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PRO VERITATE

PRO VERITATE

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"... AND THEY CRIED, AND THEIR CRY CAME UP UNTO GOD ... AND GOD HEARD THEIR GROANING ..." (EXODUS 2:23, 24). LINO BLOCK PRINTING BY FRANCO FRESCURA.

VOORBLAD

..... HULLE HET GEWEEKLAAG. EN HULLE GEROEP ... HET OPGEKLIM TOT GOD. EN GOD HET HULLE GEKERM GEHOOR ..." (EXODUS 2:23, 24). LINONEUM-DRUK DEUR FRANCO FRESCURA.

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A NEW DESIGN FOR LIVING?

Somewhere along the path man has lost his true identity and now he not only does not know who he is; he also does not know what he must do with his life. Modern life has been split to the bone through the pervading sense of frustration which has been displayed like the washing of dirty linen in public.

Not only in South Africa but throughout the world, desperate efforts are being made to unravel the threads of problems such as violence, exploitation, addiction to drugs, pollution, discrimination, crime, aggression, sources of energy, provision of food, etc. etc. Because in South Africa the accent falls so much on the problems of apartheid, one can the more easily lose the sense of perspective, and no longer question the basis of life and society. The apartheid-ideology is only one of the problems of our society and at that it is really only a superficial one. Perhaps it would be worth while for us to examine in depth again the meaning of life in all its rich facets. Yes indeed, if one would but try to ascertain the truth of God's activity and his purpose for an infatuated humankind!

The study and action undertaken by Spro-cas and completed at the end of 1973, had a specific purpose in connection with the message of the Gospel and the malpractice of an apartheid-society. Now we must look to the future.

Study and action which questions the very heart of humanity and society, which tries in the light of the Gospel to probe the very being of the church, education, law, government, marriage and the family, love and justice, political systems and so forth, is in our humble opinion very necessary. Has our type of *education* produced co-operative, creative, adult students capable of independent thinking, or are we ensnared in a paternalistic, autocratic system that we can do nothing to change. Is the task of the *church*, the Body of Christ, merely to occupy itself on the fringe of life with fripperies and makeshifts, and works of charity, or is the church the movement which must seize hold of and shape and form the total life of man; which must send man forth—man in all his activities—to a meaningful life with God in every plane of life. Is a *government* entitled to promulgate as final laws, its own arbitrary and wilful decisions over the lives of men, with the threat of punishment looming in the background like a thunderstorm on the horizon; or must the *law* rise directly out of those rights which alone unfold the true being of man? Is there an alternative to violence?—violence which has been the very ink with which the course of the history of mankind—a history of blood and tears—has been written? What is *love* and how

can it become the sweet fragrance which brings to flower the good relationship, justice, order and freedom in the garden of life which is our society?

In short, what is the depth of education, the church, law and political systems and why are there violence, faulty relationships, lack of love? Such a study may be undertaken on broad lines and it may also concentrate on detail—a broad survey and an intensive study.

It is not only the existing methods of education, the Church etc. that must be examined. The open plains of the alternatives must be considered. This does not mean however that everything contemporary and traditional, is to be condemned outright. Rather there must be a thrust from the other side from which we may look at life. From this other point of view, the question arises whether our kind of living, work, systems and the church, are truly Christian and constructive in relation to humanity. Alternatives must be considered and worked out.

The task is more urgently necessary now than ever before. There are not only human derelicts along the path of life, but modern life itself has become one big problem. Life has thus acquired a whole series of conflicts in many spheres of relationships. In the areas of government-subject (rejection of authority, bannings, arbitrary measures, anarchy); man-woman (faulty relations, divorce, lack of love, experiences devoid of meaning); parent-child (mal-formation, frustration, degeneration) person-to-person (mistrust, superficiality, dehumanization); group-to-group (fear, lack of communication, manipulation); economic systems—political systems (enrichment, impoverishment, exploitation, caste systems); the individual-to-himself (uncertainty, lack of purpose, addiction to drugs, a lack of life vitality, inability to cope with life, suicide); church- church member (irrelevance, loss of function, irritation, indifference).

It is clear that man has lost his true sense of perspective; the content of life no longer has meaning. It may therefore be of value during this year 1974 to bring people together to try to fathom the depths of life. Or do we see nothing seriously wrong? If this is so, and there are nevertheless short circuits in all areas of life, one could hardly be in a more precarious position. If this is the case, we have already lost our real human identity, since we accept and experience the abnormal as normal. Are we willing to begin thinking about injecting a new and far-reaching vitality into our lives, and accepting a new design for living, or do we accept the prospect of going down with the sinking ship—the philosophy of despair?★

'N NUWE LEWENSPROGRAM?

Erens langs die pad het die mens sy ware menswees verloor en nou weet hy nie alleenlik meer wie hy is nie, maar ook nie wat hy met sy lewe moet doen nie. Die moderne lewe het die mens se lewe in sy lewensfrustrasie nie alleenlik tot die been opgekloof nie, maar dit soos vuil wasgoed aan die draad opgehang.

Nie net in Suid-Afrika nie, maar oor die hele wêreld word krampagtig probeer om die drade te ontworstel van probleme soos geweld, uitbuiting, dwelmmiddelverslawing, besoedeling, diskriminasie, misdaad, aggressie, bronne vir energie, voedselvoorsiening, ens., ens. Omdat die klem so veel op die probleme van apartheid in Suid-Afrika val, kan 'n mens gevolglik makliker perspektief verloor en die lewe en samelewing nie meer vanuit sy diepte bevraagteken nie. Die apartheids-ideologie is maar een van die probleme van ons samelewing en juis 'n oppervlakkige een. Miskien sal dit loon as 'n mens onder die dop inkruip en in die diepte weer na die sin van die lewe in sy rykdom van fasette vra. Ja, as 'n mens sou probeer om God se aktiwiteit en doelwitte met 'n verdwaasde mensdom sou probeer vasstel.

Spro-cas se studie en aksie, wat teen die einde van 1973 voltooi is, het 'n spesifieke doelwit gehad i.v.m. die boodskap van die evangelie en die wanpraktyk van 'n apartheidsamelewing. Nou moet daar vooruit geskou word.

Studie en aksie wat na die hart van die menswees en samelewing vra, wat die wese van kerkwees, onderwys, wet, regering, die huwelik en gesin, liefde en geregtigheid, politieke sisteme, ens. in die lig van die evangelie probeer deurvors, is volgens ons beskeie mening noodsaaklik. Het ons tipe onderwys meelewende, kreatiewe, onafhanklik-denkende, volwasse leerlinge tot gevolg, of is ons so in 'n paternalistiese, outokratiese sisteem vasgevang dat ons niks daaraan kan doen met ons huidige sisteem nie? Is die taak van die kerk, die liggaam van Christus om slegs op die rand van die lewe met fraingwerk, noodhulp en trooswerk besig te wees, of is die kerk die beweging wat die totale lewe in die oog moet gryp en vorm, omvorm en stuur na 'n sinvolle meelewing met God op al die bestaansvlakke van die mens se aktiwiteit? Is 'n regering geregtig om arbitrêre wilsbesluite as finale wette oor menselewe af te kondig met straf op die horison as dreigende onweer, of moet die wet alleenlik vanuit die reg, wat alleenlik die ware menswees ontplooi, opkom? Is daar 'n alternatief vir geweld, wat die bron van die geskiedenisink is waarmee die mensdom se verloop in bloed en tranes beskryf is? Wat is

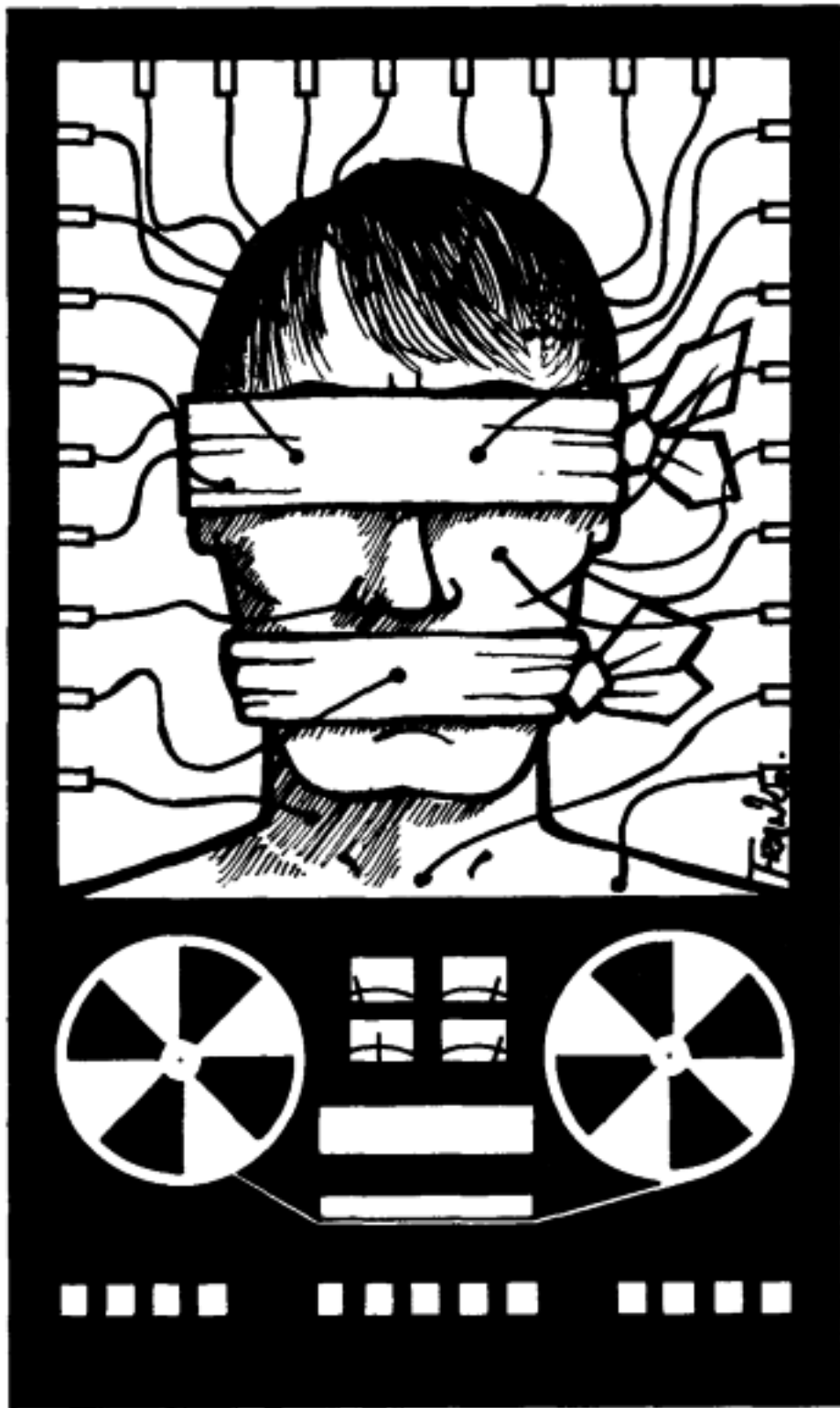
liefde en hoe kan dit die soete geur wees wat mooi verhoudings, geregtigheid, orde en vryheid laat ontblom in die lewensbeddings van die samelewing?

In kort: Wat is die diepte van onderwys, die kerk, wet, politieke stelsels, en waarom is daar geweld, wanverhoudings en liefdeloosheid? So 'n studie kan breed aangevoer word en kan ook op detail konsentreer—'n oorsig en 'n konsentraat.

Dis egter nie net die bestaande wyses van onderwys, kerkwees, ens., wat ondersoek moet word nie, daar moet deurgesteek word na die oop vlakke van alternatiewe. Dit beteken egter nie dat alles in die huidige en tradisionele noodwendig verdoem moet word nie, maar daar moet 'n slag van die anderkant af na die lewe gekyk word. Die anderkant sal dan vra of ons tipe lewe, werk, stelsels, kerk die ware Christelike en mensopbouende is. Alternatiewe sal uitgewerk en oorweeg moet word.

Dié taak is so noodsaaklik soos nooit tevore nie. Daar is nie net mensewrakke langs die lewenspad nie, maar die moderne lewe self het een groot probleem geword. Die lewe het gevolglik 'n hele reeks botsings op baie terreine van verhoudings tot gevolg: Op die terreine van regering-onderdaan (gesagsverwerping, inperkings, arbitrêre maatreëls, anargie); man-vrou (wanverhoudings, egskeidings, liefdeloosheid, leë lewenservaringe); ouer-kind (misvorming, frustrasie, verwildering); persoon-tot-persoon (wantroue, oppervlakkigheid, ontmensliking); groep-tot-groep (vrees, gebrek aan kommunikasie, manipulasie); ekonomie-tot-politieke stelsels (verryking, verarming, uitbuiting, standvorming); enkeling-tot-homself (onsekerheid, doelloosheid, dwelmmiddelverslawing, lewensimpotensie, selfmoord); kerk-lidmaat (irrelevansie, funksie-verlies, irritasie, belangeloosheid).

