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EDITORIALS

1

MORE BRINKMANSHIP

The very thing which, in the wake of the assassination of Clemens Kapuu, we hoped would not happen, has happened. On May 4th, Ascension Day, as everybody now knows, the South African army staged a massive raid on a SWAPO camp at Cacinga, 250 kilometres inside Angola. The justification for the raid was that SWAPO was disrupting political life in Namibia by violence and that it must be taught a lesson, and the lives of innocent Namibians protected.

Our fear in the past, and particularly after the death of Mr Kapuu, was that the conflicting parties in Namibia would embark on a course of strike and counter-strike which would make it impossible to achieve a reasonably smooth transition to majority rule there. We still have this concern, but to it must now be added another, which stems from the timing of the South African raid. How seriously does the South African Government want a solution on anything but its own terms?

The South -African-appointed Administrator - General's security clampdown in Namibia in mid-April and his detention of numbers of prominent SWAPO supporters must have come close to wrecking the Western plans for a solution to the territory's future. The clampdown could hardly have come at a worse time, in the week preceding the meeting at which South Africa was to give its reply to these plans, and it was only the South African acceptance of them at that stage which, to our mind,

prevented the whole initiative from collapsing. Any further procrastination on South Africa's part, coupled with the security clampdown, would have put an end to it. As it was for a brief moment after the acceptance, the South African Government suddenly, for the first time in 30 years, found itself on the side of the angels, its statesmanship being applauded not only in the West but even in parts of the Third World. And so, for a few heady days, it continued — until the Cacinga raid.

The raid took place on the very day preceding the next scheduled meeting between the Western negotiating powers and SWAPO. At that meeting SWAPO, which was obviously embarrassed by the sudden South African acceptance of most of its conditions, would have been hard put to it to refuse the Western proposals without appearing completely unreasonable, certainly to the West, and perhaps to a growing number of other people as well. As it was, the South African raid suddenly swung back to SWAPO any sympathy or support it was in danger of losing. The SWAPO negotiators must have received the news of Cacinga, almost with a sigh of relief.

As the British Ambassador told a Cape Town audience shortly after the raid, it 'could scarcely have been more unfortunate from the point of view of the Western initiative' The South African Government obviously knew this. So the question immediately arises. Do they really want this initiative to succeed? □

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HALF A STEP FORWARD AND TWO BACK

Mr Jimmy Kruger made two important statements during the debate on his Justice Vote in the recent Parliamentary session.

In the first he told us that he had decided to appoint two officials who would be empowered to call at any time on people detained without trial under the security laws, and to see them alone. This would provide protection for them against maltreatment.

As Mrs Helen Suzman said when the Minister made his announcement to Parliament, the appointments came "about 35 deaths too late". It is also a great pity that the two people appointed are both retired government servants. How much better if they had been retired judges. How much better, too, if more than two appointments had been made. It seems quite impossible to expect one person to protect every detainee in the entire area of the Cape and Natal, and another to look after everyone in the Transvaal and the Free State. And who is going to tell them who has been detained, and where, so that they can get to them in a hurry? The Security Police? Not much hope of that!

Having said all this we nevertheless welcome these appointments as at least a step in the right direction. They may place some restraint on some Security Police interrogation teams.

There is nothing to be welcomed in Mr Kruger's other statement. He told Parliament that certain practices were being used in security court cases which were undermining South Africa's legal system and that he would investigate

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CROSSROADS

In spite of appeals and protests and the shocked international and local reactions to its callous destruction of the Modderdam and Unibell squatter camps, the Government will raze Cross-roads, the last of the big squatter settlements, before the end of the year. A compact and settled community will be scattered to the winds. The Minister in charge of this particular area of Government activity has said that if the people do not move of their own free will the Government will use every method available to move them itself.

For thirty years now every appeal to the compassionate side of the Government's nature not to move black people from homes where they are reasonably content, to somewhere where they don't want to go, has failed. The truth of the matter is that there is no compassionate side to the Government's nature when it comes to moving black people around.

But, quite apart from its known indifference to the general suffering its policies inflict on black people, a particular viciousness in their application seems to be reserved for the African people of the Western Cape. Not only are their squatter camps ruthlessly destroyed but they are the

what could be done to counter them during the parliamentary recess. He objected to the fact that certain lawyers seemed to specialise in security cases, accused them of adopting delaying tactics during such cases and was offended by the fact that large amounts of money seemed to be available for the defence in political trials. Mr Kruger accused these lawyers of using our "democratic" legal system to undermine it and he appealed to the controlling bodies of the legal profession "to think of ways of preventing individuals of the legal profession from contributing to the undermining of the legal system we know and in which we believe."

We are glad to say that the controlling bodies of the legal profession have rejected Mr Kruger's assertion out of hand. They have pointed out that the Courts have perfectly adequate powers to deal with suspected instances of lawyers using "delaying tactics", and that it is only to be expected that lawyers who have had previous experience in security cases should tend to be the ones that clients go to to represent them if they find themselves involved in such cases. In any event why is specialising in security cases undermining our legal system when specialising in tax, or insurance, or divorce cases is apparently not?

No lawyers' leader has, unfortunately, pointed out the irony of the fact that this accusation of *undermining our legal system* should come from Mr Kruger, for it is he and his predecessors in the portfolio of Justice who have done just that. Who else destroyed what was once its fundamental principle, the rule of habeas corpus? □

only group of people who will be specifically excluded from the new proposals to provide greater security and longer leasehold for urban Africans. Why? The Government will say that the Western Cape is an area in which Coloured interest must prevail and where Coloured people must be protected from African competition. That will be the official justification, but is there another unofficial one? Are the Government planners looking ahead to the day of the final collapse of apartheid? Do they see themselves and their supporters one day being driven slowly back by the forces of change into a shrunken white-dominated redoubt based on the Western Cape? Are all these energetic attempts to make life unlivable for the African people of the Western Cape part of a plan to drive them out of there altogether, so that there will be no potential black fifth-column there when the final defence of the redoubt commences?

