawful.

"The following gatherings are "private" and therefore lawful:

- A sit-down meal in a private home, or a social party or gathering such as a wedding, not open to the public, is lawful without a permit; so too, a sit-down meal in what is normally a public-restaurant, provided that on that occasion it is closed to the public, that is, entirely taken over by the host for his multi-racial guests. But a racially mixed gathering cannot sit down to a meal in public i.e. in a restaurant not closed to the public or in a club, whether as a member or as a guest.
- Private gatherings or functions, open only to members or by invitation, are lawful. These include concerts and plays held in private places or in what are normally public places but have been

taken over for the occasion by an individual, provided the guests are there by invitation.

- The meeting of a society, even though open to the public, is lawful provided it is not entertainment.
- Cake sales and morning markets are lawful, although they may be open to the public, provided there are no sideshows for entertainment.
- Private tennis matches, on private courts or courts hired for the purpose, are lawful, and so, according to a recent decision, are soccer and other matches played on school fields, if they are not intended for public entertainment.

Public multi-racial meetings are lawful except that where a meeting is in support of a political party or candidate, it will be unlawful to address such a meeting if the greater majority of the meeting belongs to race groups to which the speaker does not belong.

It is lawful to attend as a member of the audience, a political (or any other) meeting at which the audience is composed of one or more race groups.

It is lawful to have discussions and consultations with individual members of other race groups.

It is lawful to distribute printed matter on a multi-racial basis.

It is necessary to obtain a permit for any multi-racial form of entertainment that is open to the public, such as a fête with side-shows, a sporting event, parties, a circus or fair, and Carols by Candlelight.

de Blank Memorial Fund

The Trustees invite applications for the third award which would enable the holder, who may not otherwise have the opportunity, to devote a year to study and thought in the field of race relations. Applicants should preferably have some practical experience either in Britain or in South Africa, but may be from any walk of life.

The value of the award is expected to be up to £2 000.

Applications, by 1 September 1971, to:-

Miss Mercy Edgedale,
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S.A. Economy - Capacities and Needs

Dudley Horner

IN SOUTH AFRICA today the organisation and administration of the state rests upon the basic, and fallacious, assumption that neither the French nor the Russian revolutions took place or rather, that mankind in general would be better off if they had not. In other words, state-craft is based upon a fundamentally absolutist philosophy. Insofar as black South Africans are concerned the economy is blind to their abilities and society is deaf to their needs.

It should be clearly manifest to all thinking South Africans, as it is to the world at large, that the guiding philosophy which motivates government policy - call it trusteeship, baasskap, apartheid, separate development or interdependent independence, what you will - is that upon which the British Empire was based, namely, divide and rule. Sophisticated economic arguments are currently in vogue to rationalise the development (sic!) of the "Bantu Homelands" (for this read African - or Native - Reserves, and Bantustans in earlier terminology) and the "border industrial areas". These justifications have been widely disseminated and expounded since the publication in the nineteen-fifties of the Tomlinson Report. It was implicit in the report, further elucidated by the statements, from time to time, of Dr. Verwoerd, that political and social considerations were primary factors in the evolution of what came to be called the policy of separate development. There are critics who maintain that this policy has something - note, not *everything* - to do with separation, but precious little to do with meaningful development. The realities which this administrative device expresses, implies or conceals, are (a) containment of the African masses in fixed areas, (b) control over the influx of work-hungry Africans into the so-called white areas, and (c) the perpetuation of white domination at the Southern extremity of a black continent.

DECENTRALISATION

Among the principal techniques to be employed in the creation of an economically viable quasi-confederation, -federation, -commonwealth in the former union of South Africa is the decentralisation of industries programme - also coming to be known as the

dispersal of economic activities (presumably in the tradition of the semantic game played by White South Africans). Claims made by the protagonists of this ostensible solution to our politico-socio-economic problems are:-

- (a) that it will achieve a high but balanced rate of economic progress for the Republic;
- (b) in this manner sufficient employment opportunities will be created for the growing population;
- (c) that living standards will improve progressively;
- (d) economic development will also for economic, social and political reasons take place within or near areas with large non-white population concentrations, particularly African. (i)

By the end of 1969 it was estimated that more than some R400-million (both private and public moneys) had been invested in all the decentralised areas. (ii) The Defence budget for 1969-70 amounted to a sum of R271½-million. (iii)

Insofar as the African worker is concerned, it is patently obvious that the white oligarchy, which effectively controls both the political life and the purse-strings of the country, has deprived him not only of the right to withhold his labour but also of any bargaining power he might have possessed in the past. The Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act provides maximum penalties for strikes by or lock-outs of African employees, the instigation or incitement of such strikes or lock-outs, and sympathetic strikes or lock-outs, of: a fine of R1 000 or three years' imprisonment without the option of a fine, or both fine and imprisonment. It is not sur-

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prising, if we take into account the educative aspect of legislation, that pre-Victorian attitudes should obtain in the economic sphere of our national life. I have cited one particularly discriminatory law but there are some fifty-seven laws directly governing labour relations in South Africa and, of these, some thirteen are specifically directed at African workers. This does not preclude the fact that many of the other laws have acted as barriers to African advance.

A HUMAN STANDARD OF LIVING

On the basis of a past survey (iv) the Institute of Race Relations has recently calculated that as at July, 1971, the *bare* minimum required for a Soweto African family of 5 to exist would be R67,65 per month. For the same family to maintain a *human* standard of living it would require R101,47 per month. The latter figure correlates roughly with a figure of R159 per month for a white family of 5 in the Pretoria area, based upon a recent study by the Human Sciences Research Council, (v) i.e. if we take into account the fact that white rentals are generally higher than African rentals. (It should also be borne in mind that if mobility were granted to urban Africans they might, in fact, choose to live elsewhere than in those areas allotted to them).