Dis duidelik dat die mens sy lewensuitsig verloor het en dat sy lewensinhoud nie meer sin maak nie. Dit sal gevolglik moontlik sin maak om persone bymekaar te bring om die lewensdiepte van die mens in 1974 weer te probeer peil. Of sien ons niks ernstigs verkeerd nie? As dit die geval is en daar is nogtans kortsluitings op alle gebiede van die lewe, kan 'n mens seker nie in 'n hagliker posisie denkbaar kom nie. Dan het ons alreeds ons eintlike menswees verloor omdat ons die abnormale as normaal aanvaar en ervaar. Is ons gewillig om te begin dink aan 'n ingrypende nuwe lewensvitaliteit en -program, of aanvaar ons dit dat ons saam met die sinkende skip, die lewensleegheid ondergaan? ★



(Mr. James Moulder is a lecturer in Philosophy at Rhodes University in Grahamstown.)

JAMES MOULDER

why
educate
adults?

I want to advocate a particular set of answers to each of the following three questions: *What* is adult education? *Why* should adults be educated? *How* should adults be educated? But the answers I want to advocate are not as important as the questions themselves. They are, in fact, nothing more than an attempt to focus attention on some problems and to convince you that at least these three questions must receive serious consideration from any person or institution that wishes to engage in the education of adults.

What is adult education?

There are, broadly speaking, two kinds of answers to this question. The one kind tends to equate education with going to school or with going to university. More generally, it tends to equate education with the acquisition of knowledge or of some professional skill or other. If this equation is made, then adult education programmes will tend to be regarded as attempts to enable adults who have not already done so to obtain various secondary or tertiary educational qualifications; to obtain, for example, a matriculation certificate or a B.A. degree.

At the same time, on this view adult education will not be regarded as something which is urgently needed in South Africa or, for that matter, in other technologically developed parts of the world. Every adult South African, after all, has been to school for at least ten years; the majority have been for longer; and a great many have received some form of tertiary education. (Adult black South Africans have discovered that they have little to gain from old fashioned liberals like myself speaking about their problems. I welcome their discovery and respect their request to refrain from speaking about what they need. The adult South Africans whom I have in mind, therefore, are the white ones.)

Furthermore, various correspondence colleges and UNISA enable adults to obtain secondary or tertiary educational qualifications like matriculation or a degree. How can it be claimed, therefore, that adult education programmes are badly needed or urgently required? If education is equated with going to school or with going to university, then this question must be answered in the negative. In fact, on this view of the matter it is not at all obvious why it is even necessary to discuss distinctive educational programmes for adults.

On the other hand, the less education is identified with going to school or with going to university, the more obvious it will seem that every society needs to make a serious attempt to involve as many adults in educational programmes as possible. On this view, education leads to understanding; it does not have a 'practical' aim like the acquisition of knowledge or of some professional skill. It does not have as its object the 'production' of Calvinists, Catholics, Communists, citizens, students, scholars, workers or businessmen. It

is interested in the development of human beings through the development of their minds and of their emotions. Its aim is well expressed by Comenius in *The Great Didactic*.

He gave no bad definition who said that man was a 'teachable animal'. And indeed it is only by a proper education that he can become a man ... The education I propose includes all that is proper for a man, and is one in which all men who are born into this world should share ...

Our first wish is that all men should be educated fully to full humanity; not any one individual, nor a few nor even many, but all men together and singly, young and old, rich and poor, of high and lowly birth, men and women—in a word all whose fate it is to be born human beings; ...

Comenius' wish that all men should be educated fully to full humanity is, of course, more *inspiring* than it is *clear*. In fact, it is not so much an answer to the question, What is adult education? It simply enables us to focus sharply on that question and to raise a host of others. In particular, it raises two fundamental questions which any person or institution that wishes to engage in adult education should ask. One of these questions is, Why should adults be educated? The other is, How should they be educated? I want to tackle these two questions in the light of Comenius' convictions.

Why should adults be educated?

A straightforward answer in the spirit of Comenius is this: adults are not entirely incapable of being educated; and if they are not educated, then they will not be fully human. This answer, however, is somewhat stark. It also has some rivals. I, therefore, want to provide a more substantial version of this straightforward answer. And I want to do so in the process of considering three rival but, in my opinion, inadequate convictions about what the aim of an adult education programme should be.

I.

ACQUIRING OF KNOWLEDGE?

One broad view of why adults should be educated is that men and women should be helped to acquire *the knowledge they missed in their youth*. A central thrust under this view of the matter has often been the effort to make men and women literate. But in societies with a high literacy rate the emphasis has been to provide adults with various forms of secondary and tertiary education which, for some reason or other, they did not receive when they were at the usual age for it. Adult education programmes which have this aim concentrate, therefore, on the provision of night schools, evening colleges and university extension

centres. One of the most recent and most interesting developments along these lines is the Open University.

What, if anything, is wrong with adult education conceived of as a means by which men and women may be helped to acquire the knowledge they missed in youth? I think there are at least two objections which can be raised to this view of the matter. The one has already been mentioned; namely, that the more we equate education with schooling or with university training the less obvious it becomes that there is any real need for distinctive adult education programmes. The second objection to this view of the aim of adult education is that it fails to distinguish education either from schooling or from training. *What counts as education* is, of course, a controversial question. And I, for one, do not have an uncontroversial and short answer. But Robert M. Hutchins is close to the heart of the matter when he maintains that

The mind is not a receptacle; information is not education. Education is what remains after the information that has been taught has been forgotten. Ideas, methods, and habits of mind are the radioactive deposit left by education. (*The Learning Society* (Pelican Books, 1970) page 44. Anyone who reads Hutchins' book will discover how much this paper owes to him.)

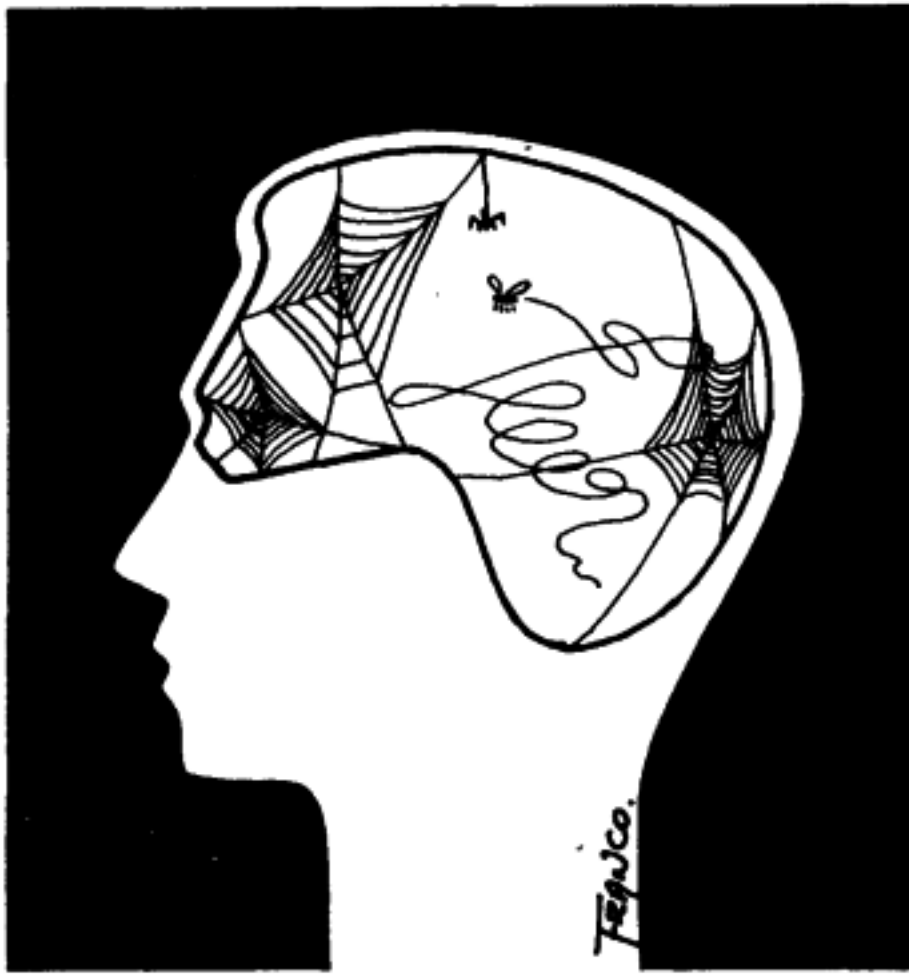
This warning reminds us that education leads to understanding. And *understanding must not be confused with the acquisition either of knowledge or of various professional skills*. There are, in any case, sufficient agencies within our society to enable adults to acquire any knowledge or skills which they may have missed in their youth. And although a great deal more has to be said about what education is and how we should set about providing it, the hints we have received from Hutchins and from Comenius are enough for the moment. And if they have any validity, then an adult education programme should aim to provide mature men and women with something more distinctive than they can obtain from any programme which offers them a second chance to go to school or to university.

II.

THE REMEDYING OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES?

A second broad view of why adults should be educated is that education is *a means of remedying social and economic inequalities*. In opposition to this view I want to argue that an adult education programme which is motivated by this aim is neither effective nor completely harmless.

And it is not effective for the same reason that primary and secondary education programmes which are organized with the same end in view are not effective.



In general terms, this reason is that no educational system can escape from the society in which it operates; it must reflect what the society wants it to reflect. More specifically, education has to contend with the environment in which it is given: with the family, the community, the media of mass communications, advertising, propaganda: in short, with the culture. Education, therefore, is hardly in a position to remedy the handicaps of and the injustices to socially and economically underprivileged people. It is simply naive to expect an educational system, adult or otherwise, to develop intelligent human beings if all the forces of the culture are directed, for example, to developing producers and consumers. There simply is no reason to believe, therefore, that an educational programme is an effective means of remedying social and economic inequalities.

Furthermore, it is not at all clear that it is completely harmless to believe that an educational programme, adult or otherwise, is an answer to social questions. Someone who proclaims the salvation of society through education runs the risk of failing to do something about the social and economic ills of his society. Those who talk of education as the means to solving the race problem, for example, often seem as though they have no great interest in inconveniencing themselves about a solution to the problem.

Is adult education, therefore, of no relevance to society? Should it aim to be of no earthly use? Not at all. And especially not if the aim of an adult educational programme is that all men should be educated to full humanity. The central thrust under this view of the matter is to enable mature men and women to understand what it means to be human. And because we live

in a particular society at a particular period of its development, it is impossible to understand what it means to be human without understanding the nature, the limitations and the possibilities of our society.

An essential aim of an adult education programme, therefore, should be *to provide people with the ideas, methods and habits of mind which would enable them to evaluate their society; to appreciate everything which makes their lives and the lives of others worth living; and to reject anything which dehumanises them and the other members of their society.* Such an understanding of one's society is, of course, no substitute for an involvement in the means which it provides for its improvement and change. But it is a necessary condition for an intelligent involvement in this area of one's existence.

III.