Despite all the celebratory speeches with which they marked the thirtieth anniversary of their coming to power, deep down inside them is this where the Nationalist planners really think their policies might lead? □

SICK?

The quality of mercy is not one the South African Government is noted for, particularly when it comes to dealing with its more radical political opponents. It pursues them with an unrelenting vindictiveness. There have been two nasty examples of this recently. In a case brought before the Supreme Court in Pretoria it has been revealed that severe restrictions have recently been placed on the right of long term political prisoners to study by correspondence. In evidence submitted to the Court it has been stated that political prisoners have been told that, in future, they will not be permitted to study. The only exceptions to this will be people who need to study to complete their schooling and those who are already embarked on university courses, who will be given a "reasonable time" to complete them.

If this information is correct, and we cannot believe that it would have been brought before the Court if it were not, its implications are quite devastating. They are devastating not only for their effect on the people concerned, who are serving sentences of from five years to life for offences arising out of their political convictions, but also for what they reveal of the nature of their gaolers. For what kind of a person can it be who will go to such lengths to make intolerable the life of a political opponent whom he has every intention of keeping in prison for the rest of his natural life?

The other matter concerns the vendetta waged with such unending vigour and enthusiasm against Mrs Winnie Mandela. The security police are trying to establish that Mrs Mandela attended a "gathering" soon after her banishment to Brandfort, in that she was visited there by four white women friends from Johannesburg, who came to console her in her loneliness and isolation. The evidence of whether there was such a gathering are the four women concerned. They were sub-poenaed to give evidence which would, it was presumably hoped have incriminated Mrs Mandela. They refused to do so. All four were sentenced to prison sentences, the longest of which was a year. Appeals were lodged and two were discharged on a technicality while Mrs Helen Joseph had her sentence reduced to 2 weeks and Mrs Barbara Waite

had hers reduced from a year to 2 months. There, but for the insatiable appetite of the Security Police for persecuting the Government's opponents, the matter might have ended. Instead Mrs Ilona Kleinschmidt and Mrs Jackie Bosman, the two people whose original appeals were successful have been sub-poenaed again and have been asked the questions, again, they again refused to answer them, and have been sentenced to prison terms of three months and four months respectively. They have appealed again. Mrs Helen Joseph, too, having served her sentence for refusing to incriminate Winnie Mandela, probably her closest friend, was hardly home from gaol before a new sub-poena was served. We are glad to say the Attorney-General has now withdrawn it on the grounds of Mrs Joseph's age and ill-health, which is an action which we are sure the Security Police won't be pleased about. And Mrs Waite, will her welcome home from prison be a summons to appear in Court to answer the questions she has already refused to answer?

There was a time when it was regarded as despicable to "squeal" on one's friends. The Nationalists have turned that code of conduct upside-down. They have made it a criminal offence not to do so. That is bad enough. What is worse, in the case of Helen Joseph and her friends, is that what the Security Police are really trying to do is get them to help put Winnie Mandela in gaol again. As if it were not enough that she is separated from her husband for as long as the Government they represent remains in power; not enough that she should have been banned or detained or gaolled for almost the entire period of his imprisonment; not enough that she has been banished to the isolated dreariness of Brandfort, OFS, where she arrived over a year ago not knowing a single soul. No, for the Security Police and the Nationalist Government, all that is still not enough. They still will not leave Winnie Mandela alone.

No doubt the people who pursue with such unremitting zeal the quest to make the lives of political prisoners and Mrs Mandela and a great many others as unbearable as possible will tell you that they are doing it in order to preserve the Christian basis of our society. Is it Christian — or just sick? □

THE GREAT BETRAYAL

by Alan Paton

A great deal has been written in this last month about the thirty years of National Party rule, a period which began on 26 May, 1948, when Dr. Malan with the aid of Mr Havenga's Afrikaner Party, commanded an absolute majority of five over all comers.

Malan drove Smuts out of virtually every Afrikaans-speaking seat in the country. Yet Smuts polled 50% of the total vote, and Malan and Havenga together polled 40%. This was due to the electoral provision which allowed rural seats to be underloaded 15% and urban seats to be overloaded 15%. Thus Smuts was defeated because of the provision that he had himself agreed to in 1909 at the National Convention which prepared the way for the Union of South Africa.

26 May 1948 was the end of an era, and the beginning of another. The National Party began the total re-structuring of South African society, the fundamental principle being the political, educational, social, cultural separation of the races. The new laws were of two kinds; the first were laws of racial separation, the second were laws to deal with the opposition, the security laws in fact.

The forerunner of the security laws was the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, which gave the Minister of Justice the power to restrict drastically the liberty of any person whom he considered to be advancing the aims of Communism, and therefore to be challenging law and order and threatening the security of the State. This is the process known as "banning" and under it members of the old Liberal Party were restricted, among them Peter Brown, E. V. Mahomed, the Hills of Durban, Elliot Mngadi.

The Suppression of Communism Act must be regarded as marking a water-shed in our history, and in the history of law and the liberty of the citizen. For the first time, except in times of war, the liberty of a man or woman could be drastically restricted without any recourse to a court of law; the restricted person had no right to know why the Minister had decided to restrict him, nor could he or she appeal to a court of law.