If one takes into account the figures quoted in the preceding paragraph the "wage-gap" between black and white earnings, which is so very characteristic of the labour pattern in South Africa, is a clear indicator of the extent of social injustice in our society: (vi)

Banks and Building Societies		Central Government	
	R		R
White	298,20		282,10
African	66,90		44,80
Construction		Electricity	
	R		R
White	325,30		369,10
African	49,90		55,30
Local Authorities		Manufacturing	
	R		R
White	293,60		307,20
African	45,00		52,30
Mining		Provincial Administrations	
	R		R
White	360,80		224,30
African	18,30		35,90

It should be immediately apparent that poverty is an inherent characteristic of what is called the traditional South African way of life. Alexander Pope maintained that "he never knew any man ... who could not bear another's misfortunes perfectly like a Christian" (vii). He should have lived in our society which furnishes such wide-spread, living, proof of his aphorism.



(with permission; *The Christian Century*)

JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPALITY

I referred earlier to the negation of African bargaining rights and a clear illustration of my point of view in this connection was recently furnished in Johannesburg. The municipality (generally regarded - and by South African norms, justifiably, - as a "liberal" municipality) employs some 19000 unskilled African workers. The black Soweto Urban Bantu Council submitted demands for a monthly, minimum salary of R100 for African labourers. It was estimated that to meet these demands would add some R20-million to the municipal wage bill. The municipality announced a 10 per cent increase on its African wage bill, with a further increase to follow in January, 1972 (amount unspecified). The actual amount involved in the increase which was granted involved a sum of R453 000 a year (viii) Any independent observer will agree that to be asked for R20-million and to concede half-a-million rand represents a significant victory.

The campaign against the South African regime by the wider, world community, which has been escalating over the years and which is unlikely to diminish in the future, to make radical changes in what is "a fundamentally unjust society" (ix) is gradually crystallising into an economic confrontation, of one sort or another. This approach is, at present, pola-

alized about two conflicting points of view: complete withdrawal from or meaningful engagement in the South African economy. This dispute is located, for the time being, in the United States, but incipient movements are clearly discernible in the United Kingdom, South Africa's principal foreign investor.

ARGUMENTS FOR WITHDRAWAL

It seems that the concepts which motivate the advocates of complete withdrawal are:-

- (a) that it is a practicable policy, i.e. an economic boycott is a feasible proposition;
- (b) that such withdrawal would inspire others to emulate such action on ethical grounds;
- (c) that others would not rush in where angels had feared to tread; and ultimately
- (d) that even were the present African populace to suffer incalculable harm - as they would, surely, be the first to do - this would promote violent revolution leading to the ultimate overthrow of a system based on racial exploitation.

It is clear that investment from Japan and Western Europe is on the increase and it would be naive to suppose that moral considerations will outweigh the lucrative earnings which South Africa yields. There is little doubt that others would fill the vacuum created by the withdrawal of, say, current American investment in our economy. The protagonists of complete withdrawal appear to have overlooked the probability of nationalisation of foreign companies. It is easier to call for bloody revolution from the safety of New York when the blood spilled would be mainly that of the African masses in South Africa.

MEANINGFUL ENGAGEMENT

The alternative, which is *meaningful* or selective engagement, takes into account the depressed socio-economic condition of the African masses and the possibility of real change within the present legislative framework. There is a very real danger that any improvements effected will amount to little more than symbolic gestures. Tokenism will not materially affect the realities of the South African situation and radical pressure groups abroad will, no doubt, be quick to differentiate between the drastic revision of salary structures, which the current exploitation of the black worker demands, and those minimal advances which could be used for propaganda purposes not only by the companies concerned but by the present regime and its supporters.

The mere provision of bursary funds in the tradition of nineteenth century liberalism is peripheral to the issues involved. In fact charity of this sort will do little to eliminate the psychological deprivation of black South Africans who have been subjected to centuries of white domination. Paternalist moves of this nature may in fact contribute to the entrenchment of the *status quo*. By all means create

Bursary funds, but do not imagine that this absolves employers from their duty to pay living wages. The ultimate reality is that the latent, economic power of the black South African will have to be employed to confront the white power structure.

The main areas for the thrust can be summarized thus:

- a) pay your black workers a living wage;
- b) provide for their retirement;
- c) make provision for their medical care; and
- d) provide meaningful training which will open avenues for advance.

Radical action is required on all these fronts.

- (i) White Paper on the report by the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Decentralisation of Industries, page 1.
- (ii) Horrell, Muriel. A Survey of race relations in South Africa; 1969, page 95, 1970, pages 104-110.
- (iii) Op. Cit. 1969, page 31.
- (iv) Suttner, Sheila. Cost of living in Soweto, 1966.
- (v) Strydom, H.G. and Van Tonder, Joan. A manual, for determining the cost of maintaining a family.
- (vi) Calculated from: Dept. of Statistics. Statistical News Releases of 19 March and 5 April, 1971.
- (vii) Pope, Alexander. Thoughts on various subjects.
- (viii) Rand Daily Mail, 30/4/1971.
- (ix) Auerbach, Franz. South Africa: a fundamentally unjust society?

BOOK REVIEW

THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF MANKIND

(By Ninian Smart: 733 pages including index - Fontana Library, Theology and Philosophy series).

This is a satisfying overall review of the beginnings and growth of world religions, including Humanism and Marxism, down to the present day.

The purpose of this book, in the words of the author, is to enable the reader to judge wisely about religious truth. And I think it can be fairly said that he has achieved this in a lucid and unified study of 700 pages. It is presented in such a way as to convey the facts in relation to the experiences which religions attempt to express.

At a time when spiritual fulfilment is being increasingly searched for in Eastern mysticism, this book provides a balanced viewpoint, which seeks to describe rather than pass judgement on the phenomena of religion. It also provides background and perspective for the detailed descriptions of Eastern mysticism written by enthusiastic disciples from the West, who have studied under a master.

The author's concluding comments and conclusions with regard to the future of ecumenism are likewise enlightening and deeply interesting.

Clare Adam.

Sell out or Shell out? - an abstract

Roy Knifton

UNDER THE TITLE "Sell out or shell out" the Financial Mail (F.M.) has examined in its June 18th 1971 issue, p.p. 996 - 1 000 something of the present controversy on foreign participation at the business level in South Africa.