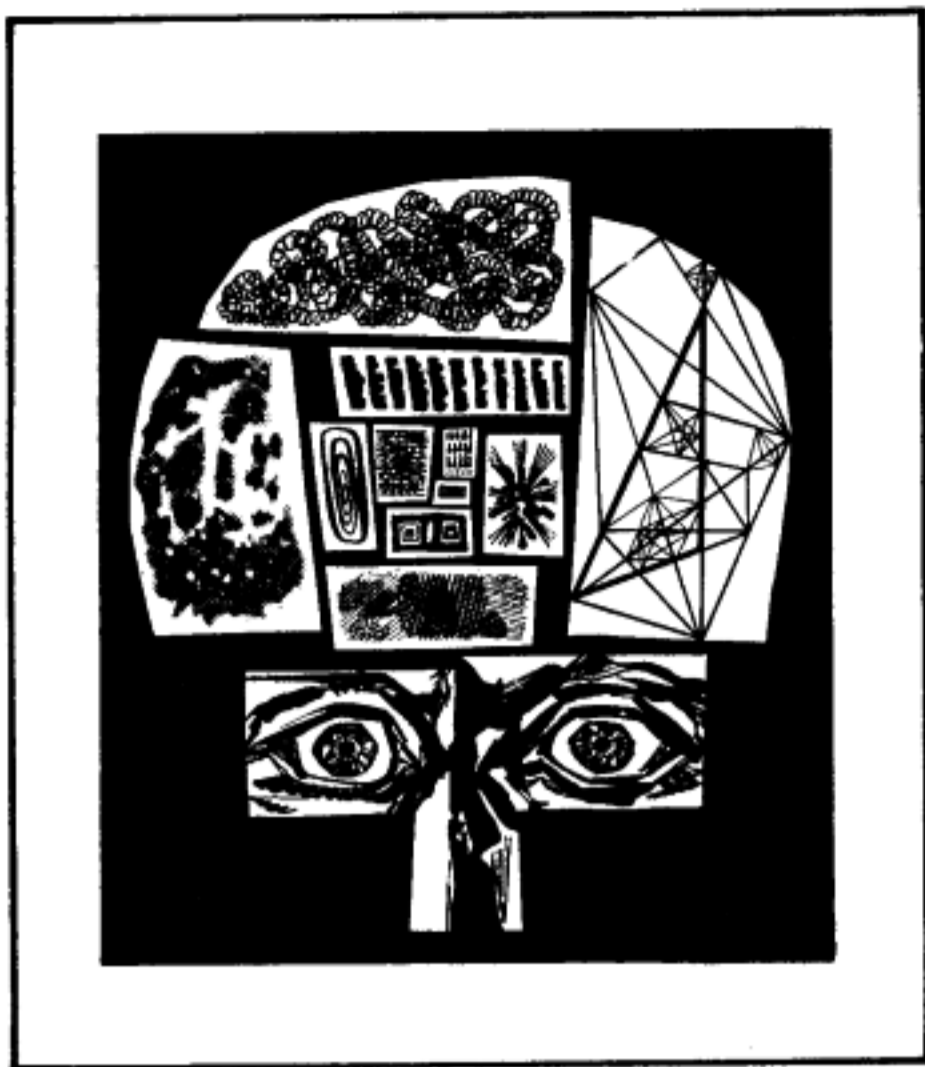
A MEANS TOWARDS ECONOMIC PROSPERITY?

A third broad view of why adults should be educated is that education is *a means towards economic prosperity.* Some advocates of this view declare that the economic prosperity which adult education is supposed to improve is that of the individual being educated. More commonly, it is maintained that adult education, like all other education, is a means towards national prosperity; and, therefore, towards international power and prestige.

This conviction underlies a great deal of talk about 'investment in man' and 'the knowledge industry'. Both these phrases are useful clues to what motivated most educational establishments and programmes during the 1960s. During this decade many people were convinced that the greater a person's knowledge or professional skill, the better off he would be; and the larger the proportion of educated people a country had, the stronger and richer it would become. John F. Kennedy stated the prevailing view in a message to Congress in 1963:

This nation is committed to greater advancement in economic growth, and recent research has shown that one of the most beneficial of all such investments is education, accounting for some forty per cent of the nation's growth and productivity in recent years. In the new age of science and space, improved education is essential to give meaning to our national purpose and power.

In 1965 and in a similar vein, Lyndon B. Johnson urged businessmen to support expenditures for education on the ground that they were a good investment. He claimed that a college graduate would earn, on average, \$300 000 more in his lifetime than a man who had stopped at the eighth grade. And, he concluded, prosperous citizens mean a prosperous country. These



convictions are still held. And they are particularly common in developing countries like South Africa. This, perhaps more than anything else, is the reason why some maintain that the aim of an adult education programme should be *either* to help mature men and women acquire the knowledge or professional skills they missed in their youth, *or* to remedy social and economic inequalities.

There is, of course, some connection between education conceived of as the acquisition of knowledge or professional skills and the economic prosperity of either an individual or of a nation. On the other hand, it is becoming increasingly clear that people who claim that education is an adequate means of promoting the economic objectives either of an individual or of a nation are guilty, as Kennedy and Johnson were, of a gross oversimplification. The plain truth is that nobody has yet managed to disentangle what is cause and what is effect when it comes to the interaction of education and of economic growth. Although a country's gross national product and its educational level tend to grow together, this is not necessarily so. Brazil, for example, has one of the fastest growing economies in the world. But its educational level is lower, in proportion to the population, than it was before its economic expansion began. And Japan was on its way to becoming an industrial world power before the introduction of vocational training in the schools in 1894. Before that such training was given in industry, and much of it continued to be given there afterwards. It is not at all clear, therefore, whether it was vocational training that built Japanese industry or industry which built its vocational training.

There is, however, a more serious objection to the view that adults should be educated as a means to their own or their nation's economic prosperity. This view is not only over simple, it is also out of date. And it is out of date because automated and cybernated industry no longer require a large number of highly knowledgeable or highly skilled people. In fact, apart from a minority of scientists, engineers and skilled repairmen, workers in automated industry hardly require any education *for their work*. For their work, they do not even need to know how to read, to write, or to do simple arithmetical calculations. The ordinary worker in a highly automated or cybernated industry only needs to be able to see, say, whether a right light is on or to hear whether a whistle is blowing.

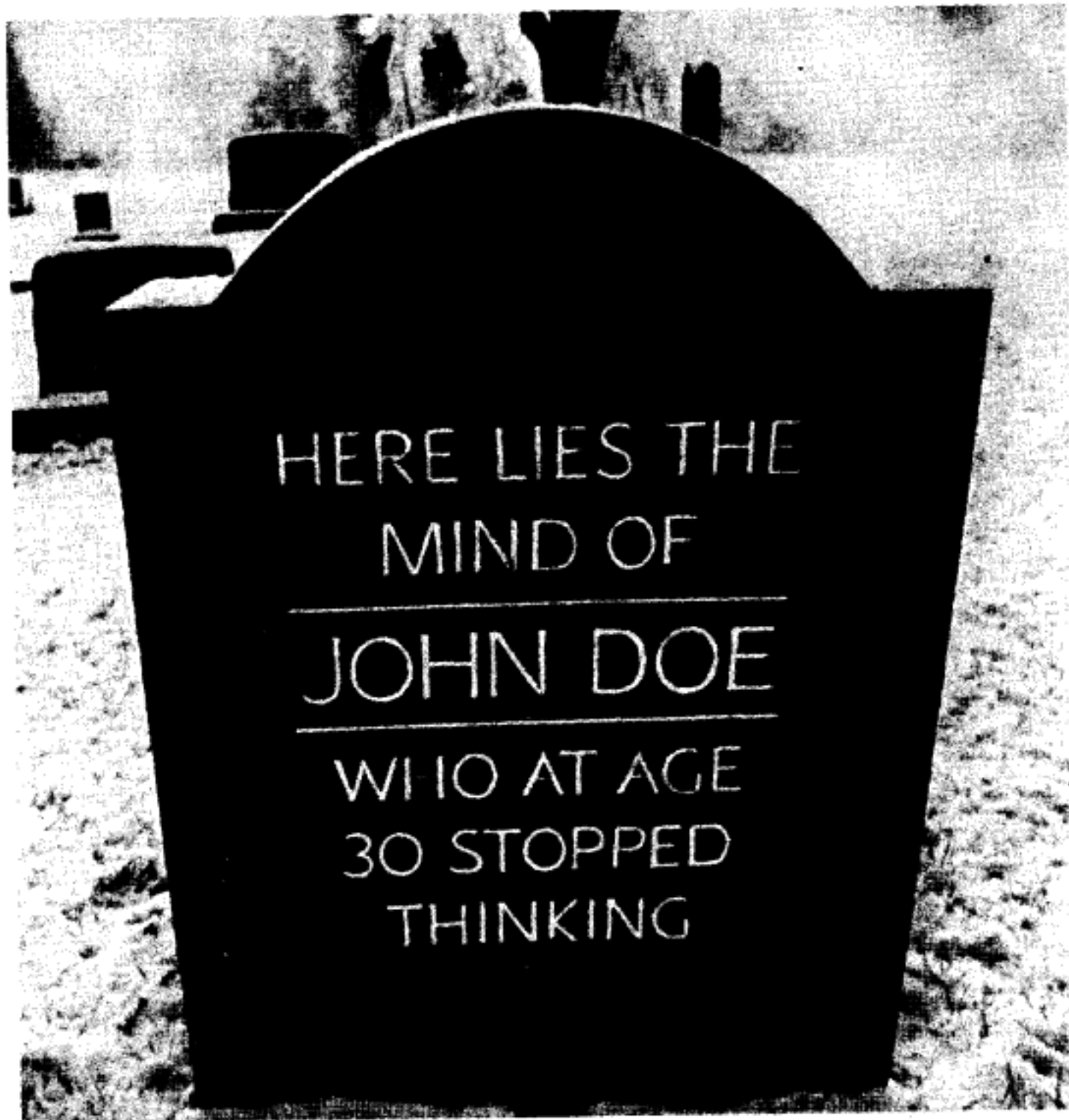
Illiterate Spanish migrants, for example, are supervising automatic bakeries in West Germany. They ride back and forth on bicycles in front of the ovens. When the warning signal goes on, they report to a repairman. Since they cannot speak German, they do so by pressing a button. Industry, therefore, needs hardly any knowledgeable or skilled people. And, consequently, adult education programmes lose their point if they are conceived of as a means to improve economic prosperity. In fact, those who participate in programmes which promise such improvement will soon discover, as more and more matriculants and university graduates are discovering, that their schooling or professional training does not even guarantee them employment, let alone the type of employment their educational experiences promised or led them to expect.

IV.

TO BECOME FULLY HUMAN?

In opposition to these three views of why adults should be educated there stands the stark, straightforward one inspired by Comenius. On this view adults should be educated because if they are not, then they will not be fully human. Unlike the three rival views which I have considered, this view of the matter does not aim adult education programmes at a particular section of a society; at, for example, those who neglected, or never had, the opportunity to go to school or to university; or at those who are economically underprivileged; or at those who want to improve their economic position. It recognises that "all whose fate it is to be born human beings" should have an opportunity to "be educated fully to full humanity".

Comenius' view, however, distinguishes itself from its rivals by more than its universality. His view does not rest on a dubious declaration that adult education is a means to some other end. It does not promise adults who are concerned about their education that they will be able to make up for what they missed in their youth; or that they will have justice done to them; or that they will be able to obtain more interesting or more lucrative forms of employment. On the contrary,



**Some people die at 30.
BUT aren't buried until they're 70.**

it warns that there is nothing to be gained from education except some better understanding of what is involved in having been born a human being.

Comenius' view also makes it possible to regard adult education as something distinct and different from going to school or to university. This is because his view of the matter equates education with understanding. On the other hand, the three rival views tend to equate education with the acquisition of knowledge or of professional skills. On these views, therefore, we are forced to think of adult education programmes merely as school or university programmes with a difference. And often the only obvious difference will be that most adults are older than school children and university students.

The main attraction of Comenius' view, however, is that anyone who adopts it as his reason for being involved with adult education cannot escape two questions which are all too often ignored by educators and

by educational institutions. These two questions are: What is education? And, what is it to be human? In fact, if we were able to answer these two questions satisfactorily, then we would have a better idea of how adults should be educated. Although I am not able to answer these questions to my own satisfaction, I want to conclude with some reflections which may include the ingredients for a more adequate answer.

How should adults be educated?

The ingredients from which we may be able to discover what education is; what it is to be human; and, therefore, how adults should be educated consist of a quotation, a distinction and an observation.

The quotation comes from Michael Oakeshott's superb discussion of the point of trying to understand one's society. He says:

As civilized human beings, we are the inheritors, neither of an inquiry about ourselves and the

world, nor of an accumulating body of information, but of a conversation, begun in the primeval forests and extended and made more articulate in the course of centuries. It is a conversation which goes on both in public and within each of ourselves. Of course there is argument and inquiry and information, but wherever these are profitable they are to be recognized as passages in this conversation, and perhaps they are not the most captivating of the passages ... Conversation is not an enterprise designed to yield an extrinsic profit, a context where a winner gets a prize, nor is it an activity of exegesis; it is an unrehearsed intellectual adventure .. Education, properly speaking, is an initiation into the skill and partnership of this conversation in which we learn to recognize the voices, to distinguish the proper occasions of utterance, and in which we acquire the intellectual and moral habits appropriate to conversation. And it is this conversation which, in the end, gives place and character to every human activity and utterance. (*Rationalism in Politics and Other Essays*, New York and London, 1962, pages 198-199.)