So began the process which has continued, and accelerated, up to the present day, whereby Parliament put the Minister of Justice above the Courts of Law. Parliament next gave him power to *detain* by the mere issue of edict, and ultimately the power to *detain without access*. Detention without access will almost inevitably lead to one thing, inhumanity perhaps followed by death. That was the fate of Steve Biko, at whose inquest the Chief Magistrate of Pretoria delivered the incredible finding that "on the available evidence the death cannot be attributed to any act or omission amounting to a criminal offence on the part of any person." This verdict did incalculable damage to white South Africa's standing with the West, and at home increased further our cynicism about the administration of Justice.

The laws of racial separation also destroyed many liberties that would be taken for granted in many countries. The three forerunners were the Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, the amended Immorality Act of 1950, and the Group Areas Act of 1950. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was designed to take away any provincial or Christian missionary responsibility for black education, and to make

black education fit the existing status of black people, in other words to give them an inferior education. According to Dr. Verwoerd the new Bantu education would have both feet firmly planted in the reserves. The Act replaced instruction through the medium of English in the lower standards with instruction in an African language, and laid down that when official languages, i.e., English and Afrikaans were introduced as media of instruction, half the subjects must be taught through the one and the rest through the other.

The Bantu Education Act must be regarded as one of the most important of the separation laws, because in 1976 it to a large extent collapsed when it was rejected by the children of Soweto. The word "Bantu" has now gone, the equality of English and Afrikaans is no longer insisted upon, nor the obligation to teach all primary school subjects through the medium of an African language.

Thus we see in 1978 that the whole structure of racial separation is beginning to break down. The laws that were made to give security to Afrikanerdom are now seen — by those who are able to think — to endanger its future. And there can be no doubt that the whole future of Afrikanerdom the future of all white people, the future of our Asian population, and also — but in a different way — the future of the African and Coloured populations, are all of them unpredictable, except that one can say with certainty that the day of black liberation has drawn measurably nearer.

It is generally admitted — except by people like the Prime Minister — that South Africa is in crisis. And in my view it is wholly justifiable to maintain that the immediate cause is the way we have been governed in the last thirty years. But this article is historical rather than political, and its aim is to show that the seeds of crisis were sown long before the National Party came to power in 1948. Its aim is to show that the terrible laws of the last thirty years had their terrible forerunners, the consequences of which were foreseen by outstanding black leaders and by a few outstanding white ones, notably W.P. Schreiner. Its final aim is to pay tribute to those black leaders who fought for the cause of black liberation as long ago as the beginning of this century.

The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 is not one of the proud events of British history. The Boers, that is the Voortrekkers, conquered the tribes of the north and established the two republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. But the discovery in the Transvaal of the richest gold deposits in the world, the consequent influx of white foreigners most of whom were British, the power dreams of Rhodes and Milner, put an end to the Boer hopes that they would be left in isolation.

The British won the war and were ashamed of it, and when the Liberal Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman became Prime Minister in 1905 he was determined to make reparation to the defeated republics. In 1906 he gave responsible government to the Transvaal and in 1907 to the Orange River Colony, which then became again the Orange Free State. The next step was obviously to bring these two new British colonies, together with the old colonies, the Cape and Natal, together in a federation or union to be known as the Union of South Africa.

Campbell-Bannerman's gesture was widely regarded as generous and magnanimous. Seldom in history had such a thing been seen. The very idea of a union of two British colonies and two defeated republics was breath-taking. But the generous gesture contained one tremendous flaw. It took no account of the wishes of the large majority of the inhabitants of the proposed union. At the National Convention of 1909 all the representatives were white. There was not even an African or Coloured representative from the Cape Province, which since 1853 had given the franchise to every male British subject "without distinction of class or colour". Was this perhaps a conciliatory gesture to the two Boer republics?

It is widely held that of all the causes of the Great Trek of 1836, the desire to get away from any kind of racial equality was the most weighty. When the British finally annexed the Cape in 1806, they interfered with the established conventions relating to master and servant. The statement regarding the emancipation of the slaves made by Anna Steenkamp, niece of Piet Retief, has become historic.

And yet it is not so much their freedom which drove us to such lengths as their being placed on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God, and the natural distinction of race and colour, so that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke, wherefore we rather withdrew in order thus to preserve our doctrines in purity.

This language is noble but the underlying reality is not. It is one of the deep mysteries of Afrikaner Nationalist psychology that a Nationalist can observe the highest standards of behaviour towards his own kind, but can observe an entirely different standard towards others, and more especially so if they are not white*. Quite a number of slaves had become Christians, but that did not prevent Anna Steenkamp from using the word "Christians" as though it meant "whites".

This attitude towards race and colour was enshrined in the constitution of the Transvaal Republic – "no equality in Church or State", and it was implicit in that of the Orange Free State. Yet seven years after their capitulation in 1902 this principle was about to be enshrined again, but this time in the constitution of the new Union of South Africa. It had been said cynically that the Boers won the Anglo-Boer War in 1909 and it has been said several times since, notably in 1948.

The National Convention decided that every Member of Parliament in the new Union must be of European descent. The Cape Colony agreed to this, but insisted that it should retain its own non-racial franchise, by virtue of which an African or Coloured male with certain qualifications, of education or property, could exercise the parliamentary vote. The Convention finally agreed to this, but demanded and secured the fatal provision that the Cape franchise could be amended or abolished by a two-thirds majority of both Houses of the Union Parliament sitting together.

The Convention finally agreed on one other provision which was to have tremendous consequences for our future history. It agreed that the electoral quota for rural constituencies would be 15% lower than the average quota and that the quota for urban constituencies would be 15% higher. It is odd to recall that such a provision already existed in the Cape Colony, and ironic to reflect that it ultimately destroyed the Cape franchise. The rural constituencies were largely Afrikaans-speaking, and 85 of their voters were made equal to 115 voters in the urban constituencies which were largely English-speaking. It was this provision which gave the Nationalists their first slender victory in 1948.