The Pressure is building up elsewhere to sever these relations and boycott the country especially in America, and the F.M. gives a catalogue of active expressions of displeasure with us. Of the joint proposal of the United Auto Worker's Union and Episcopal Church with Negro G.M. Director, Leon Sullivan, that his company totally withdraw investment in South Africa, the paper comments "Though the resolution was overwhelmingly defeated (it gained only 1,3% of 226,5m votes cast) the AGM was significant in that it was the first time that major "legitimate" interest groups like the church and organised labour had attempted to exert pressure through their stock holdings for "disengagement from apartheid" on grounds both moral and financial". A reason given by the church for withdrawal was that risk of eventual turmoil and instability in South Africa.

Then the F.M. explored some of the statistics on overseas investment here, especially from America and Britain. Whilst there are over 500 wholly owned U.K. subsidiaries in South Africa, little statistical data is available, but one piece of information is an estimate of after tax returns on direct investment of an above average of 10,5%. American involvement is over 300 firms and 6 000 agencies and the return (on book value) is reckoned at 16,8%. This compares with a world-wide average of 11,3%. (see box) "Obviously South Africa is an extremely lucrative (if small) sector of U.S. foreign investment", and "With figures like these it is understandable that overseas critics latch onto them to back accusations of high profits from exploited Black workers and to demand U.S. withdrawal".

The defence of the American, British and European companies is that they represent a positive force for change in South Africa 'building bridges' by providing non-White employment, helping raise living and educational standards and generally being "progress-

ive employers".

And this claim the F.M. examined.

Pressure at present is mainly upon American organisations and with the Polaroid publicity companies are making greater efforts to avoid being accused of exploitation. "Though some of these attempts must be seen as pure eleventh-hour window dressing many can claim to be 'progressive employers', though there is still much scope for improvement".

The "progressive" points that get encouraging nods include:

- (a) non-contributory pension schemes where benefits are equal to white ones
- (b) "wages are without exception" well above statutory minima and often "substantially" above industry norms
- (c) job-training programmes where job reservation and other legislation doesn't make these impracticable
- (d) contributory non-contributory medical-aid schemes
- (e) fringe benefits like tuition refunds for all studying, low interest loans for health and housing aids, lump-sum death benefits.

The F.M. says of one local subsidiary: Though the bulk (of 600 non-white employees) are unskilled workers who are covered only by a non-contributory pension scheme, the 100 odd higher grade employees are covered by a contributory pension scheme and medical aid benefits. Top salaries are as high as R400 p.m. and career opportunities are substantial. The assistant sales manager of one branch is non-white.

Of British involvement only some key groups offer similar opportunities and a survey done by Denis Herbstein for the Sunday Times of London "was strongly critical of some firms which claim they are "building bridges" in South Africa". His conclusion was that "Few bridges exist between British companies in South Africa and the Black, Indian and Coloured employees who make their enterprises so successful... Though there is no law stopping a company providing medical aid for its Black workers, not one of the companies had a medical aid scheme for

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its African employees". And the survey included Unilever, Afrox, Dunlop, British Leyland and I.C.I. - scathing indeed!

South Africa's discriminatory labour policies which prevent collective bargaining for non-Whites and restrict mobility for the blacks, makes for situations which "perpetuate wage levels well below those justified by productivity" and this is born out by the average wages in 1969 of American manufacturing concerns at R49,80 p.m. which are some R30,00 below the assessed Poverty Datum Line. Compare with an investment yield of over 13% against the worldwide average of 10,8%.

Financial Mail offers these implications for foreign investors:

"The companies they control must set the highest possible standards in wage levels, fringe benefits, and job opportunities permitted by South African laws. Certainly there can be no case for wages below the Poverty Datum Line (R76,90) per month; for the absence of medical cover and pension rights; or for providing in-company training that will enable the energetic and intelligent to earn much more as productivity rises. "Work councils should be established wherever possible to give African employees some voice in their affairs" ... And "should use their influence in industrial councils, in evidence to the Wage Board, and in the Bantu Wage & Productivity Association to persuade other employers to follow their example".

"The best course for dissident (share-holders) of parent companies overseas is, surely, to insist that managements should provide an explicit statement on the Polaroid model of the labour policy to be followed by their South African subsidiaries".

(Abstract from an article entitled *Sell out or Shell out?* in the *Financial Mail* of June 18th, 1971).

TOTAL FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN SA (Rm) % of			
	1959	1969	foreign investment in 1969
Sterling area	1 921	3 074	61
Western Europe	446	1 065	21
Dollar area	458	741	15
International organisations	162	59	2
Other	13	51	1
TOTAL	3 000	4 990	

US DIRECT INVESTMENT - (\$m)			
	Book value 1969	After tax Earnings 1969	% return on book value
South Africa	755	127	16,8
New Zealand	163	19	11,6
Phillippines	741	65	8,7
Australia	2 936	247	8,4
Sweden	604	25	4,1
Total	5 199	483	9,3

FM challenges

the Churches

The challenge has been thrown down by the Financial Mail to the power holders in foreign controlled companies, and in many another article they have, offered the same gauntlet to S.A. leaders. Is enough happening though, or quickly enough? Need it only happen at the Big Company level when headlines are made?

For us who live in South Africa the choice between involvement and disengagement is academic as long as we live here. We have to face the issue of the involvement we are prepared to make. To what degree are we prepared to share the wealth, power and opportunities here with others. And there are signs that we are beginning to look at ourselves.

Some universities are now examining the pay conditions and opportunities of their non-academic staff. Church organisations and centres are beginning to look into the situation of their non-european staff and improve them. Most church buildings have at least one servant living in. What concern do church councils show for their own domestic servants? Are their quarters a show place or a shame? Do they get enough; not just to be above the Poverty Datum Line? Medical Aid?

Our church organisations, too are shareholders in many of the large public companies here. In the past the general attitudes towards these holdings has been for the dividends that come from them. But normally, each share carries a vote. And that vote can be used. Maybe our financial advisers have a larger responsibility than to obtain the best income. Maybe there should be some of the awkward but important questions asked about the conditions and opportunities of those who work for the profits paid out. And even motions put forward for improvements to be made. These are our legitimate interests.