A recent example of what Oakeshott has in mind was the conversation on and by Die Sestigters which the University of Cape Town's Department of Extra-Mural Studies arranged for its 1973 Summer School. By all accounts, this conversation was not an enterprise designed to yield an extrinsic profit. It was an unrehearsed intellectual adventure which contributed as much to the education of the authors engaged in conversation amongst themselves and with their audiences as it did to those who merely listened or read some of the newspaper reports. Conversation, then, is an essential part of what education is; of what it is to be human; and, therefore, of how adults should be educated.

The distinction which must be included in any adequate view of how adults should be educated is the distinction between two kinds of question to which an adult or any other educational programme can introduce us. On the one hand, there are questions which can be answered by acquiring further information or a certain expertise. For convenience let us call questions of this kind 'problems'. Problems are very common. In fact, a great deal of ordinary schooling and university training is concerned with enabling people to acquire the information or expertise which they need to deal with problems of various kinds.

Problems, however, are not the only kind of questions one may ask. There are also what I will call 'puzzles'. Puzzles are not like problems because a puzzle is a question which we are intelligent enough to ask but neither clever nor wise enough to answer. All we can do, therefore, about our puzzles is to engage

ourselves and other people in a conversation about them. But instead of trying to describe or define a puzzle let me say that puzzles concern such things as our beliefs about and attitude towards ourselves; towards our personal and formal relationships with other people; towards politics, economics and our society in general. For example, one of the most puzzling questions anyone can ask is 'What does it mean to be fully human?' And as soon as one begins to wrestle for an answer one discovers that this question has some peculiar features.

Firstly, this question cannot be answered simply by obtaining further information. In fact, as soon as one begins to gather information about what is involved in being human one encounters a bewildering variety of opinions.

Secondly, because this question cannot be answered simply by obtaining further information, there are no experts you can go to for an answer. And there are no experts because every human being is interestingly different from every other; therefore, one's way of being human is not necessarily someone else's way.

Thirdly, if an answer is to silence our questions about what it means to be human then it must satisfy, not only our reason, but also our feelings and emotions.

I have by no means exhausted this distinction; nor can I. But it seems to me obvious that if an adult education programme is thought of as a conversation, then those who participate in it will be presented with puzzles rather than with problems. In other words, adult education should be essentially concerned, not with those questions which some teacher or other can answer, but with those far more interesting questions that neither teachers nor pupils are either clever or wise enough to answer definitively. And if someone objects that to concentrate on questions that seem to defy an adequate answer is very frustrating, then the point must be granted. All that one can say in reply is that there is also something comforting about our relative stupidity. Can you imagine how depressing it would be if we were wiser than we are and still managed to complicate things as much as we do?

The observation which must be included in any adequate view of how adults should be educated is that our development as human beings has become dangerously one-sided. For example, although we have managed to put some of our fellow human beings on the moon, our understanding, as distinct from our knowledge and our technological expertise, is so limited that we do not understand *what* it is that we have managed to put there—except, of course, that they were Americans! Adults, therefore, should be educated. And any education programme which is provided for us should be such that this balance is corrected. In a word, it is about time that someone who wants to be educated should find it possible to be educated fully to full humanity.★



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LAND DETERMINES OUR FUTURE

anthony barker

Most of South Africa's ghosts walk behind us, historical presences which scare us from looking back as we journey. Of such are the longish struggles between Boer and Englishman; slavery; and the establishment of white control over the land by the many native wars of the 19th Century. Idle to pretend they don't worry us: we whistle our cheerful tunes a little too loudly for conviction. Today we see only too clearly that present troubles have their roots deep in the soil of the past.

But there are ghosts and apparitions ahead, too. Numerous ghosts, and grim ones they are so that we cannot bear to look at them full face. Their names are *Population and Land*. To contemplate them produces irritation discussion of them has about it an air of bad taste, like chatting about death at a dinner party.

POPULATION EXPLOSION

But tonight we *must* look at them: dead in the eye. Population is vast and still growing. Its growth is geometrical, so that, while it took 1600 years for the world's estimated population to double itself from the time of the birth of Jesus the process of doubling is now a matter of some 35 years. At this rate, we shall have on board the world by the end of the century—most of us will be alive still though some of us perhaps past caring in senile self-centredness—some 7,000 million people. One hundred years from now it is estimated that we shall have over 700 million in South

Africa, where today we worry about 22 million. It is impossible not to feel a lurch of alarm when we look at these figures, which, beneath our skepticism we know to be more or less accurate, and, if wrong, to be underestimates. This spectre in the path will not go away if we decline to see it. How much we wish it would!

Land is the other ghost along the road. A pretty emotional ghost it is, too. The enthusiasm which men and women bring to their mating is paralleled by their lust for land. In no people has this heart-longing been more developed than among South African whites, and in particular our Trekker forbears, building a nation. 'Ons Land' is one of our most sacred concepts. It is, we say, a trust about which we sing songs, invoke God and for which we are ready to bleed. But all men have a lively idea of territory, for it is the corner where we are; where we live; which we till. Its sweet scent is the smell of our security on earth. The ploughman sings at his work for the sheer joy of hope.

The intoxication of land was the motive for what we now see to have been the destruction of the Red Indians in the winning of the West; and we should remember that the whole appalling story was enacted only a little over a century ago. It was the necessity for territory that created the terrible modern disasters of Bangladesh and Biafra. It was the pride of land that sat the rulers of Europe around the congress table in Vienna to carve up Africa—where those Councillors had never been—into colonies; gift parcels for each would-be Emperor. When I was a boy—which is only a very short while ago—the world map was blotched

with red to indicate those countries which, I was told, belonged to me. It was an Empire upon which the sun never set—God would not trust you fellows in the dark, muttered one cynic. And among the bits that came under the sway of my nursery-throne, was this bit here, South Africa.

I'll admit that the British Empire was an exaggerated example of land-hunger, but I think it was only grotesque by reason of its size and its success. Those who scoffed at it, and those who chafed under it, were angered more by its achievement as the most successful land-grab of all time, than from a deep distrust (such as has grown up since) of the whole colonial concept. They would have liked such an empire, too.

For in essence, land acquisition is fundamental to the life of nations as we know them. No South African sub-republic, however tiny, failed to stake its claim to its territory. Shaka exploded outwards into an empire; the Moguls took on vast tracts of India; boundaries are the emotional issues of Bantustans. The British Empire is an egg which has, today, largely been unscrambled, but we in South Africa have our decolonising problems all before us. For, though we have come out of the omelette ourselves, we still have a country in which the white man—who makes up 17% of the population—has overall control of the whole land surface, and direct ownership of 85% of it.

Recognition of the significance of land has led the government to apportion to the black man those areas which were known at first as Reserves and now go by the cosy title of Homelands. It is well so. For men to know that they have a territory upon which they can dream from the overcrowding and squalor of the city, is creative of humanity and hope. The according of land, homeland, indicates humanity also in those who afford this boon, and this is well, too. But we are compelled in this study, to look critically at this gift-horse; to determine whether it is a free-maned charger or a broken moke that we led out of the stable.

EQUATING NUMBERS WITH POWER

So here we have them, the two spectres of Population and Land. As we contemplate them we see they are conjoined. We cannot lay the one without laying also the other, and together they form a formidable foe. Their identification is a prophetic task; the answers, such as they are, belong to more mundane realms. To begin with, population. Not a moment too soon man has learnt how to control his fertility. Today, if the intention is present, reduction of population is possible. The problem is, in the face of many rational, irrational and religious obstructions, to establish the intention. Rational objections are amenable to education; with religious doubt there can only be sympathy and concern. It is, alas, the irrational that dominates the scene, and this irrational principle is going to take a lot of shifting. Thus whites in South Africa, realising their dwindling percentage strength,

are more than half inclined to stand aside from population control programmes, even as they advocate it for others. The inception of the Republic was, as you will remember, accompanied by Ministerial pleas for whites to multiply to redress this failing balance. At the same time as this call for increased procreational activity were published warnings about the fecundity of the black people. It was a dreadful moment. Stark before our eyes was the dual nature of our thinking, the lordly assumptions of white men over the lives, happiness and future of the black.

The blacks, as bemused by emotion as the whites, because equally human, have countered by equating numbers with power. The more blacks there are, the weaker will white influence grow.

But there are other reasons beside racial jockeying for numerical strength, which make efforts to achieve an overall population control programme an uphill task. In our own homeland district of Nqutu, and I'm sure in all other areas where people can only survive by sending their men away on migratory labour, the continued absence of men shifts emphasis from normal, satisfactory sexual relations to the need for frequent, repeated childbearing. Each return of the man is hope for a new pregnancy, a new baby which, warm and dependent, will stay with the mother when the husband has long since returned to his work. Happy the woman whose man leaves behind him such a memory of his visit, growing in the womb's darkness. And wretched indeed are those in whom the spark does not catch. All this unfulfilled sexuality makes a poor soil in which to grow the seed of restraint.

Of course, family planning is going ahead, and even going ahead fast in some areas, so that the omens would be good if we were able simultaneously to put right some of the more glaring faults of our society, such as massive illiteracy and migratory labour. You cannot with justice limit people in their private powers, from whom you have already taken their public expectations.

South Africa's population problem is contrived rather than biological. It will change, of course, with time, to become an absolute one, but there is still some leeway, some space to manoeuvre in. At the present, the problem is grossly distorted by the controls white men have over the lives of black men, and these stick out, raw and thumb-like, over the distribution of the land. Over this, even before the promised doom of the population explosion, we are already in a demographic mess. Our rulers are scratching their heads over sums that can never come out: equations that no man can balance.

WHITE DECISION CLAIMS DIVINE AUTHORITY

The rules by which land is presently divided and held are made by white men. By superior know-how and more advanced weaponry, the white man's ascendancy

has become very complete. In more than a century this has given assurance to the white and indecision to the black, so that this order of things has come to appear as if divinely mandated. To question its origins and to doubt its validity has become almost blasphemous, and certainly perilous. To the ordinary white man his superiority is an unquestioned fact. The white man seems to himself to be cleverer, wiser and more reliable than the black. If any black man does rise above the level of white expectation, he is held to be a freak, a manipulator of gullible liberalists upon whom he manages to impose the veneer of his culture, though not, thank goodness, upon the ordinary decent white. With this pattern of thought, we can reasonably expect that the division and control of land will remain in white hands for the foreseeable future. Further North in Africa, we are reminded, can be seen the consequences of the alternative. And there is no gainsaying some of the rulers have done some pretty screwy things.

So the unthinkable thought in our country has become the redistribution of land, resources and power. We are willing to accept any amount of manoeuvring within the established framework. We can advance wages, build hospitals, do good things with education, grant local government, just so long as we stay within our assumptions. To transgress these is made to look like suicidal folly, the consequences of which would fall most heavily on those whom it is our moral duty to advance and develop.

We instance that we have in South Africa order and peace beyond that of other nations on the continent, a higher per-capita income, better health services, and neither civil commotion within, nor terrorism on our boundaries. And it is all true, even if it is also true that there are those who cry 'peace, peace' when there is no peace. The simple cry for better pay that lies below the present strikes, receives sympathy from all, both high and low, powerful and humble. We are not entirely insensitive, nor are we indifferent to such calls upon our consciences. Yet in certain areas our consciences are too easily smothered by our preconceptions. Calls by chiefs and homeland leaders for more land have been ignored, their requests met by shocked silence as though, when making them, these leaders had been somehow beside themselves.

NO SPACE FOR APARTHEID

The leaders are probably right, though. They remind us that even the addition of land granted under the 1936 Land Act will not meet the needs of the swollen populations of the 80's, let alone the population they may expect within their boundaries within the next few decades. Mr. Duchèsne Grice, in his excellent presidential address to the Institute of Race Relations, warns us that by the end of this century there will be 20 million Africans who can in no way be fitted into the existing homelands and urban areas, even were the former to be developed and occupied as was intended by the Tomlinson Commission. We may well sympa-



this, as we take in this unpalatable truth, with the government planners whose avowed and humane intention it has been that each citizen should be able to develop after his own fashion, within his own area and under his own fig tree. But we can see, only too clearly, that this ideal cannot possibly be reached under present circumstances and with future population growth. *There is not, even now, sufficient land for black habitation, nor in the future is there sufficient land for black development.* Leaving out the black man's increasing disenchantment with that limited degree of freedom that the white man proposes to grant him in his own territories, we are still left with the insoluble sum of his future dwelling-space.

I really believe we must go right back to the fundamentals, and look again at our society. Let us drop our pre-conceptions of a racially stratified society and ask ourselves: *what is the function of national organisation, the reason for its governance?* A country, we see, is made up of its people, living within its territorial boundaries. Each and every person can claim to live in the land, for it is his by birth or free choice. He must be enabled to live in reasonable security and at a reasonable level of subsistence. He must be able to contribute to that land by his work and in measure of his love for that land. Each must have shelter for himself and his family, and food enough for his needs. Education is his children's right; opportunity his own. He may expect a reasonable degree of comfort and happiness, and provision for his old age. The state must grant him protection against evil men and redress for his wrongs.