The proposed new Constitution was strongly criticised by African clergy and journalists. They convened a Native Convention which met in Bloemfontein in March 1909, declaring that the British Government had "fundamental and

specific obligations towards the Native and Coloured races . . ." The Constitution was opposed by Dr Abdurahman's African People's Organisation. In this same year W.P. Schreiner, former Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, led a delegation consisting of Abdurahman, Rubusana, John Tengo Jabavu, John Dube and himself to London, to urge the British Parliament and people not to countenance a colour bar in the Union Constitution.

All four black delegates were notable men. Abdurahman was one of the first Cape Malay doctors, Rubusana became the first and last African to be a member of a Provincial Council, Jabavu was the second African to pass the Matriculation examination, and a century ago founded the Native Electoral Association which helped James Rose-Innes to get into Parliament in 1884. Dube founded the Ohlange Institute, the Natal Native Congress in 1900, and the Zulu paper "Ilanga lase Natal" in 1903.

The delegation to London was not successful. The colour bar was enshrined in the new Constitution. The Union of South Africa came into being in 1910. The two leading white parties were the South African Party led by Botha and Smuts and the Unionist Party led by Sir Thomas Smartt. Both disapproved of racial mixture, both favoured segregation and both took it for granted that the future of South Africa, certainly as far as could be foreseen, would be decided by its white people.

The first step in the strengthening of segregation and white supremacy was the Mines and Works Act of 1911 which reserved certain occupations for white workers. But the Act which spelt perpetual subordination for African people, and which was recognised as doing so by all their political leaders, was the Natives Land Act of 1913. Black and white were forbidden to buy land in the other's areas; thus 70% of the people were condemned to hold in perpetuity approximately 13% of the land. Thus was established the pattern of land-holding which troubles every thinking South African who observes it, the beautiful white farms many of a thousand or more acres, often alongside an impoverished reserve, where a black farmer is lucky to get three or four acres. Thus the white Parliament virtually said to every black man, one thing you will never be in your own country, and that is a farmer in any true sense of the word. Thus also was pronounced the doom of Roosboom, Kumalosville, and Besterspruit where black owners had acquired land legally in the early years of the century. Thus was the way prepared for the "resettlements" of today, whereby owners of small substantial houses and gardens and a few cows and goats, are "resettled" in tents, huts, prefabricated units, on the bare and inhospitable veld, on plots which were mere fractions of an acre. Now can be seen the true meaning of Anna Steenkamp's words "we rather withdrew in order to preserve our doctrines in purity."

In those days Selby Msimang was a young man not yet thirty, and about to embark on his long political career. But for him the Natives Land Act was a milestone in black history, a betrayal fit to rank with the establishment of the Union of South Africa, and the first step in the destruction of the Cape franchise in 1936. In 1912 black politics took a nation-wide shape with the founding of the South African Native National Congress, soon to become the A.N.C. Dr. Pixley Seme was its founder and John Dube its first president. Walter Rubusana, Sol Plaatje and Alfred Mangena were founder members, and young Msimang was its clerk-typist.

John Tengo Jabavu did not take part in these new moves. He founded the South African Races Congress, and in 1913 made the great error of supporting the Land Act, in the belief that one must "trust" the Government. That was the end of his political influence.

In 1914 Dube, Rubusana, Msare, Mapikela and Plaatje went to London to protest against the Land Act, but were told that these were times of war, not propitious for the discussion of such matters. In 1919 Plaatje, J.T. Gumede, L.T. Mvabaza, Seloape Thema and the Rev. H.R. Ngcayiya again went to

London, and then to Versailles, where they found another South African delegation led by Hertzog, asking for the return of the two republics. Neither delegation was successful because of the fact that the Union of South Africa was a self-governing dominion. The Plaatje delegation was advised to return to their country and to submit their grievances to the Union Government.

When Hertzog, with the help of the Labour Party, came to power in 1924, his prime aims were to protect the white worker, to solve the poor-white problem, to advance the cause of sovereign independence, and to amend the Cape franchise which was a continuing affront to all Northern Nationalists. The Wage Act of 1925, the Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926, the Flag Act of 1927, the Native Administration Act of 1927, the Native Urban Areas Amendment Act of 1930, and the Status Act of 1934, advanced these aims, and confirmed the subordinate status of all black Africans.

These were the days of the I.C.U., the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, of Clements Kadalie, A.W.G. Champion, and Selby Msimang, of Charlotte Maxeke the pioneer woman in politics, of Dube, Z.R. Mahabane, Seme, in A.N.C. politics, and D.D.T. Jabavu acting separately. Yet although African politics was in disarray, African opinion was united in its opposition to Hertzog's plans to amend the Cape franchise. It took Hertzog twelve years to overcome the obstacle of the constitutional entrenchment that demanded a majority of both Houses sitting together. In 1934 the way suddenly became clear. Partly for economic reasons, partly for reasons of white racial amity, Hertzog's National Party fused with Smut's South African Party to form the United Party. But it seems reasonably certain that Hertzog had a further reason; only with Smuts's help could he amend the Cape franchise. It should be noted here that Hertzog rejected the argument of many of his followers that the passing of the Status Act in 1934 had made the entrenchments no longer binding.

Hertzog had continuously amended his franchise proposals between 1924 and 1936. In 1936 they were finalised. All African voters were to be removed to a separate roll, and they could elect three white members of Parliament. All male adult Africans in the Union could elect four white senators, and could elect representatives to a new Natives Representative Council to be presided over by the white Secretary for Native Affairs. No more Africans would be admitted to the common roll*2. As a compensation for the loss of common-roll rights, Africans were to be allotted another 15, 000, 000 acres to add to the 22, 000, 000 acres of the Native Reserves. Today, 42 years later, this allotment has not yet been completed.