It seems to me that the Financial Mail is doing a godly work in a secular field. And George Palmer may feel uncomfortable at being likened to a present day Amos. But the cry rings aloud that we are selling our people "for a pair of slippers." Or rather we are selling them short for an above average dividend yield. Both warn against greed.

Economic Processes for Change

Francis Wilson

IT MUST BE accepted that economic growth is and will remain for the foreseeable future a primary goal set forward for South Africa. It has been stated by government officials that other goals will be pursued to the extent to which they do not interfere with the goal of economic growth.

At the outset it must be borne in mind that although economic growth is synonymous with change (there is changing output, urbanisation etc.) it does not mean that it will bring about desirable change.

IMPLICATIONS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

AGRICULTURE'S HUMAN SURPLUS. The demand for labour in the agricultural sector will decrease over time as a result of technological change. Another reason for this phenomenon is that as incomes increase so that percentage that is spent on food decreases.

As technological change advances so more food can be produced from less labour. The result is a worldwide tendency for people to move off the land and into the cities. People move off the land in two stages. In the first stage the demand for labour becomes seasonal as work during the remaining seasons becomes mechanised. People move to nearby villages and work on farms only for part of the year. In the second stage people move permanently off the land as the previously unmechanised work is now mechanised. During this stage people move permanently out of the rural areas into the urban areas.

It is suggested that South Africa is in the middle of stage 1.

The phenomenon of resettlement camps is to be explained, at least in part, by the pressure to move labour off farms. Since the homelands are overpopulated, resettlement camps are established. The first question that arises is what will happen to the resettlement areas when the second stage of movement from the land occurs?

URBANISATION. As incomes increase so the demand for non-food output increases more than proportionately. Since non-food production is centred mainly in urban areas this means that the demand for labour in these areas increases with the result that urbanisation increases. There is thus a "push-pull" effect that leads to urbanisation: there is a push effect as people move from the rural areas as a result of technical advances in agriculture and there is a pull effect from the urban areas as the demand for labour in these areas increases.

It is not possible to argue that mechanisation can provide the answer in overcoming the urbanisation process. This is not possible since in order to mechanise production machines are needed. If these machines are to be produced in South Africa then there will be a greater demand for labour on the part

of the firms, situated in the urban areas, that produce this machinery. If the machinery is to be imported then this must be paid for, at least in part, by South African exports. But with a declining gold output and the proportionately decreasing demand for agricultural output, these exports are likely to consist to a great extent of manufactured goods. And as has been pointed out, these goods are produced in the urban areas. Thus it is concluded that given the other factors such as technical change etc., the process of urbanisation is irreversible. Therefore in South Africa, cities grow at a rate that is about twice as great as the population increase in other areas.

INCREASE IN THE DEMAND FOR SKILLED LABOUR. Economic growth leads to an increase in demand for skilled workers and there is a corresponding decrease in the opportunities for unskilled workers. It is therefore required that the necessary skills be given to South Africa's black population.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

CONTRACT LABOUR. Contract labour will increase as a result of the twin goals of economic growth and separate development. Economic pressures, as has been shown, lead to urbanisation. But political ideology dictates that separate development must be pursued. The result is that influx control and the pass laws are passed to overcome the conflict and contract labour enters into the "white" areas. There are therefore economic reasons to be found behind the increasing pass convictions.

PRESSURE ON THE COLOUR BAR. Since there is, as a result of economic growth, an increasing need for skilled labour, and since this need cannot be supplied only within the white community (including immigration) there will be increasing pressure on the colour bar. In this matter 2 views may be discussed: those favouring a flexible colour bar and those favouring a rigid colour bar. Nevertheless we must realise that a shift in the colour bar will not alter the basic power structure of the economy.

SPECTRE OF UNEMPLOYMENT. If the black community is not provided with the increasing skills required as a result of economic growth then growing unemployment can be expected which will be made worse as people leave the land in increasing numbers.

WIDENING GAP BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE. The earnings gap between black and white has widened. This is due to white political power, the pressure exerted by white trade unions and the educational advantages possessed by whites. In fact in many cases it might be said that whites are paid for allowing blacks to do certain jobs.

INFLATION. The restrictions placed on labour tend to exacerbate inflation. It is not claimed that this is *the* cause of inflation (inflation is a problem in most countries) but the potential for inflation is increased as a result of rigidities in the labour market. It must be remembered that in inflationary conditions it is only the whites who are in a position to minimize the detrimental effects of inflation on their incomes.

UNHEALTHY DEPENDENCE ON THE USE OF PRISON LABOUR. As labour in certain areas to the towns it becomes difficult for farmers to find replacements. To overcome this farmers in some areas have built local prisons which are then handed over to the prisons department and farmers are given the right to convict labour in proportion to their investment in the prison. In some areas the right to prison labour has increased the value of farms by R1 000 per convict. This means that private individuals develop a vested interest in crime.

HARNESSING THE FORCES INTRODUCED BY ECONOMIC GROWTH

In harnessing the forces introduced by the process of economic growth 3 pressures can be applied: moral pressure, enlightened self-interest, and threat of the future. It is suggested that these pressures be applied in the following areas:

(i) **MIGRANT LABOUR:** The migrant labour system is morally indefensible and it is increasingly not in the self-interest of employers to maintain the migrant labour system. The threat of violence in the townships will also have to be faced as a result of the migrant labour system.

(ii) **FOREIGN FIRMS:** Pressures may be applied to foreign firms in order to better the working conditions in these firms and possibly to get firms to undertake projects such as educational, housing and health schemes. Firms may also be encouraged to give workers some say in the decision-making process.

(iii) **PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT:** In this connection the PUTCO experiment may be cited to illustrate the beneficial effects of wise personnel management.

(iv) **INDUSTRIAL COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS:** In some cases it can be shown that it is in the best interests of whites to allow the unionisation of Africans.

(v) **EDUCATION:** There is a built-in injustice in the educational system which leads to inequalities.

It can be shown that the education of blacks is in the best interests of the white community.