He has a right to health, and the services of medical science in sickness. He has a right to share in his own governance, lest he be crushed by tyrants or destroyed in anarchy.

We cannot deny that we are a long way from the realisation of such a condition for all our people, nor can we forget that to achieve this ideal will take a long time and a lot of wisdom. Yet the alternative—the clinging to each white bastion of privilege until we are knocked off by violence, or our hold loosened by disorder—is intolerable to men who claim a free and democratic society for themselves and whose ancestors trekked to preserve just these very ideals. But the question is: do we want such a just and equitable state? Or do we want to see the continuance of the present position, rectified towards righteousness by a series of concessions? We have the chance still to make our country either, and it is the white man who holds all power in his hands.

If, as I greatly hope, we do want a better society with more equitable opportunity for all our people and a more realistic use of our resources, we must recognise that we are a long way from reaching that goal and further see that the path along which we are currently treading is not, apparently, going in the right direction. For we are at present bent on producing a divided society, with divided interests and, worst of all, *divided standards*. The standard of life of most of our people is too low to be borne. Talk of happiness and security for all has a hollow ring. And if these things are true today, how much more must they be true as South Africa's population burgeons?

NINE "NATIONS" WITH ONE ECONOMY

To turn round, to go in the direction of a common society and an undivided country, may not be so dramatic a change as we think. For beneath all the official separations and differentiations there is already a huge area in which white and black live their lives in realised interdependence. Economically, we are already a common society, though by no means an equitable one. South Africa has nine nations but a single economy. Could our industries, our services, our farms, operate for a single week without the co-operation of black and white? Will our nursing services survive even ten more years before there is a lifting of the ban on black nurses touching white patients? And are not supermarkets supermarkets for all? And do not vehicles driven by hands of many colours travel our national highways? Does not the Minister of Transport himself cheat over job reservation to keep the railways running? How can we build houses enough, or dams, railways, electric cables enough unless we share the great task? I think the great society is dawning already, but we are too crabbed in our vision to see it so. But we are making too many mistakes; at no point is the black man being invited or even permitted to share the vision, to enthuse over it, to feel himself part of this

exciting new birth. He is merely being given that which he considers his already, his land. He is having conferred upon him from above a dignity that he has never lost. He is being awarded powers in his own, restricted areas which he has always assumed were his as a human being. Black leaders are not fooled. They accept the gifts because they represent something, are an earnest of a greater role the people are willing to play. The homelands have fed the aspirations of people, even in the limitation of their land, and re-created hope in hearts grown sick with poverty. It is upon this new hope dawning that a broader nationhood can be built. For hope is constructive, breeding co-operation in the mass of people, so that they may strain towards a better future. True conservation begins in the heart, not in Pretoria. Out of such hopeful hearts comes the drive to self-negation which is needed for the building of a new nation. But from those who have been too long denied there is to be expected only destruction, and a pulling down of prisons.

PLANNING NECESSARY

So, to be practical, we apply ourselves to the rural reform this lecture is supposed to be about. Plainly we must help people to use the new knowledge of fertility control. I cannot myself be party to its imposition from above. Birth control is for all, not for other people. The missionaries of this new gift must be of the people, working with the people, lest men cry 'genocide' and women conceive in a fit of pique to spite the zealous white ladies who inhabit this realm of family planning. The services are already in existence through which this can be done, and, with tact and persistence, the enthusiasm of wives, if not of their husbands, is readily aroused. In passing, we pay tribute to the agony of the church whose problem stems from its longing for the welfare of mankind, which is, after all, the noblest of motivations.

And the land? Hot potato as it is, we boldly grasp it. We can say, in general terms, that the distribution of land in this country is not only unfair, but is monstrously unfair. We shall further acknowledge that the productivity of our soil is largely at present in the hands of the whites, and that homeland farming is a mess of erosion and agricultural chaos. Go down any road that borders the Reserve and white farmland, and see the shocking difference. See the Tugela river run brown through those Drakensberg reserves. The facts are clear. Our interpretation of the facts is askew. Round us, in Northern Natal farmers need 1000 hectares to keep themselves in the reasonable condition of white folk. They do it very well as a rule, and it is lovely indeed to see the ploughed lands and the sleek cattle; a poem which only fools despise. Compare this with reserve agriculture, ignorant, carried out by women whose men are away in the white man's cities, out of hopeless hearts and on a scale infinitely too restricted. In our own area of Nqutu, population den-

sity has risen to over 100 per square mile, while that of the arable areas—not counting the rocks—is almost 500 to the same area. Of course the land is hammered. Of course the yield is pitiful. Of course the whole thing looks like the junk yard it is. And yet, and at this very time, people are still being brought into the Homelands from the farms and the cities in the white areas.

It is the height of injustice, said Martin Luther King, to blame the victims of discrimination for the results of discrimination. But this is what we do, daily. We say that the black man in general and the Zulu in particular is a lousy farmer, having no respect for the land. We say: Of what use to give him my land where I am at least producing food, for him to wreck within a couple of seasons? And this awful stereotype is true enough, for so long as we continue to talk of 'giving' anything. For so long as the reins are in our hands, and all the responsibility for the salvation of the soil, so long there will be no agricultural rebirth, no rural revolution.

Our task, our country task, is to make two heads of corn grow where only one grew before. We can take heart that this is a world problem, which every country has somehow got to answer, and indeed, all mankind. Because we in South Africa feel cut off over our cancelled cricket and spoiled soccer games, we need not resign from mankind or ignore the experience and the struggles of other nations who have identical problems of population and land. For some have done well already, and some have largely failed, but not one has done anything at all but they faced up squarely to the problem.

Our own huge rural problem would be in measure abated if recognition were given right away—as the Tomlinson Commission expected it to be—to the reality of urban drift among our people. If these were to be seen as urban dwellers and not as temporary sojourners, a good proportion of our rural problems would vanish with the recognition. Apart from the potential space that country-dwellers would gain, recognition would be accorded these men and women that they are already de-tribalised, and therefore more flexible in establishing new ways of life than those who are still bound to older forms of cattle ownership and land tenure. Lobolo still remains a stumbling block to all betterment in rural societies.

A THIRD ORDER SOLUTION

And how shall reform reach those who remain in the country? We have to take into account many factors here. We have to remember and respect territorial pride. We cannot forget historical ownership. Present inequality of land distribution must be somehow rectified, and traditions and laws complied with. Then, having done all this, we come up with an intermediate concept of land tenure which will lie somewhere between the individualistic acres of the white farmer and the tribally held territories of traditional blacks. I

envisage a 'third order' of land tenure. This consists of smallholdings, some 3-5 hectares in size dependent on soil and rainfall in agriculturally viable parts of the country. The holdings would be intensively cultivated, supervised, and perhaps in part at least, communally tilled. We should not, of course, be pioneers in beginning such a 'third order'. It has been used elsewhere, in India and Kenya, and in other places, and we might have to humble ourselves sufficiently to learn from others with whom we find ourselves politically in bitter disagreement. We have, to bring to its success, tremendous assets; much land (we should not forget that urban drift is removing the white man from the farms in many places); excellent veterinary and agricultural scientists, and an unrivalled knowledge of improved seed and sound fertilization.

I see third order holdings as being an answer to our growing population, the more so as it will work best among detribalised people, as most of our 20 million extra citizens will be by the century's end. I see it leaving in country peace those who wish to carry on the old life and style of the tribes. I see it using our land to a far greater intensity than ever before. I see it as a salvation for us, the white folk, removing from us the stigma of greed, the slur of the dog in the manger.

It is hard to envisage anything happening unless the urgency of conservation and production catch fire in all our hearts. Yet we must pay heed too, to the agricultural wrath-to-come, whose signs are already scored on the eroded ground, whose hot breath extends our deserts, whose detritus stains our rivers. Taking heed, we extend our penitence for past misuse to a proper use of our heritage, by all and for all. This is a revolution we devoutly desire, a true revolution of production. And in this revolutionary time, we shall raise more cattle, grow more corn, graze more sheep; but the greatest harvest of all will be the harvest of hope we reap in men's hearts.



CHURCH & STATE IN SOUTH AFRICA



PART THREE OF AN ARTICLE BY BRIAN JOHANSON

TO OBEY OR DISOBEY ?

The church and the policy of separate development

In order to understand why the churches find themselves opposed to certain aspects of government policy it seems desirable to develop a little more fully our understanding of the main issues at stake in relation to the policy of separate development.

The church transcends all natural and racial barriers.

This is not to say that the church must pretend that differences do not exist. They do indeed, but they do not exist as decisive factors. There are several reasons why this can be asserted:

The fundamental one, on which all Christians would be agreed, is that the apostles were commissioned to preach the Gospel to all nations.

But the New Testament proceeds to give several examples of what happens when this is done. For example, in Jerusalem the church created a community of property, and the widows of the community in particular were provided for. The Hellenists, or foreign, Greek-speaking Christians felt themselves discriminated against by the Palestinian Christians. The church had a problem on its hands, and it did not solve the problem by separating the two groups and providing for them independently of each other, but by appointing a supervisory committee composed entirely of Greek-speaking Christians—i.e. those who were discriminated against!

Another example is to be found in the church at Antioch, which was the centre from which Christianity spread. The council there was apparently fully multi-racial, comprising Hellenists, Jews and an African (even identified as such, as Simon, the Black!)

In addition to these actual situational examples, the New Testament also contains a number of emphatic statements which totally repudiate many of the fundamental assumptions of separate development. Paul, speaking of the created world says (Acts 17:26): "He created every race of men of *one stock*, to inhabit *the whole earth's surface*". The King James version translates 'of one blood' and does not in any way violate Paul's meaning. There is only *one* humanity—and this is everywhere affirmed in the Scriptures. Paul also speaks frequently about the church in terms of *the human body*. The point of the analogy is always emphasised: there is an organic interdependence which is crucial to the full functioning of the body. In fact any idea of separation between the various parts is unthinkable, for between all there must be a mutual respect and acceptance.

Notice the following statements too which we know well: "For through faith you are all sons of God ... There is no such thing as Jew and Greek, slave and freeman, male and female; for you are all one person in Jesus Christ" (Gal. 3:28).

"There is no question here of Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, freeman, slave; but Christ is all and in all" (Col. 3:11).

Of supreme importance is what Paul says in the letter to the Ephesians about the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. Between these there had indeed been a traditional policy of separation. But, "Jesus Christ ... is himself our peace. Gentiles and Jews, he has made the two one, and ... has broken down the enmity which

stood *like a dividing wall* between them". He then proceeds to use the analogy of the *building* to describe the Christian community, stressing the inter-connectedness and mutual dependence of the numerous stones.

The church has, in general, recognised that it knows no racial barriers.

The best, and oldest statement to this effect, in South Africa, comes, not from the English-speaking churches, but from the Dutch Reformed Church. The 1829 synod of the church in the Cape province, discussing the serving of communion to people of all races, said that to serve Holy Communion simultaneously to all members without distinction of colour or origin was an unshakable principle based on the infallible Word of God, and that therefore all Christian communities, and each individual Christian were obliged to think and act accordingly. This practice continued for many years, although there were at the same time separate congregations in certain areas. In 1857 a concession was made, although the principle was reaffirmed: "The synod regards it as desirable and Scriptural that wherever possible our members from among the heathen be received and incorporated in our existing congregations". The concession made "on account of the weakness of some" was that separate services for white and coloured in the same parish were for the first time permitted. (See Synodale Besluiten der N.G. Kerk in Zuid Afrika 1824-1857, pp. 71 and 60, and Dreyer, *Boustowwe*, Deel III (National Pers, Kaapstad 1936 p. 315).

The Dutch Reformed Churches have been facing these questions again recently and following the Sydney meeting of the Reformed Ecumenical Synod in August 1972 it would seem that there is still agreement on this point. The D.R.C. Newsletter of May 1973 also discusses the question in terms of Mission Policy and its Effects. The important statement here for our purposes is that 'believers of every nation and language gathered (by the proclamation of the Gospel) together constitute a unity in Christ Jesus'. The same newsletter however proceeds to outline why the church opts for separate development, or separate nations, and gives as the reason for rejecting an approach towards a common society that 'the former policy (i.e. of 'one man one vote') has already been tried and has failed in the Federation of Central Africa'. (One might ask, by the way, whether Rhodesia, Malawi and Zambia are agreed as to how or why it 'failed'). The problem with this line of argument is that the clear implications of their own statement regarding the unity of the church, and the oneness of all in Christ, are ignored in favour of dubious pragmatic arguments. However, most of the English-speaking churches would fully endorse the statement of 1829, with all its implications and would not in principle

countenance the separation of people into different churches on the grounds of race or colour.