Hertzog's first intention in 1936 was to abolish the Cape African franchise altogether. Black reaction was strong. The Cape Native Voters Convention condemned the proposals. So did the All-Africa Convention at Bloemfontein under the chairmanship of D.D.T. Jabavu, supported by Pixley Seme for the A.N.C., and including such men as Msimang, Z.K. Mathews, Xuma, Moroka, and Mofutsanyana *3. Jabavu led a deputation to Hertzog and they urged rather a return to the proposals of 1929. They asked to be heard at the bar of the House; Hertzog spoke on this matter in Parliament. He said:

I then said to them, my friends, I am sorry. I would like very much to do it, and I will do my best to meet the Natives, but it would be very unreasonable to ask the joint session to do such a thing.

So the unreasonable request was turned down, and the reasonable demands of the joint session to be left undisturbed by alien voices were acceded to. And that in fact is the history of Parliament in South Africa, an all-white body that rules unchecked over that great majority that cannot even plead at the bar of the House.

White opposition was also strong, from Church leaders, the Institute of Race Relations, Hoernlé, Sir James Rose-Innes, F.S. Malan and others. It was so strong that Hertzog feared he might not get the two thirds majority, and he therefore finally agreed to let the African voters remain, provided that they were removed to a separate roll.

Hertzog carried his Bill by the enormous majority of 169 to 11, one of the eleven being J. H. Hofmeyr. Hofmeyr prophesied that this was the beginning of a process the end of which could not be seen. He was right indeed. In 1956 Coloured voters were removed to a separate roll. In 1961 the African vote was abolished. In 1963 the Coloured vote was abolished. So finally the Transvaal principle of "No equality in Church or State" triumphed over all. 1935 witnessed the third great act of betrayal, and set white South Africa on a road that can lead only to its destruction.

From 1936 to 1948 Black opposition had a troubled career. Seme, President General of the A.N.C., was ousted in 1937 by Z.R. Mahabane, and Mahabane in his turn was ousted by Xuma, both Seme and Mahabane being regarded as too moderate. In 1949 Xuma was ousted by Moroka, and in 1952 Moroka was ousted by Lutuli. That was the beginning of the more militant struggle of the A.N.C. against the rule of Afrikaner Nationalism, and this brings us to the point at which we started.

One important series of historical events remains to be related. The Natives Representative Council (N.R.C.) was a futility; it probably had more brains in it than any other representative body in the history of South Africa but it was powerless. Councillor Paul Mosaka called it "the toy telephone"; you talked into it but no one ever listened. It was no joke for a white politician to face the Natives Representative Council. The brains and the tongues were too sharp. Hofmeyr, as acting Prime Minister, opened the Council session on 20 November 1946, and put up a defence of the Government's racial policies. He considered that Councillors had made "violent and exaggerated statements". Edgar Brookes, who had been instrumental in getting Hofmeyr to open the session, was disappointed and humiliated. Hofmeyr was given a unanimous vote of thanks, and left the Council to consider his address.

When the Council met again on 25 November, Z.K. Matthews moved the suppression of the proceedings until some more reassuring statement was received. He was seconded by Champion. But Hofmeyr's new statement was not reassuring. On 26 November a fateful day in our history, Matthews moved the adjournment. Selope Theme seconded and spoke to white South Africa.

Do you want us to join those forces that are outside, those forces which are out to destroy? If you drive us to that we shall know what to do; but we don't want to do that. That is my answer. I second the motion.

The Council did not meet again until January 1949 when the white chairman announced that Dr. Malan's Government had decided to abolish the Council. It had turned its mind to politics, especially the politics of equality. In 1951 it was abolished. Hertzog's famous Bill of 1936, greeted by an unprecedented storm of cheering in the House, had fallen to pieces.

What are one's reflections on reading this tragic account of the history of the first half of this century. The 30 years of Nationalist rule are seen as an extension and intensification of the policies that preceded it.

One reflects almost with grief on the waste of great gifts, that had to be devoted to resistance and opposition because they could not be used in the arts of government and administration, nor in the arts of architecture, engineering, pure science, technology. The great figures cross the stage, Rubusana, Jabavu, Charlottle Maxeke, Dube, Plaatje, Seme, Z.R. Mahabane, Msimang, Moroka, Champion,

Xuma, Matthews and finally Lutuli, who became the national president of the A.N.C. in 1952. They all had to pay for that historical withdrawal of the Voortrekkers "to preserve our doctrines in purity".

I doubt whether one of these actors felt that life had been wasted. That was the way life had to be lived, in the times and circumstances in which they had to live. Not one of them was given to self-pity. I myself like to reflect that two of them received some external reward for their brave and noble lives. One was Z.K. Matthews, whom Seretse Khama appointed Botswana's ambassador to Washington, some recompense for that great man who resigned from Fort

Hare when he would shortly have received a considerable pension. Others who resigned with him were Selby Ngcobo, and Cyril Neymbezi. I like to remember that Ngcobo went bare-footed to Adams College, that Nyembezi had to matriculate after he left school, and that Z.K.'s father was a mine-worker. The other who received external reward was Albert Lutuli who in 1961 was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, he who had knocked patiently for thirty years at a door that would not open. Neither of these two great men received any reward from their own country except to be tried for treason.

It is a melancholy tale, but a tale of heroes. □

Footnotes:

I have referred to Anna Steenkamp as an Afrikaner Nationalist. That she undoubtedly was, though the appellation did not then exist. I do this for a further reason, namely that it is wounding to some Afrikaners if one were to call it "Afrikaner psychology".