In this connection the increasing need for skilled workers has already been referred to. The matter becomes even more important since gold output will probably decrease in the future with the result that industrial goods will have to be exported. In this sense it can be said that today's educated children are tomorrow's gold.

Industrial training colleges for Africans should be set up.

(vi) **INVESTIGATIONS INTO CHURCH INVESTMENT:** Where do the churches invest, what use do they make of their investment power?

CONCLUSION

This paper has illustrated the established structures that might grow into important power bases. This is of importance in the long-run and not in the short run.

Work in the 6 areas suggested can help to ease the transition when it eventually comes.

Most of the discussion that took place after the paper was given centered around the issue of foreign firms in South Africa, including the homelands. In this connection the following points were briefly touched upon:

The question of engagement vs. disengagement of foreign Corporations operating in South Africa.

The question of useful projects that could be undertaken by foreign firms in the event of disengagement proving unfeasible. The following were recommended as projects:

- (a) increasing wage rates;
- (b) job training schemes;
- (c) the institution of works committees;
- (d) education schemes;
- (e) housing, health, pensions etc.;
- (f) participation in the firm's decision-making.

With regard a methodology for studying foreign corporations in South Africa, it was decided that precise information should be collected regarding such factors as the wage structure, housing, and other benefits given by foreign corporations to their black workers.

It was emphasised that much of the information of relevance to foreign corporations should also be applied to local corporations.

(This summary of a talk given at the S.A. Institute of Race Relations recent consultation "Towards social change" by Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town was made by Martin Fransman, formerly of the economics department of the University of the Witwatersrand and presently lecturing economics in Swaziland).

Christian Economic Responsibility Today

Fritz Schumacher

1. Sir Frederick Catherwood has dealt with the short term. I shall deal with the longer-term, How long? 25 years or so, 1945-1971-1997.

2. The economy is indeed beset by difficulties and threats all round. Inflation itself is merely a symptom. What is the disease?

3. Quite obviously: behind inflation lies somebody's greed, and behind greed lies discontent; discontent with the "whole system".

4. Let me quickly add that this is not peculiar to Britain. It affects the whole so-called free world.

5. It may seem strange that there should be discontent with "The system" just now - after 25 years of breathtaking successes. There have never been 25 years like this before, and there may never be 25 years like this again.

6. For 25 years, it has been possible to run the economy (of the Western world) at full speed, in fact at continuous acceleration.

7. Economists consider the figures of steel consumption very good indicators of industrial activity. It started on any significant scale about a hundred years ago. In 1890 world consumption was half a million tons. It then took 65 years (1935) to reach 100 million. There it stopped till the end of the Second World War (1945).

And since? It has grown from 200 million in 1951 (300m. 1959, 400m. 1964, 500m. 1968) to 600m. in 1970. It may be expected to increase to 700m. in 1973, 800m. in 1976, and to over 1 000m. by 1980.

This talk on the "Christian Responsibility in the present Economic and Inflationary Situation" by Dr. Schumacher was given at the fifty-eighth meeting of the British Council of Churches in April this year. Dr. Schumacher visited South Africa last year and spoke extensively about intermediate technology as a vital aid for developing countries. His visit has done much to change our thinking about the churches' role in development.

8. If you added together all of world industry since the beginning of mankind and then dropped everything that had happened before the end of the Second World War, the difference would be slight. The next three years or so will add more than you had dropped.

9. Now, this is a very difficult fact to grasp - and even more difficult to accept. In a manner of speaking, i.e. quantitatively speaking, the industrial way of life is only 25 years old.

10. During these 25 years the industrial way of life has been pursued with a degree of fervour and devotion which the older religions will envy. Growth economics has become the religion of the age. Economic growth, it is still thought, solves all problems of social justice: "Don't ask for a bigger share of the cake; promote growth, and everybody's slice will be bigger." The theory of Economic-Growth, like formerly the theory of Laissez-faire, relieves society of the awkward moral task of having to struggle with the problem of distributory justice.

11. Economic growth, it is thought, enables us to automate to such an extent that people will have to work only a few hours a week, and our main problem will be "education for leisure". This theory relieves society of the awkward moral and practical task of having to struggle with the problem of the humanisation of industrial work.

12. In fact, economic growth would solve *all* problems. The problems of production, we are told, have been solved anyhow; it was now only a matter of adjustment to the new technology, to the New Knowledge, to the new methods of management, etc., etc. *Therefore*; if all the good things of life did not reach you very soon, very quickly, it would be *somebody's fault* - bad government, incompetent management, hide-bound trade unionism, or what not. In other words, the religion of economic growth does two things; it creates the illusion that all moral issues could be successfully evaded and, second, it sows discord and mutual disorientation by arousing totally unwarranted expectations.

13. I am not wishing to suggest that economic growth should be rejected. Provided I can satisfy myself that what is growing is healthy and the beneficiaries are in need, I am all for it.

14. The point I am driving at goes beyond these rather obvious considerations. It is this: After 25 years of utterly unprecedented growth we are faced with the following:

- (a) There are more miserable people in the world today than there were 25 years ago: more in absolute numbers and a higher proportion.
- (b) The enormous economic expansion of the rich countries - about 20% of the world population - leaves even them in a state of bewildered discontent - inflation, unhealthy cities, soaring crime rates, drug addiction, fear of the future. In other words, the Eldorado has not been found.
- (c) Human nature, as represented mainly by the young, is in revolt against a "system" which, they say, threatens to make them into robots and morons.
- (d) Living Nature around us is telling us in her own unanswerable language that we are straining her too much and she cannot take much more.
- (e) And finally, the mineral kingdom, being lifeless, it does not revolt and cannot tell us anything - but we can take a dispassionate view. What do we find? The physical limits to growth are nearer than anybody (of any importance) is prepared to believe.

15. Now, it has, of course, always been clear that infinite growth (in the material sense) in a finite environment is impossible. What had been less clear - and is startling to perceive - is that the limits of growth should be so close, while we are still so far, so very, very far, from our goal.

16. This raises the question of whether the goal is well chosen. It is here, I think, that we need a Christian answer. For it can be said that today we are far too clever to be able to survive without wisdom.