The church has in practice resorted to arbitrary pragmatism

In relation to the racial issue, the factual position in most local congregations of both the English-speaking and the Afrikaans churches is almost identical. They are divided into racially defined congregations. We might say that the difference is that many in the English-speaking churches are convinced that this is wrong, and are trying to put into effect the unity of the church. Many in the Afrikaans churches on the other hand are convinced that separateness is right and are trying in various ways to prove this.

The problem with any attempt to solve the 'problems' associated with racial mixing by pragmatic means is that the attempt evades the real issues. Pragmatic considerations ignore the real nature of the Christian community, becoming preoccupied with the human element in the church with all its foibles, fickleness and folly, instead of with him who is the Head of the church is gathering all together in himself. Pragmatic solutions in the direction of separation also are no solutions because they overlook the fact that forced separation has caused and continues to cause great injury and pain.

The Scriptures on the other hand recognise the problems and difficulties that arise from prejudice and national pride, but never offer the solution of separation. They always emphasise a positive solution, in terms of striving, caring, keeping the unity of the church, loving, receiving.

The effects of the policy of separate development on the church.

Here we can simply summarise some of the ways in which the policy of separate development interferes with, and hinders the church from being the church in the New Testament sense.

The fact is that separate development, or apartheid, causes enormous problems for the simple reason that we are not separate. But we are all together geographically, economically *and* even socially in all kinds of daily contacts, in a common human society. Christians in particular have a common life in their relationship to Jesus Christ, and there needs to be complete freedom to implement and experience that unity. We can consider eight main problem areas that are created entirely by our rigid system of separation. (See *Apartheid and the Church—Sprocas*).

There are restrictions on freedom of movement and

residence. Church conferences encounter big problems in organising residence for delegates. Hotel accommodation for blacks is virtually non-existent, and even where it is, the necessity to reside separately on the grounds of colour is intolerable.

Then there are restrictions, theoretically at least, on worship. While the notorious 'Church Clause' of the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957 does not yet seem to have been invoked, the fact is that there is provision to do so, if anyone complains that mixed services are in some way a public nuisance. But related to this question of worship is the complex procedure of always having to get permits to enter Africans areas or townships for combined services.

There are severe restrictions imposed on who may work in African areas or even in S.A. generally, Christian workers are frequently harassed, and eventually turned out of the country for being guilty of nothing more than a Christian concern regarding the disabilities the African people are suffering under present conditions.

There are also restrictions on freedom of association. It is difficult to see at this stage what the implications will be of the latest proclamation in the Government Gazette concerning prolonged presence in a group area other than one's own, but there are existing laws which would probably make it illegal for a church bazaar to serve teas and lunches to blacks and whites in the same place.

Restrictions are imposed on church services, and other social services. The church has always been seen as the heart of Christian marriage, but under apartheid the state determines whom the minister may marry to whom. The decision is often made on the basis of pieces of paper and circumstantial evidence concerning the

friends a person may have. Similarly, it has always been the church's commission to visit the prisoners, but there are severe restrictions on this service. Churches can have no contact with detainees. Churches often experience great difficulty in getting permission to work in resettlement camps, where human needs are frequently acute. Multi-racial welfare organisations have virtually no chance of receiving any government subsidy and are therefore almost impossible to run.

Restrictions are imposed on institutions. Multi-racial hostels, orphanages and homes are impossible. Multi-racial colleges for the training of clergy are impossible on a residential basis. Yet it is in these areas that close contact and understanding are vital.

Restrictions apply in the realm of education. Along with the preceding activities, this has always been an element in the church's social responsibility. Mixed private schools are theoretically possible, but it is a matter of speculation as to what the government would do if attempts were made to set one up. Parents have even been prevented from sending their children out of the country to mixed schools over the borders. Night-schools were an important part of adult African education but were closed down without any alternative being provided.

There are also restrictions on the ownership of property. Multi-racial denominations, with a majority of black members have encountered serious problems with regard to the ownership of church properties in white areas.

All these represent but some of the problems arising from the policy of apartheid, and indicate sufficiently why a church intent on being the church of Jesus Christ in a multi-racial society must oppose the policy.



TO BE CONT. NEXT MONTH

SUPPORT FOR THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

Resolutions of British Council of Churches —October, 1973

Resolution 1, moved by Miss Pauline Webb, seconded by Canon David Edwards.

The British Council of Churches deplores the conduct of the South African Parliamentary investigation into the work of the Christian Institute and the measures taken by the South African Government against the Rev. Beyers Naudé, the Rev. Theo Kotzé, the Rev. Brian Brown and other members of the Institute.

Records admiration of the work done by the Christian Institute in promoting reconciliation between all races within the Republic.

Sends a message of support and sympathy to the Rev. Beyers Naudé, Rev. Theo Kotzé and the Rev. Brian Brown.

Instructs the General Secretary to take urgent steps to bring the plight of the Institute and its Offices to the attention of the British Government, the British press and public and to use all possible pressure on the South African Government to abandon its campaign against the Institute. Carried unanimously.

Resolution 2, moved by Father Hugh Bishop, seconded by Miss Pauline Webb.

The British Council of Churches equally deplores the action taken by the South African Government against Spro-cas, the South African Institute of Race Relations, Nusas, Saso, the Black People's Convention under the Black Allied Worker's Union and sends a message of support and sympathy to the leaders of these organisations. Carried with only one vote against.

Speech of the Mover of the Resolution

"Mr. Chairman:

Despite the associations of my name and that of my seconder, I want to assure the Council that the motive of this resolution is not primarily political. It arises rather from a deeply felt personal and pastoral concern for people who, at this moment would value very much the support and sense of solidarity which our sympathy and our prayers would give them.

We are thinking particularly in this resolution about people who are well known to many of us here, Christian leaders who are highly respected for their integrity and their courage not only in South Africa but throughout the World. Let me make it quite clear who these leaders of the Christian Institute are. They are not wild, irresponsible revolutionaries, nor are they outsiders to the South African scene. These are men who are themselves sons of South Africa and have long and distinguished records of service to their church and especially to the cause of reconciliation within their land.

Their crime apparently is that they are openly and consistently critical of the racial policies of the government under which they live, which they find to be offensive to their understanding of the Christian Gospel. Their penalty is that they are being subjected to a private commission of enquiry appointed to investigate their so-called subversive activities. True to their own traditions of openness, they refuse to testify in secret proceedings of this kind and demand that if there were any evidence whatever to support such allegations, they should be given a public hearing in a properly conducted judicial enquiry. For that refusal they are now further penalised by having their passports summarily withdrawn and made virtually prisoners within their own land.

But it is not only out of concern for these leaders themselves that we want to act. Even more disturbing is the fact that this arbitrary treatment is but one more symptom of the totalitarian sickness which is driving South Africa daily nearer to insanity. In these last twilight days of the South African Press, before it is plunged into the dark night of total censorship, the headlines are ablaze with many such flashing signals as "Disaster Ahead"—I have a few here from last week's papers: 'South Africa is being led back to the stoneage', 'Nationalist visions of death and glory'; 'Plot to start unrest alleged'; 'Inquest told of nine shootings' and so on and so on. If ever a country was heading to the brink of disaster, South Africa seems bent on getting there and in the process is apparently determined to destroy not only her enemies but even those who in the best sense of the word are her truest and most loyal friends.

The acts against the Christian Institute are acts against those who are true friends of South Africa. Such acts are, moreover, a scandal to the whole church. They represent, as the Archbishop of Capetown has said, a grave interference with the normal and legitimate life and work of the churches. And that is true not only of the Church in South Africa, but also of the Church

SUPPORT FOR THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

throughout the World. When Beyers Naudé's passport was taken, he was literally at the airport on his way to Holland, the honoured guest of theologians and churchmen there who have deplored the deprivation they themselves feel at his being prevented from coming. Only a week before Theo Kotzé's passport was taken, I had written on behalf of the Methodist Laymen's Movement to invite him to attend our laymen's conference, a major event in our church year at which he was to have been one of the main speakers. But South Africa seems determined to silence the few remaining moderate and the non-violent voices which can speak from within South Africa to the churches throughout the rest of the world.

This resolution therefore asks the Council to do three things: First to deplore the recent actions of the South African Government, second to sympathise with and support those who suffer as a result of them and third, to stir the conscience of this country as to what is going on. With regard to this last, may I finish with one practical suggestion. A recent controversy in South Africa has been over how best to celebrate Covenant day on December 16th, a day when the Afrikaners commemorate their covenant with God. It has been suggested in South Africa that Africans too might be invited to share in the celebrations, a suggestion that was met with the insulting jibe by the Commissioner General of the Xhosa people that most Africans were heathen and had heathen ceremonies. We would like to suggest that one way of celebrating the day here, would be to keep tryst with those many Africans, Coloureds and Europeans whose lives are restricted within South Africa and whom we could remember, some by name, and all in our prayers. For churches that would join in such a commemoration, a group of us have prepared a Litany of the Banned to be made available throughout the country for use on December 16th. Might not this be one way in which by prayer we could penetrate the barriers between ourselves and our friends in South Africa which this paranoid government seems so persistently to be erecting. Mr. Chairman, I move the resolution."

Pauline M. Webb.

TRUTH

friedrich schwanecke

german title: 'wahrheit'

translated by

ulrich schwanecke

The editor of a church magazine rejected a manuscript since it described, perhaps too realistically, an event which was embarrassing to the church. In the bus on his way home the author complained to God: "What on earth should I do, Lord? If I put things as they are the editors says: 'No, my friend, our pious readers will get upset. We can't afford cancellations.' But if I smooth matters over I am not telling the truth."

The Lord, God, who above all is patient, spoke to the man in the following way: "When I came to the world I did so without changing it first. For this, people crucified me believing they were doing what was right. Yet here I am still trying to save you so that you don't remain as you are."

The reporter found God's reply disappointing. "But how," he asked, "how exactly am I to write?"

"Stick to the truth," answered the Lord.

"But that's what I do! Yet the people who follow you can't accept it."

"Don't you follow me also?" asked the Lord full of indulgence. "Your readers are human as you are yourself. They dislike having a finger pointed at them. Do you want to be harsher as a judge than I?"

"Well? Shall I yield then?"

"Not at all," said the Lord, "if only you show that you yourself are one of those whom you reproach, for all of you are my children."

At the next stop the reporter alighted and returned to the editor's office. When he arrived there he was well received. "I'm glad you've come back," said the editor. "I want to publish your script if you will add a couple of words. I've since realised what the article lacks."

"So have I," replied the reporter. ★

THE CHURCH AND POLITICS

alan hendrickse

The history of South African politics has been one of dispossession, denial, discrimination and "baasskap".

Ever since the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and his dispossession of the land of the Hottentots—that which we have taken by the sword is rightfully ours—and thereafter through the so-called "Kaffir Wars", even up to the Bambata Rebellion of 1909 and to this day—Group Areas—black people have been dispossessed of land which was theirs.

When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 the Coloured and African people (pardon my use of this terminology) were excluded from partaking in the main government bodies, as only those of European descent could become members of Parliament. Coloured persons could become members of Provincial, Divisional and Municipal Councils, but not Africans. In 1930 the vote was given to white women, but not to Coloured and African women.

When Lord Crewe, Secretary of State for the Colonies, read the South Africa Bill for the second time in the British House of Parliament on 27th July, 1909, these were some of the remarks he made: "When we come to the qualification for the sitting in either House, we approach a point which has been the subject of discussion and to which many protests have been made. Those who sit in either House of Parliament have to be of European descent. In the Cape Colony no such restriction has hitherto existed. On the other hand, no one not of European descent has ever sat in the Cape House of Assembly. There does seem to me to be a strong case against the insertion of such a provision in this Act. There are men not of European descent who are of high standing, of high character, and of high ability. ... The fact which has decided us in not attempting to press this matter (of African and Coloured representation) against the wishes of the South African delegates has been that this is undoubtedly one of those matters which represent a delicately balanced compromise between themselves. As a government we cannot take—and personally I am not prepared to take—the responsibility for the wrecking of the Union altogether by a provision of this kind. The cause of those who desire this change to be made has been pressed with deep feeling and much eloquence by some of the natives themselves .. but I do feel that if this change has to be made it must be made in South Africa by South Africans themselves." He

states further that "... it would require a two-thirds majority of both Houses sitting together to abolish the native franchise there". "Disfranchisement is always an odious thing in itself and if it were to be applied in this particular manner, I am bound to say that it would assume a somewhat odious form".