There were only 11,00 black voters on the common roll.

Lutuli, though 38 years old, had not yet been drawn into politics.

Final Note:

In this essay I should have mentioned Smut's Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946, which was the forerunner of the Group Areas Act of 1950.

PAYMENT ON ACCOUNT

by Edgar Brookes

Many of the readers of "Reality" (myself included) stand by the policy of the old Liberal Party which, it will be remembered, was universal suffrage and majority rule.

This is a highly unpopular policy with our rulers and with white South Africans generally, and one might be tempted to keep it in the background and to press for urgently needed reforms within the present system.

Apart from the fact that it is morally dishonest to be silent about our ultimate aims, there are strong arguments for declaring them — first, that black leadership may know that there is a real and vigorous element of white opinion which shares their hopes and ideals; — second, that the white electorate may become more and more aware of the fact that universal suffrage is a practical policy, brought forward by some who are prepared to work under it.

Overnight it became practical politics in Rhodesia, and that very fact brings it nearer to our own borders.

But at the same time it is true that the revolutionary policy of "All or nothing" should *not* be ours. There is a strong tendency to decry real and urgent reforms because they may blunt the spearhead of our main attack.

Let us give a few examples.

Take the question of influx control. It has been made harder and harder for a young man to obtain work in an urban area. This part of the African's life is under complete bureau-

cratic control, with the natural results of being sent from pillar to post, and multiplying opportunities for bribery (*and bribery does take place*). When the work-seeker is given permission to work in an urban area he is directed to work in a certain category of jobs. The young man may long to work in a factory: he will find himself directed into domestic service.

Another point is the treatment of Africans by subordinate officials. A magistrate is rarely discourteous to an African; a junior clerk rarely courteous. As most matters affecting Africans have now been made administrative, reform in this field is urgent.

Should we not, however strong our belief in ultimate complete liberty and equality, actively support reform in these and many other similar fields? To pour cold water on the efforts of those who seek to attain them, or even just to be quiet, is to betray our cause — unless, indeed, we take the Communist view that all real reforms are anti-revolutionary. In this view people would only fight for their rights when life becomes quite intolerable. We want the people to get what can be got to make life richer, fuller and happier.

I will go further. Besides our ultimate aim we ourselves should also have a programme of immediate reforms, for which we are prepared to work. Anything which makes life easier and securer for the people we love should have our active support, not a silent and somewhat scornful acquiescence. □

TELEVISION NEWS-

THE OFFICIAL NEWS

by John van Zyl

Many of us who complain about the quality of SATV news have been brought up on either BBC or American standards of newscasting. When we go to handbooks to teach television news reporting (as is done at some English-speaking universities) the standards we encounter are those, again, of the BBC or NBC.

As it is quite obvious that SABC – TV is run neither on the independent principles of the BBC or the hard, competitive, personality-bound lines of the American stations, we should first construct an ideal formula for newscasting, and then measure what we have in South Africa. Before we do that we should note that we have little information about the news services of pre-revolutionary Portugal, or Spain, or even Communist bloc countries today, since it seems that those services would be the closest to what we experience locally.

The television reporter should be governed by the same rules of conduct as his Press colleague. He should gather his hard facts assiduously. An incident or an issue should be investigated as thoroughly as possible and the resulting story should be presented as dispassionately as possible.

What is regarded as newsworthy will always depend upon the news editor, but once it has been passed as newsworthy it must remain news, and not turn into comment.

Television news does have a problem that Press reporting does not have. It can create or transform the incident it sets out to report. The cameraman registers the moving (in both senses of the word) so that a riot in which only one person was hurt will usually be seen in terms of that one person's wounds. The press reporter with his notebook and pencil simply cannot render his report as immediately or as emotionally as his TV counterpart.

However, the Press reporter with his hyline can very easily add editorial comment within the body of his copy. But this is usually taken as the personal impressions of a named person who had actually experienced the event. The television reporter on the spot with his cameraman can also add his verbal impressions to what the viewer can see, but is constrained by the visuals. So he has to rely on the choice of visuals so that the paradoxical situation arises whereby the TV reporter is either bound more closely to the factual truth, or else is more dangerously free to create his own truths.

Charl Paauw on the deck of the *Venpet* is bound to report on the incident as he found it, but Cliff Saunders interviewing two black schoolteachers and wringing from them the admission that there was intimidation behind the resignation of teachers in Soweto is *creating news*.

TV news has several built-in features that comment visually on the words spoken by the newsreader. The use of lurid or emotive graphics can slant the news. The typical map used by SABC – TV depicting South West Africa and Angola has an arrow pointing south, with a hammer and sickle at the northern end. Other local examples are the use

of crude caricatures of Carter or Castro, contrasted with the usual slide of a smiling, benign Vorster. When we look closely at SABC – TV news some depressing features emerge.

The absence of overseas news on some evenings, the fact that the SABC has only one representative (Carel Leenhardt in London) overseas, and the excessive use of news commentators like Saunders and Pretorius gives the news a bias which is always noticeable and sometimes is downright crude. I cannot imagine another television service in the "free world" (that concept so assiduously bandied about by SABC – TV) that would tolerate so many eager pre-digestors, or masticators, of the news.

It is common knowledge that television programmes that offend the sensibilities of the administration of SABC – TV are summarily banned. The programme on the link between smoking and cancer, the comments by Dr Boris Wilson on the high cost of South African television, the Postmaster General's remarks on the telephone shortage have either been banned or cut from programmes during the past two years. One, of course, does not know how many other programmes, like Stuart Pringle's programme on Soweto, have been shelved indefinitely, or strangled at birth.