17. When we were much less clever, we were much less able to do lasting damage. We operated on the human scale, and Nature is admirably designed to cope with anything operating on the human scale. Now we are clever enough to operate on the super-human scale - hence the "ecological crisis" which is seen in its most acute form in the United States, one of the least densely populated areas of the temperate world.

18. It seems to me quite clear that our deficiency disease is a lack of wisdom - not a lack of science, technology, management, industrial relations - in all these matters we are fantastically successful. But there is too little wisdom to guide us in the selection of goals and of methods.

19. For instance, what could be more unwise than to let one's luxuries become necessities? We announce with pride that what were luxuries for our fathers have become necessities for us. Perhaps our young people have more wisdom than we have, when they deliberately reduce their economic needs and adopt an altogether more direct, spontaneous, simple way of life.

20. We are inclined to admire bigness, to marvel at super-technology, super-medicine, supersonic speeds and super-organisations; the bigger the better. Wisdom teaches that "Small is beautiful"; for "small" can always find a place; can always be absorbed or counterbalanced in harmony.

21. We have become insensitive to the unwisdom of violence - and by that I do not simply mean violence of man against man. A spirit of violence permeates the whole of our science, technology, economics. It has even invaded our agricultural practices to an abhorrent degree. We need wisdom to teach us to re-orientate our science, technology, economics so that, wherever we have a choice, we shall develop relatively non-violent practices.

22. "Wherever we have a choice" ... yes, and dire necessity may well take a hand in this. For to act unwisely means to put oneself into the yoke of necessity. Nothing could be clearer today. The idolatry of wealth has moulded a "system", and this same system now moulds us. It moulds our thinking; it makes us think absurdities, such as that infinite growth in a finite environment were possible; that we could go on finding and burning as much oil every ten years as in all previous history; that science could cure the sickness of the environment; that the problem of production had been solved; that man's future was one of little work and endless leisure; that man had moved from the age of scarcity into the age of plenty.

23. Nothing could be further from the truth. The high prosperity of a minority of people in a minority of countries is being purchased by ravaging the earth and robbing it of its once-for-all endowment. Capital is being treated as if it were income. This way of life of the rich cannot spread to all mankind and cannot last. As Gandhi once said: "there is enough for everybody's need, but not for everybody's greed".

24. And yet, the "system" works satisfactorily only while it grows. The richer a society, the more does it cultivate - and apparently *need* this Growth Ideology. "I cannot conceive a successful economy without growth" says Walter Heller, former Chairman of the U.S. President's Council of Economic Advisers. "More, further, quicker, richer" says Dr. Mansholt, Vice President of the European Economic Community "are the watchwords of present-day society", and "there is no alternative"; we must "make this adaptation".

25. Both Heller and Mansholt are right - in terms

of present-day systems and most deeply ingrained philosophies. And yet it is an absolute certainty that this cannot now continue much longer.

“We shall be forced (wrote a leading American oil geologist) to achieve some sort of an ecological and technological quasi steady-state. However, I am completely convinced that such a state of non-growth will be so completely incompatible with our present culture that one of the greatest intellectual revolutions of the last 500 years will almost inevitably occur as a consequence ...”

26. What then, is the task of Christians in such a situation? We may have the courage to look at modern industry in the light of the Gospels or to look, anew, at the Gospels in the light of modern industrialisation. This might convince us that fundamental changes are not only inevitable but also desirable.

27. Once the inevitability *and* desirability of a fundamental re-orientation have been understood - and not before - will it be possible to formulate new goals, new ideals - and they may attract the young people far more powerfully than most of us would believe today. The young, I am certain, are looking for changes based on Truth rather than Expediency.

28. And some of the greatest of our received Truths may be understood again, that

How blest are those who know that they are poor;
the Kingdom of Heaven is theirs

How blest are the sorrowful;
they shall find consolation

How blest are those of a gentle spirit;
they shall have the earth for their possession

How blest are those who hunger and thirst to see right prevail, they shall be satisfied

How blest are the peacemakers;
God shall call them his sons

29. These truths can indeed be turned into an action programme. The key-words of the future are not “more, further, richer, quicker” but those that can be derived from these five Beatitudes:

We are poor - not demi-gods,

We have plenty to be sorrowful about - are not emerging into a golden age,

We need a gentle spirit - a non-violent approach, and small is beautiful,

We must concern ourselves with justice - see right prevail,

And all this - only this - can enable us to become peacemakers.

30. To work out an economic programme for peace and permanence means to work for a steady-state economy which indeed demands to be filled with creative changes and (to quote Rene Dubos) will offer intellectual possibilities much more challenging than those offered by the kind of rampant growth

that has prevailed during the past century.

31. As I see it, the Christian's main task is to define the economic concept of “enough”. If there is no idea of “enough”, all problems become insoluble. If a Christian knows nothing about “enough” the seed will have fallen among the thorns:

“And that which fell among thorns are they which, when they have heard, go forth, and are choked with cares and riches and pleasures of *this* life and bring no fruit to perfection” (Luke 8; 14).

In response to questions and comments from the floor, Dr. Schumacher made the following replies:

Concerning a comment that the problem was not that growth could not be maintained, but that moral responsibility had to be developed to care for people in the process and for those not sharing in it:

“The whole point is that if we live primarily for growth and economic development we miss the real point of life. We are not talking about growth as such. I marvel at the way we spend our time talking about economic growth. Growth in itself is neither good nor bad; it depends *what* growth. If it brings benefit it is good. The approach that growth is all that matters is blotting out all intelligent discussion of what is healthy and what is right. It is reasonable to allow a man to grow when you can see that all that is at the end is collapse?”.

Concerning over-population:

“Growth of population is also important and there is nothing new about it and no easy answer. The problem does not apply to all parts of the world equally. Most parts of the world have no population problem at all. It is confined to specific areas. People say a 2% increase in the present population per year will destroy the environment. They find it difficult to understand that a 4% increase in the standard of living per year does twice the amount of damage to the environment. You could put all the world's present population into the U.S.A. and would have the same figure per square mile as in England now. What people consume and do, i.e. their standard of living, is as important as their numbers.