In 1936, Generals Hertzog and Smuts formed the United Party and with a two-thirds majority removed the Cape Africans from the Common Roll. This was replaced by separate representation by whites in Parliament, which has also been taken away. To use Lord Crewe's phrase, many "odious forms" of disfranchisement have taken place in South Africa. The Coloured Voters were removed from the Common Roll in the most immoral way. In 1951, the Separate Representation of Voters Act was passed by Parliament but ruled invalid by the Courts. The government then appointed its own High Court of Parliament, which the courts also declared invalid. The Senate by special Act of Parliament was then enlarged and packed with Nationalist Party senators which gave the government the necessary two-thirds majority to remove the Coloureds from the Common Voters Roll.

The Coloured people lost their last vestige of a franchise when they were removed from Municipal Voters Rolls in 1972. This probably because the government feared that a Coloured might possibly become the black mayor in South Africa in Kraaifontein and also due to the election of Mr. Sonny Leon to the Town Council of Kimberley. This just could not happen.

Ever since the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 we have seen discriminatory legislation being passed at every sitting. In less than 30 years more than 300 discriminatory laws have been passed. To mention but a few:- Pass Laws and Influx Control, Race Classification Act, educational differentiation, the Immorality Act, Job Reservation and the Coloured Persons Representative Council.

Where does the Church come in?

I believe that politics is the "ordering of society for the greatest welfare and good of the largest number of people". If then the politics of our situation cannot meet this requirement, I believe it is the duty of the church to become involved in bringing about change. We must bear in mind that we are living in a so-called

Christian country, under a "Christian" government, in a country where unchristian laws and ungodly legislation are being passed in the name of Christianity.

If because of politics people hold on to half-truths, prejudices and false facts, and are led to believe in a discriminatory gospel then surely the church cannot stand aside. If politics is a dirty game as some escapists are so prone to believe, then I believe it is the Christian responsibility to get in and clean up the mess. I believe the church must make its presence felt in the situation in which we find ourselves. We cannot run away from our responsibility to the need of the conscientization of our whole society ... assisting people in the search of conscience and a change of attitudes, particularly in an emotionally charged atmosphere, artificially created and based on racism. It is the duty of the church to convince people that reactions governed by fear are sinful. The church cannot be the trumpet giving an uncertain sound.

If because of politics 50% of the children in Sekukuniland die before they reach the age of five years, must this not be the churches' concern? That in the Transkei 40% of the children die before they reach the age of ten years? Ought we not to be concerned when because of politics in one black community out of 1200 people X-rayed, 22% were suffering from active Tuberculosis? Is it not the churches' duty in Social Reform to bring to the cause of justice the religious devotion without which the cause is lost? Surely the church must challenge any view of a State which reduces the individual to the status of a mere cog in a gigantic machine or in any way debases the dignity, as a rational and moral being created in the image of God, of any man, woman or child.

I believe that the political theory of a totalitarian state comes very close to emperor worship which was such an agonizing issue in the days of the early church, and Christians are still bound in conscience not only to themselves to withhold such worship, but also where circumstances permit, to denounce it to others. I believe it is the duty of the church in the light and under the compulsion of divine revelation in the Old and New Testament Scriptures not to be afraid to say, "Thus saith the Lord". The church cannot afford to support the statement and stand of a popular revivalist who has just visited this country when he sees himself as "an evangelist of the New Testament and not a prophet of the Old Testament". I believe that if the politics of a country dehumanizes those created in God's image, sees them as things, that the church must make its voice heard and its presence felt. I believe that noble affirmations and pious resolutions taken at High Levels are not enough. Perhaps for too long the church has been emphasising the main essential ... "when Jesus comes things will come right", and has forgotten the horizontal beam of the Cross ... its social and political responsibility; perhaps for too long and for too many the message of the church has been "an opiate to the people". I believe the mission of Christ's

Body, the church, can never be reduced to a spoken word, even a word of saving revelation—the New Testament is explicit that the *diakonia* (service) is inseparable from the *kerugma* (preaching) and that all the centuries of church history give evidence to this fact.

I agree with the writer who said: "A Christian cannot obey a law which his conscience condemns; and he may well regard some laws as so evil that he cannot be content simply to disobey and take the consequences but will feel compelled to urge others to join him in protest and disobedience particularly in the case of unjust and oppressive laws of racial discrimination.

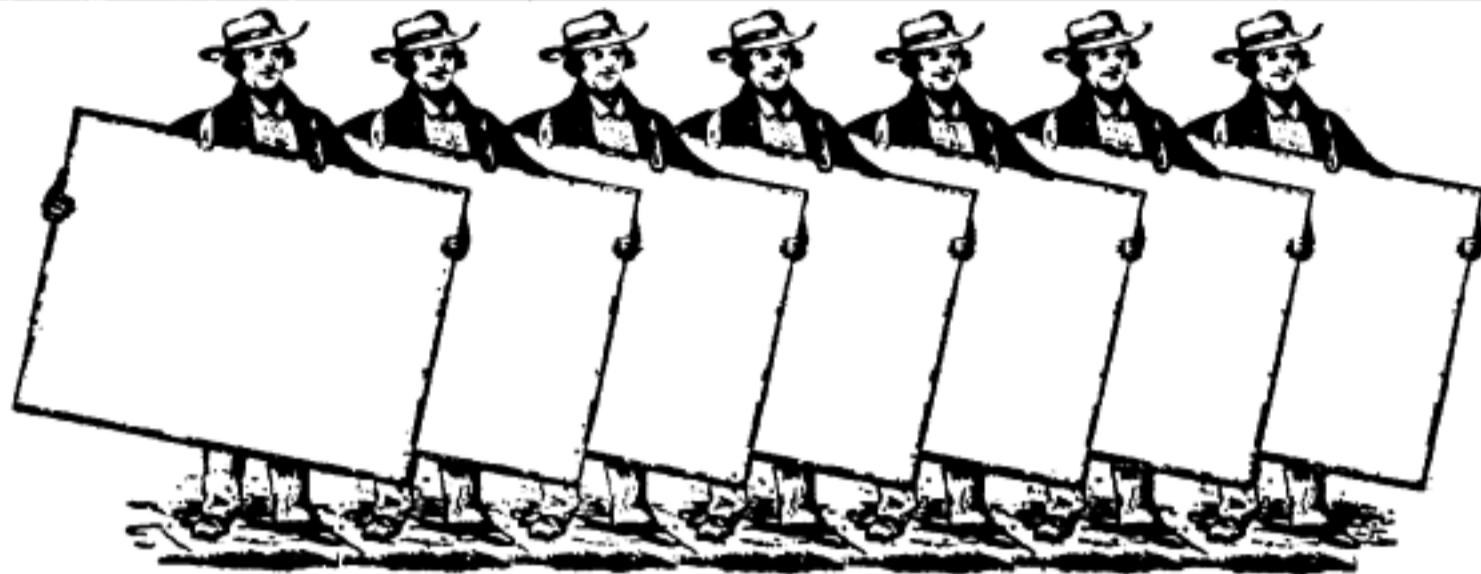
Allow me to end by quoting Michel Quoist: "Christ is Alive" ... "We must restore to Christianity the irresistible power of revolution that our selfishness, our stupidity and our exaggerated prudence have stifled. Jesus Christ is condemned by our timidity. He dies every day, in millions of the members of His Body. 'I was hungry and you did not feed me. I was naked and you did not clothe me.' Many of us he forgives, 'for they know not what they do'. But now, let us know what we do. The good works, heroic though they may be, by which we silence our consciences are but a drop in the ocean; even worse, they are an offence to the basic dignity of man unless they are accompanied by the gift of ourselves in the all-out battle for the radical reform of our political, economic and social structures."★

for government

Father
a handful of courageous men
in a moment of danger
pledged their lives, fortunes and honour
to proclaim a nation
whose citizens' rights were based,
not upon the nod of king or ruler
but upon creation at Your hands.
Grant to our administration
a ministry of service to all, not the few
to our Parliament
the upholding of public interest
not merely a welter
of competing private claims
to our judiciary
a wisdom in interpreting law
grounded in principle, not expediency.
Pour Your Spirit out upon our people
so that they may become active
in the affairs of government
that they may not confuse
dissent for disloyalty
that they may use their mighty power
for the healing of differences among nations
with justice and mercy and love.
Amen.

anon

NUSAS its nature and objects



In view of much uninformed criticism levelled from time to time at the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the Academic Freedom Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand has issued a statement in an effort to familiarize the public with the nature and functions of this organization.

The statement reads as follows:

The Committee views with concern the oft-repeated threats against the rights of students to participate freely in certain extra-curricular activities on the campus and, in particular, the attacks which have been made against NUSAS. We believe that students, graduates and academics will welcome a clear statement of the nature and functions of NUSAS, as we see it, and an indication of the principles at stake in the attacks against this organization.

NUSAS was founded in July 1924 by a conference in Bloemfontein of student representatives of the universities and university colleges. The leading spirit was Mr. Leo Marquard, who had played an active part in the English National Union of Students (NUS). The basic aim was to provide a forum for South African students. The first affiliated centres were the following eight South African universities: Grey (later OFS), Natal, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Rhodes, Stellenbosch, Cape Town and Wits. In June 1926 NUSAS was officially recognized by the Union Government.

Common interests

The concept upon which NUSAS was based was that students have certain common interests as students, and that a body should exist for advancing those interests. As a student of one of the affiliated institutions, one automatically became a member of the National Union, irrespective of one's language,

religion, cultural or political leanings, and population group.

A vigorous and active programme of constructive activities soon got under way. The travel department, as it still does today, carried hundreds of students on tours of Europe. NUSAS began to build up its interest in current and local affairs: in 1927 it established a Bantu studies department, which later developed into the NUSAS research department with its annual student research conferences. In 1928 the first student parliament was held—a group which provided a first platform to many of the country's aspirant politicians of all parties.

NUSAS flourished. It was built upon the ideal of co-operation and equality of rights, in particular between Afrikaans- and English-speaking groups, 'an open house of free thought and speech'. Before long, however, students at the Afrikaans centres expressed dissatisfaction with the idea of a national students' union open to all students, and developed the concept of racially, culturally and linguistically homogeneous bodies, one for each section of the population—English-speaking, Afrikaans-speaking, Jewish, etc. NUSAS held that there was a need for both kinds of organizations. It is on this policy that NUSAS based its claim to be a national union of students, and it is still the only national student organization in South Africa of which every student in this land may become a member.

Disaffiliated

In 1933, the last of the dissident Afrikaans centres disaffiliated. Although various reasons were given for the disaffiliations, there is little doubt that the basic reason was the desire of the Afrikaans students to organize themselves in a racially exclusive and

NUSAS



homogeneous student body. This, it must not be forgotten, was the original and basic reason for the split in South African student affairs.

During all this time, Fort Hare was not a member of NUSAS. Right up to 1944, the National Union equivocated on the admission of Fort Hare in the hope of attracting back the Afrikaans centres. This proved a forlorn hope. In 1944, by a majority vote, NUSAS declared itself against academic segregation, and, in 1945, by an overwhelming majority admitted Fort Hare. The years of equivocation and of procrastination gave way to a new responsiveness to the new mood.

Various constitutional reforms have taken place from time to time, the most recent being a division of NUSAS into three affiliate bodies, each concerned with promoting a student awareness of South Africa's problems and providing an opportunity to work for improvements. These are NUSED, the educational branch, aimed at promoting student awareness of educational policy and to involve students in education projects like prison education, educational reform on the campuses; and a Medical Scholarship Trust Fund, which has allocated R26 000 in bursaries since 1968. The programme helped more than 600 students to spend the past December vacation in Europe. NUSWEL, the welfare and social action branch, runs literacy campaigns, community welfare projects and, at present, a wages and economics commission. Aquarius, the cultural branch, organizes arts and drama festivals, publishes students' creative works, conducts an anti-censorship campaign, and defends the right to freedom of thought and expression.

Thus, the 49 years' history of NUSAS has been a story of an evolving organism, changing in response to the moods and needs of the time, adopting policy decisions on matters of concern and interest to students,

advancing the practical and material needs of students, and still fulfilling its basic *raison d'être*—to provide a forum for all students, by virtue of the fact that they are students, and to strive to represent the students of South Africa nationally and internationally.

The preamble to the present constitution of the National Union states the aims and objects of the organization: 'believing that students as a group in society have duties and obligations to their fellow students, the academic community and the society as a whole (we therefore) commit ourselves to work towards the realization of academic and human freedoms and the discharge of our duties and obligations as students to the greater good of the students and all the people of South Africa'.