Two surveys conducted by *The Star* and the Department of Journalism of Rhodes University respectively have revealed some interesting statistics. *The Star* reported on 12 June, 1976 that Cabinet Ministers were getting nearly 10 times as much exposure on television as spokesmen for all the country's opposition parties combined. In brief, the survey found that in 24 newscasts (nearly eight hours of viewing time) Cabinet Ministers were featured 38 times for a total of 27 minutes. Compared with this, United Party spokesmen featured six times, for a total of about two minutes.

This is, of course, not the whole picture. The featuring of Cabinet Ministers for the promotion of Government viewpoints uncritically can by no means be regarded as news. The only place where this might take place is within a discussion programme, and then hopefully, with a critical interviewer, or an Opposition spokesman to test the validity of the viewpoint.

Apart from the Cabinet Ministers, there is a series of familiar faces of pro-Government black spokesmen and white spokesmen belonging to the "pyramid of access" that can be relied upon to trot out obliquely the familiar bogeyman of Communism, corrupt black governments and "hypocritical" Western politicians.

The Rhodes survey conducted by Whitehead and Cockayne, under the supervision of Professor Hansen, investigated the news broadcasts over a month during the period September – October, 1977. Although the findings were not totally conclusive, some of the results are significant. It was found that 32 per cent of the news times was given to political representation i.e. reports pertaining to the

policies or principles of political parties in South Africa. This is already significant in terms of the proportion of "hard news" and "purportive news".

Of this time 47 per cent was devoted to showing and hearing of government officials and National party officials. 34 per cent of the political time consisted of hearing statements from or news about government and National Party officials. When these figures are combined it may be seen that 81 per cent of political news was centred on government or National Party officials. The rest of the

statistics are depressingly predictable.

It is obvious that the party in power will always have an advantage of newsmaking and newsworthiness, but it is only a television service which is overwhelmingly an official service which will provide such an accessible platform for government views which are not tested or probed by informed interviewers.

It is this, finally, which makes our television service an *official* one rather than a *national* service.□

Canada and the Anglo-Boer war

The Anglo-Boer War of 1899 - 1902 was the occasion of Canada's first major overseas military campaign and relatively little has been written about the participation of the Canadian contingents. I am engaged in researching the role of the Canadian forces in this conflict and will be travelling throughout South Africa over the next three months collecting pertinent material.

I would be most grateful if readers could assist me in this project by contacting me if they are aware of letter, diaries, scrapbooks, photographs, paintings or any other material pertaining to the Canadians. I am anxious to visit battle-sites where Canadian troops were engaged, routes they traversed and graves and would appreciate local historians assisting me in their areas.

In addition to the troops there were also Canadian correspondents, doctors, nurses, priests and teachers engaged here during the war years. During my travels I am also hoping to contact descendants of Canadians who settled in South Africa after the War.

Any assistance that readers can provide in connection with this project will be gratefully received.

HUGH ROBERTSON

P.O. Box 467
Rivonia,
Transvaal
2128

Telephone: Johannesburg 802-2942

LOOK

In your stubborn desire to be static,
you can corrupt hearts and destroy lives.
You can disfigure the landscape.
You can fill the air with jangling propaganda.
But you cannot touch the sky.

That is beyond your reach.
The sky has its own times and motions:
it lightens and darkens;
it saddens and brightens.

It hangs and spins above you,
a perpetual reminder
that life is change.

by Vortex

THE DARK CITY

ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP

by Jack Unterhalter

Perhaps it was called the Dark City because for decades there were no lights at night in the uneven, unpaved and broken ways that served as streets. But the darkness of savage crimes may also explain the matter, because for years this settlement, north of Johannesburg and just outside the municipal boundary, was held in thrall by the Spoiler Gang and the Msomi Gang, who threw the bodies of their victims into the nearby Jukskei River. The darkness still persists, as this tale will tell.

There was a portion of the quitrent farm "Cyferfontien" No. 2 in the District of Johannesburg, transferred to Gert Pieter Johannes Labuschagne by deed dated the 31st March 1875. In 1905 the portion known as Alexandra was transferred to Alexandra Township Ltd., the name "Alexandra" being that of King Edward VII's queen. On the property a township was laid out, consisting of 388 lots, 2 parks and a square, in addition to streets. It was intended for occupation by white persons, but the lots were not sold and the township company then decided that properties in the township, to use the elegant language of the deed of transfer, "shall not be sold, leased or otherwise disposed of excepting to a native or person of colour, provided that an Asiatic shall not be included in the terms 'native or Person of Colour'"; and "that no Asiatic or European shall be allowed to reside or carry on business of any nature whatsoever on the . . . property . . ."

Although ordinarily an African may not purchase land outside certain scheduled areas, this prohibition did not apply in regard to a township established prior to the commencement of Act No 27 of 1913, and it was therefore lawful for Alexandra Township Ltd to sell lots to black persons. And thus black persons acquired the precious right of freehold title to land when they purchased lots in Alexandra township. There were 2525 lots, nearly all of which had been sold in 1936 when the population in the area was about 16753.

Looking at the houses that remain today one sees among them structures of good and varied design, quite different from the monotonous patterns of Soweto. The streets, before the bulldozers came to break up the peoples' homes, were interesting because the dwellings were interesting, and relics of shops, schools and churches show that a vital community had used them.

But the backyards show another aspect. Miserable rooms crowd behind the main house and in these hovels lived the tenants of the owner of the land. He used the rentals for his living or to pay the interest on the loan of the monies he had borrowed to buy the lot or build the house. He was poor and so were they: and that poverty struck always at the township. For the squalid rear outhouses, occupied at low cost, created hopeless overcrowding in the area with great

problems of sanitation, water supply, roads and security; and the small means available to the owners of the land made it impossible to provide an adequate municipal fund from rates to give the services that keep a town or a village clean and healthy and safe.