How can full employment be restored without continuing growth of the economy?

“At the moment it cannot. That is the tragedy. We have to come to a new style of life - peace and permanence, plus work for everyone - so everyone can be used. If you find you are running against more limitations and all the time you preach more productivity, you will have slave labour.

I am not offering easy solutions. This is probably the biggest crisis we have had. We have had a good run for our money. We are now taught that there are statements of absolute fact; we are not playing with words. We have to be responsible”.



Help Self-help

Ron Legg

THE THEME for this year's Week of Compassion (August 22-29th) is Rural Development. We wish to draw the attention of church people to the need which exists, and the constructive possibilities that lie within the action of Christ's Church in S. Africa. This emphasis is not to the exclusion of other works of compassion, but rather to highlight the urgency of the need. Inter-Church Aid has moved from concentration purely on emergency style help, e.g. food distribution, to underwriting programmes of a self-help and development nature that tackle pressing problems at some depth. Food distribution continues, but not as the main thrust of our work.

There is a very positive story to be told of church action in the rural areas. It is a story of which you may be aware, of practical involvement in an effort to meet the needs of the people at depth. Often the projects which Inter-Church Aid has supported are denominationally orientated, but increasingly Inter-Church Aid is being presented with requests for projects which reflect ecumenical co-operation. This year we are highlighting the mission of the church as it is expressed in self-help development projects. We are stressing the work of church supported Agricultural Demonstrators, Health/Nutrition Educators, Handcraft Centres, Water Conservation Schemes, etc.

PLANNING OBSERVATION OF THE WEEK

Numerous possibilities are open for creative use of the Week. It is recommended that inquiries be made from your regional Council of Churches what their plans are for promoting the Week at regional level.

In the past some have found it helpful to invite social workers, mission doctors, health educators and clergy from rural and resettlement areas to share their experiences with local congregations. To enable congregations to focus on local and national needs it is challenging to engage them in collecting data, presenting findings and planning together for action. Here is an area for ecumenical co-operation.

FUNDING

The past twelve months has shown a *growing interest* in Inter-Church Aid work and especially the concern for rural development. This has resulted in an increase of funds from within S. Africa to support projects throughout the country. This is an

encouraging indication of future response upon which the Inter-Church Aid programme can build. Inter-Church Aid programme can build. Inter-Church Aid is thus making a *special request* to the churches to the churches to donate to Inter-Church Aid funds any contributions they may receive during the Week, asking the churches to recognise that this is the one opportunity available for making a national appeal for financial support for the work of Inter-Church Aid in South Africa.

TARGET FOR 1971 - R25,000

We will need R25 000 to meet the growing requests for financial assistance from all around South Africa, particularly in relation to church involvement in rural development projects.

This year special emphasis is focussed on the conditions of vast numbers of families living in rural areas. Often more than half of the men are away from their homes working. Families struggle for the bare essentials of existence.

Poverty, over population, disease, malnutrition, high infant mortality rates, lack of work, little money, erosion, shortage of fuel and water, crop failure, illiteracy, are some of the ever present and tragic daily realities of hundreds of thousands of fellow South Africans.

It has become clear that food and clothing hand-outs to relieve distress is an emergency response and is ineffective in the long term to meet the real needs of people.

Increasingly churches, missions and Christian organisations are emphasising the urgency of getting to grips at depth with the basic issues of rural life.

To this end, Inter-Church aid is appealing to all Christians to take seriously the vital importance for the support of self-help programmes. Rural development in its widest sense is emphasised this year. Stress is laid upon the construction work undertaken by church supported Agricultural Demonstrators, Health/Nutrition Educators, Social Workers, Vegetable Gardening and Water Conservation programmes, Handcraft and Sewing Schemes.

Involvement in this work is believed to be validly part of the tradition of the Christian service mission of the church in South Africa. It is love to our neighbour in depth.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Education Beyond Apartheid - a review

Angela Norman

Angela Norman is on the staff of a Johannesburg Correspondence College where she is at present writing and directing the College's English courses.

THE STUDY PROJECT on Christianity in Apartheid Society (Spro-cas) has so far published occasional papers, grouped round themes, by various individual members of its commissions.

The first report of the commission is now to appear; that is, a report which is signed by all members of a commission, and which is the result of their joint labour. It is the work of the education commission and is entitled 'Education beyond Apartheid'. The book is available in both English and Afrikaans. (Opvoeding verby Apartheid').

The nature of the report is to a certain extent determined by the general purpose of Spro-cas, and by the context within which it has been and is working. To quote from the preface to the report itself, 'The commission were asked to examine the following areas in the light of the Message to the People of South Africa: economics, education, law, politics, society and the church'. The 'Message' referred to is that issued by the South African Council of Churches in September 1968, which is described as 'a theological critique of apartheid ... (which) ... denounced the country's racial policies as truly hostile to Christianity' (op. cit.).

The relationship of the Message to the commission is important: 'The Message provided the stimulus for Spro-cas; it did not constitute the project's term of reference. It also provided the basic theological foundation viz. the Gospel as reconciliation, and as God's victory, his sovereignty and his opposition to evil. No attempt was made to suggest that the Message itself was beyond criticism, or that it was a final theological pronouncement (op. cit.).

In practice, a group of eminent educational experts, representing a number of educational and other institutions (incidentally Europeans, Africans and Asiatics are among their number) have worked together for two years, first to produce a description of a social order which would be in harmony with Christ's Gospel as interpreted by the 'Message'; secondly, to analyse present educational patterns by administrative, social, psychological and economic criteria, pin pointing particularly those principles and practices which are unacceptable by the standards of a Christian social order; thirdly to sketch long-term changes in education in accordance with the said Christian social order and fourthly to consider what educational steps towards the acceptable order of society may most usefully be taken immediately.