The National Union is a confederation of the student representative councils of the constituent centres. It is therefore the elected SRCs and their congress delegations who are the NUSAS policy makers.

As an Academic Freedom Committee we do not express an opinion on each and every policy decision of the National Union, but we do most emphatically declare that NUSAS, by resolution of its constituent SRCs, should be accorded the right to make such decisions. We do not think that NUSAS as a body has exceeded the stated wishes and majority policies of its constituents. It is indeed nothing more nor less than the living embodiment of the wishes of the majority of student leaders at its affiliated centres. Threats against NUSAS will not, we believe, change the views held by students and their leaders, nor would we wish any authority, whether government, university administration, or any other, to interfere with the freedom of our students to take such decisions as their majorities indicate.

Students have traditionally been non-conformists. This is not a new development: it goes back to centuries in the older universities. The struggle of today's students for the right of dissent is an historical one; it must be allowed to continue, for these are the feelings and desires of the best-educated section of our young people, for these are the democratic rights of any citizen, for these have so often in the past been the crucible out of which have come great advances in the liberations of man's body and mind.

In short, the Academic Freedom Committee believes that political attacks on NUSAS raise two principles, and that these two principles are central to the policy of our University as well. The first is the right of persons, including students, to form organizations and pursue aims and ideals within the law. The second principle is the right of public dissent from prevailing ideologies, including that of the ruling party, without persecution.

In defending NUSAS against past, present and possible future attacks, we defend our own right to corporate existence and our own right to individual and corporate dissent. ★

WEIGHED AND ...?

UK CHURCHMEN NOW NEED PERMITS TO WORK IN S.A.

Church workers, journalists and entertainers from Britain and the Commonwealth countries now have to obtain temporary work permits before they are allowed to enter South Africa on any assignment or contract.

This is one of the effects of the new Aliens Act which, according to the Department of the Interior, brings the position of British and Commonwealth citizens into line with that of other aliens entering South Africa.

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 21.9.73



TRAIN AFRICANS OR FACE STRIFE—UNION MAN

Bloodshed and terror could explode if South Africa did not balance the population growth in relation to industrial growth rate, says Mr. T.P. Murray, general secretary of the S.A. Boilermakers Society.

In an editorial in *Crucible*, the society's official organ, he says: "The problem centres round what might be termed the fertility rate of the people involved, and it is not difficult to realise that in South Africa, the fertility rate among Africans is much higher than among Whites.

"Notwithstanding the fact that the number of Africans seeking employment in 1985 will be almost 50 per cent greater than it is now, the fertility rate of Whites ensures there will be less Whites in proportion available for work when we reach that point," Mr. Murray said.

"We must now train Africans in all aspects of our activities to make sure that, when the time is reached where the White simply cannot supply the services required, the Africans will be competent to carry on themselves at all levels."

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 6.11.73

THE GREATEST HOPE

In regard to the prospects of ultimate civil disorder, South Africa might be very much involved in a race against time, as it were. If the system can become significantly less rigid before non-whites, particularly Africans, develop a political coherence and organisation, the heat of conflict is likely to be reduced. If Africans face the same intransigence as they face today when their political consciousness has developed, the degree of conflict could be considerable. It seems utterly crucial that the aim of working for conditions which will reduce the heat of inevitable conflict in South Africa be one of the major goals of strategic action for change. One very broad strategy in itself, is communicating to white South Africans the imperative need to avoid greater tragedy later by working for ameliorative conditions now.

The greatest hope for peaceful change in South Africa lies in the possibility of there being opportunities, in the not too distant future, for blacks to exert constructive pressure on whites and within white-controlled institutions. In South Africa the latent potential for ultimate violence can only be dissipated by institutionalised and regulated 'conflict', in the course of which blacks can press for specific rights and improvements in their circumstances. South Africa's future cannot be safeguarded by constant attempts to deny the legitimacy of black grievances, or by using the repressive measures to stave off the time when these grievances will be openly expressed. Organised and regulated bargaining between blacks and whites, commencing as soon as possible, will provide the greatest guarantee of reasonable stability for South Africa in the long run.

Extract from Towards Social Change, the report of the Spro-cas Social Commission.

GEWEEG EN ...?

COLOURED EXODUS ALMOST AT AN END

23 335 FAMILIES HAVE BEEN MOVED OUT

Since the passing of the Group Areas Act, 23 335 Coloured families have been removed from the White residential areas of the Peninsula and have been resettled in the Coloured townships, according to figures disclosed this week by the Department of Community Development in reply to an inquiry by Property Argus.

Awaiting removal and resettlement are a further 9798 families.

The table below, provided by the Department, gives the number of Coloured families so far moved from the various White-zoned residential areas and the number in each area still awaiting resettlement.

The table makes it clear that the residential separation of the races in terms of Government policy is well on the way to completion in the Cape Peninsula and that in the near future there will be no more Coloured families living in the White-zoned areas.

Already, there are now no Coloured families living in the White zones of Bellville, Goodwood, Parow, Kuils River, Brooklyn, Rugby, Milnerton, Rondebosch, Kenilworth, Plumstead, Meyerhof, Newlands and Wynberg.

As the Coloured families have moved out, many of their former homes have been converted into White homes—into so-called White homes—into so-called Chelsea cottages—and have become important additions to White suburban living.

Looking at the figures solely from the property development point of view and without regard to other factors, the main areas where Coloured housing will come up for redevelopment into White homes in the future will be Claremont, Muizenberg, the Cape Town to Green Point area, Diep River and, of course, the District Six—Woodstock—Salt River region.

In District 6 there are 5 208 families to be removed in addition to the 2 600 who have already been resettled, and in the Woodstock-Salt River area 364 remain to be resettled in addition to the 375 families who have already left.

In Claremont, there are 1 229 families awaiting resettlement, in Muizenberg 770, in the Cape Town to Green Point zone 443, and in Diep River 195.

It should be noted that the figures, representing the resettlement of families, consequently also indicate the number of houses vacated as they move out. Obviously, not all the houses are suitable for conversion, but the figures will give readers of Property Argus a rough guide to the number of houses and sites which will be available for redevelopment into White housing.

AREA	Resettled	To be resettled
Bellville/Goodwood/Parow	4 283	Nil
Kuils River and Brooklyn/Rugby	4 847	Nil
Kraaifontein (squatters excluded)	66	135
District Six	2 600	5 208
Maitland (Garden Village)	124	±160
Milnerton	1	Nil
Philippi (near small farms)	4	34
Simonstown (resettlement will be completed by September 1973)	871	80
Table Mountain/Three Anchor Bay/Sea Point	210	74
Woodstock/Salt River	375	364
Observatory	375	1
Rondebosch	450	Nil
Lansdowne	144	195
Kenilworth	128	Nil
Claremont	989	1 229
Plumstead/Meyerhof	426	Nil
Ottery	251	74
Southfield	42	3
Seekoevlei	3	38
Hout Bay	90	34
Constantia	2 591	87
Newlands	398	Nil
Wynberg	503	Nil
Kromboom	6	25
Diep River	944	195
Cape Town/Green Point	1 848	322
Lotus River	1	86
Fraserdale	444	11
Noordhoek/Cape Point	225	443
Muizenberg	58	770
Chapman's Peak	-	20
Heatherley Estate	38	210
Total	23 335	9 798

(James Lodge—Argus, 7.7.73).

THE 'EXODUS' THAT WHITE GREED SET IN MOTION

Sir, A faithful journal of man's meanness would include many books on South Africa, with many familiar names. The busy editors would, I am sure, be grateful for the assistance recently given them by The Argus.

I refer to the article in Property Argus (July 7) headed 'Coloured exodus almost at an end,' which refers to the resettlement of Coloured people in terms of the Group Areas Act itself a Mighty Meanness Monument.

Property Argus has added a grim new dimension by tabling figures of families moved and still to be moved incidentally using the euphemistic word 'exodus' in place of the truthful word 'expulsion.'

Rondebosch,
Argus 17.7.73

J. Leeuwenburg

JOB LAWS ARE EVIL CANCERS—MANGOPE

DURBAN—Job reservation and wages based on race were “evil cancers” in South African society, Chief Lucas Mangope, Chief Minister of BophuthaTswana, told trade union delegates in Durban yesterday.

“And so long as these evils persist, the White worker has not the remotest chance of achieving security”, he added.

Addressing delegates at a conference of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), Chief Mangope warned that the Durban strikes had brought the country closer than was generally realised to a “fatal confrontation”.

Until the evils of job reservation and “racially-differentiated rates for the job” were cut from the sick flesh of the country’s system, “the White workers will live under the shadow of the Black man’s just and reasonable aspirations.

“Tensions, arrogance, prejudice, hatred and all the evils which are the fruit of fear, will grow in his (the White man’s) bosom, only to hasten the day when disaster strikes”, Chief Mangope said.

Further “added cancers”, were:

- * The lack of opportunity for training and advancement.
- * The critical lack of communication and machinery for negotiation.
- * Arbitrary and heartless employment and residential patterns.

—*Rand Daily Mail*, 16.8.'73



S.A. REEDS IN STAAT VAN OORLOG, SE BIERMANN

Suid-Afrika staan voor werklike en gedugte bedreiging. Naas die waarskuwings van die eerste Minister en die Minister van Verdediging, kom die sombere vermaning nou ook in 'n gesaghebbende militêre ontleding deur die Hoof van die Republiek se Weermag.

In Paratus, blad van die Weermag, behandel adml. H.H. Biermann die gevare waarvoor die land staan. Suid-Afrika verkeer reeds in 'n staat van oorlog, sê hy, en geen einde is in sig nie.

Suid-Afrika moet aanhoudende druk weerstaan. Krisisse op verskillende terreine wat in ander lande skaars internasionale aandag trek, het in Suid-Afrika 'n kumulatiewe uitwerking.

Aan die terroristefront het Suid-Afrika nou met beroepsvegsters te doen, terwyl die ekstremistiese Afrika-lande hul militêre slaankrag op die aanval sowel as die verdediging onrusbarend vinnig verhoog.

—*Die Burger*, 21.9.73

FONDAMENT VIR VOORSPOED

'n Woord van nugterheid is Vrydagaand deur min. M.C. Botha gespreek. Hy het die gedagte van gedeelde mag, grond en inkomste verwerp op grond daarvan dat dit sosialisties en dalk ook kommunisties is.

Op die oomblik is daar 'n baie positiewe gees in die land vaardig wat betref die opheffing van die swart bevolking. Maatreëls word en is getref om die vooruitgang en voorspoed van dié deel van die bevolking aansienlik te bevorder en te versnel.

Dit is goed dat die gees van hulpverlening en bystand steeds vertroetel en uitgebou word. Maar dan moet dit op 'n realistiese grondslag gedoen word.

Die huidige landsbeleid is daarop ingestel om afsonderlike vryheid en ontwikkeling vir die swart volke mee te bring met 'n uiteindelijke vooruitsig dat gemeenskaplike belange op die hoogste vlak intervolking behartig kan word.

Gedagtes aan gedeelde mag, grond en inkomste veronderstel 'n dwingelandy wat uiters plofbare elemente met die voor-die-hand-liggende gevare vir die hele Suider-Afrika saampers.

Die stoflike en geestelike opheffing van die swart bevolking is 'n dringende taak. Maar dit moet reg aangepak word. Dit is selfmoord om na iemand te spring wat in 'n put geval het om hom uit te help, pleks om van bo-af te probeer red.

—*Die Transvaler*, 5.11.73



HOMELAND LEADERS REJECT APARTHEID

The message from homeland leaders who addressed the National Congress of the Progressive Party in Durban this week may be summarised as a rejection of separate homelands and a call for Black-White internal dialogue.

The leaders were Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwa-Zulu, Mr. Collins Ramusi, Minister of the Interior of the Lebowa Government, and Mr. M.T. Molothlaa of the Bophutha-Tswana Government.

Mr. Molothlaa called for an urgent dialogue between Black and White South Africans. Blacks, he said, are part of South Africa not of separate homelands. He said there was still time for dialogue and urged Whites to listen to the Black man “before it is too late”.

Chief Buthelezi called on Whites to give Blacks a chance to contribute towards a solution for the protection of what he called “basic civil rights”. He also rejected the homeland policy. Chief Buthelezi said Whites had never come to grips with the question of basic civil rights and their protection for all South Africans.

Dialogue, said Mr. Ramusi, is the only answer to the country’s problems. Separate homelands could never solve the race problems, he said.

—*EcuNews*, 7.9.'73



**in every 'non-white' there is a black man,
created in the image of God trying to get out**