The report makes little reference to theories and speculations which might enthuse some readers while enraging others. It closely defines the 'unacceptable

principles' which are part of our present educational pattern in South Africa; it analyses even more closely the '*practices* unacceptable in the light of the Message' (my italics), in the areas of allocation of resources, access to educational facilities, and aims and content of education. This chapter is amplified by tables showing graphically the high dropout rates (particularly of African pupils), the inequality of facilities on a sliding scale for Europeans, Coloureds and Asiatics, and Africans, and the slow growth of education in South Africa, in this last case for *all race groups*, as compared with countries at a similar level of development, e.g. Australia.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The 'Recommendations' of the report are coded very usefully according to their dependence on state or private initiative, the extent of their dependence on State or private funds, and their need for manpower (hence, long-term planning). I find this one of the most useful and lively parts of the report: by going carefully through these recommendations with a pencil, almost any school, educational body or general welfare organization (e.g. church women's guild), could find several things they could do immediately and without infringing the present apartheid laws. This last problem is also brought out by the report, legal guidance being given in relation to specific recommendations.

Large parts of the report, including the whole of 'Chapter 7: Recommendations', are in point form. All points are numbered, and paragraphs are numbered in one continuous sequence throughout the book, with copious cross-references, which are easy to follow because of the excellent lay-out. The highly analytic nature of the content and its presentation makes it a little dry for private reading, unless one has a well-informed professional interest in the field; but this very aspect makes it ideal for discussing (a short extract at a time) in groups of all kinds, where its vigorous brevity would certainly stimulate lively controversy and confrontation with one's own values and those of others.

ADULT EDUCATION A SERIOUS OMISSION:

Reference is made to literacy in industrial training schemes, and to the necessity of providing university extension classes for non-whites in towns. But on the whole, I was disappointed to see so little space devoted to urban adult education, and virtually none to rural. Does apartheid inevitably blind partially even those who wish to wear no blinkers? Provision for *adult education* (and incidentally indoor recreation which is potentially so educative) for *all races* is

almost non-existent in this country. I do not speak only of basic education for the illiterate and semi-literate, although I think this deserved more attention from the report than it got. What about the many of all races (including vast numbers of whites) whose education ended at Standard 7 or 6? As for the vast numbers of urban and rural adults who are not functionally literate, the report makes little mention of them, except for the said reference to literacy work in industrial training schemes. Now few African women are employed in industry, yet they must represent about 50% of the adult African population, hence a huge section of our total national population of all races. They have probably the highest illiteracy rate of any sub-group. Yet they have the responsibility of rearing the vast majority of South Africa's pre-school children - the adults of the future. And as far as I can see, the report gives them no or negligible attention. (Could this omission be due to the complete absence of women members on the permanent commission?) Surely many of the women's groups which exist could undertake much more vigorously the continuing or basic education of their members. Each group, I think, should think *both* of educating themselves at whatever level they may be, whether illiterate or matriculated, and also of helping others with even fewer resources. Church groups need far more advice and stimulation in this area, and I do not think that the report gives the necessary pointers sufficiently clearly. Literate women, aware of their situation, could certainly help their children, providing a potentially enormous return on investment of effort and very moderate funds. It has long been known that the under-privileged child's learning ability suffers acutely and in some cases irremediably from the confused and unstimulating environment of his pre-school years. Once again this problem is acute among Africans, but is by no means absent from the white population. The report does emphasise the necessity of head-start projects for underprivileged pre-school children. In many cases I think a better or equally good place to start would be with their mothers, or why not integrated or parallel projects for mothers and children? These have in fact been undertaken time and again over many past years, but not with sufficient link-up, sharing of ideas, resources, problems, etc., hence far too few in number.

APPLICATION OF REPORT TO PRIVATE SCHOOLS:

The 'education-debate' not only in relation to apartheid, but arising from the world-wide anxiety over the unequal development of nations, peoples and individuals, continues with ever-increasing urgency. Recently there appeared in South Africa another survey, which deals with the very problems focused by the report, but in terms of a minority group, the Roman Catholics. This is the report of Sister Augusta Neal, an American sociologist, which she prepared for the Roman Catholic Bishop's Conference of South Africa and the Catholic Education Council. Looking at the Roman Catholic educational effort in South Africa, which includes after all, the

maintaining of a fair number of primary, secondary and specialized institutions for non-whites (virtually the only ones to be maintained privately since the Bantu Education Act of 1956), she recommends a drastic curtailment of the effort expended in segregated schools for whites, (schools which are relatively unproductive in terms of social change); instead she urges an enormously increased effort among the under privileged non-whites who are 'open and changing' as opposed to the relatively 'fixed and closed' whites. (I attempt to summarise, not to quote, her report). Since it is impossible in the present framework to obtain registration of new schools for African children, the only possible avenue - and probably a more productive one - is the education of adults, starting at whatever level they may be.

Thinking along these lines, one realizes that although night-schools cannot be organized legally at present, there are many other modes of action. But once one abandons, perforce, the idea of duplicating for everybody the formal schooling dispensed with dubious success to white children, one needs to look not only for new modes of action but also for a new philosophy. I can only suggest that concept which has become the keynote of radical basic education of illiterates and semi-literates, especially in Latin America: the concept of dialogue. That is, to attempt a nutshell definition, that the teachers should admit the possibility of being taught by their pupils, that education should be an exchange of ideas, experience, ultimately of mutual respect and love. To those who might think I am talking in the air, I can only give two verbatim quotations:

An illiterate Chilean peasant, in an evening discussion group, said 'Now I see that without man there is no world'. His teacher countered this by asking if the earth, the stars, air, rivers, seas, etc. could not be considered a world. No, the peasant replied, for there would be no-one to say 'There is a world'. To come nearer home, a 17 year old African Form IV student, said to me during a discussion of old and new points of view on the existence of God, "But you see, my problem is not the existence of God, it is whether I exist myself". Admittedly, both the Chilean teacher and myself had probably heard the respective points of view before; the point is that these comments emerged entirely unprompted and re-presented to the teacher, with shattering impact, existential moments.

OPVOEDING VERBY APARTHEID

VERSLAG van die Spro-Cas Onderwyskommissie. Prys R1.00 + 10c posgeld.

Bestel by :- Spro-cas,
Posbus 31134,
Braamfontein,
Transvaal.