In about 1916 a Health Committee was established and in 1921 the number of members on the committee was 11, of which 8 were Africans or members of the coloured community, who were elected to office by adult male residents of the townships and adult male owners of property there. In 1932 that Health Committee was disestablished and replaced by 7 nominated members, of whom 4 were white, 2 African and one a coloured person. In 1958 a local area committee of the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board replaced the Health Committee, the members of the new committee being white. An attempt was made to form a liaison committee of black persons to work with the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board Committee, but because of the hostility of the residents this failed.

The record of the old Health Committees was poor. The township was not rated to yield revenues in the way municipalities obtain their funds, and the standard of services was therefore bad. No significant assistance was given either by the Transvaal Provincial Administration or by the Johannesburg Municipality.

White persons had settled in the north-eastern suburbs of Johannesburg, and residents, resenting the presence nearby of the black community in Alexandra Township formed the North-Eastern District Protection League to campaign for the abolition of the township. Apparently this campaign was approved by the Johannesburg City Council because in January, 1943 it had adopted a resolution calling for the abolition of the township. The Alexandra Health Committee, of which the Chairman was the late Professor Hoernle, prepared a statement on the future of Alexandra Township for submission to the Minister for Public Health in reply to the proposal of the City Council of Johannesburg.

There were resolutions adopted at meetings of the joint council of Europeans and Africans, of the Johannesburg Coloured-European Joint Council and of the Yeoville District Rate Payers Association protesting at the uprooting of people and the expropriation of their property. Nothing came then of the proposal for abolition.

But the problems of the neglected area remained and when the Peri Urban Areas Health Board took over in 1958 it had a vast task of rehabilitation to perform. In those days one of the problems was the distance of the township from places of employment in Johannesburg and the consequent cost of transport to and from work. It was proposed to increase busfares and there was an angry

reaction from the people, a prolonged boycott of the buses and a daily procession of workers tramping the long distance to the City and tramping the weary return at night. After months of this defiant and courageous walking, settlement was reached, but the presence of the township loomed larger and the conscience of Johannesburg was uneasy.

In 1959 there were about 148, 000 people living in the township and pictures published in "Bantu" show dreadful conditions of the ruinous habitations. The Peri Urban Areas Health Board endeavoured to bring order out of chaos and the police contended with and finally overcame criminal gangs that had terrorised the place.

Again the spectre of abolition appeared, but this time it was the State that, in 1963, proposed the elimination of family accommodation in the township and the restriction of residence there to single persons to be housed in hostels. Again there were protests by concerned persons and the Minister was reminded that he had said in the House of Assembly that owners of property who are lawfully entitled to remain there are not being disturbed. Years before this, in 1954, the Natives Resettlement Act had been passed and a Board established to effect the removal of black persons from specified areas and to provide for their settlement elsewhere. The Board also had powers of expropriation. In 1964 the State President was given power to designate certain areas to make them, in effect, locations to be governed by similar regulations to those that apply in locations adjoining most towns.

The Peri Urban Areas Health Board made such regulations and these provided for rigid control of the issue of residential permits in the township, of trading activities, of public meetings and for the payment by owners of property of monthly fees in respect of health, medical, administrative and other services. Some measure of control of the township came about through these regulations but there was resentment of the fact that contraventions of the regulations were made criminal offences, more especially the failure to vacate premises and

the failure to pay the ownership levies. It was said that no criminal sanctions were visited upon white people for such failures outside the locations.

Over the years expropriations of properties in the townships took place and sales were negotiated to acquire the land from many of the residents. People were moved to Meadowlands, Diepkloof and Thembisa and there were many disputes as to the compensation to be paid. Of course for those who had lived in the dreadful slum conditions of the backyards, the moves improved their living conditions and I suppose many were grateful to have the modest homes to which they came.

Some years ago the West Rand Board assumed control of Alexandra township and since then removals have proceeded apace and hostels have been built. Many fears have been expressed about the presence in these hostels of large numbers of single men and single women. There are recollections of what happened in the Cape at the time of the Poqo riots when men were housed in such hostels; and there is fear in the homes that remain, because men from the hostels, it is said, roam the streets in a quest for women to rape. Are not these marauders themselves the victims of a distorted society?

Alexandra township is dying. The weeds are long and wild over the empty acres where once children played and families foregathered to talk and eat and sleep. The old busy thoroughfares are wasteland. Those who have gone have lost their freehold rights. They live now in townships where occupation is precarious because it may be lost if the head of the family loses his employment or absents himself from the site for more than 30 days without the permission of the superintendent.

The darkness over Alexandra township is the darkness of poverty and neglect and the darkness of the broken promise of freehold that has taken people away from their familiar surroundings, their schools and churches and the burial grounds of their ancestors.

Pray for light.□

VIGNETTE

Walking through the Supreme Court gardens,
I saw a young African woman
sitting on a seat beneath a tree.
She was handsome, well-dressed,
quietly self-composed.
"Can such a woman be bitter?"
I wondered.
"Can she feel that our society
has failed to be a benefit to her?
Surely she must be contented."

Her husband
inside the building
(I learned later)
was on trial for his life.

by Vortex

Review

IN THE HEART OF THE COUNTRY

by J.M. Coetzee (Secker and Warburg R8,50. Ravan Press R4,50)

Reviewed by Tony Morphet

It cost a good deal in confusion, discomfort and pain to read John Coetzee's new novel *In the Heart of the Country*. I would guess that many people will find those demands too high but I certainly didn't.

Coetzee's subject is consciousness itself and the limits he chooses for this novel are imposed by his central character – the spinster daughter of a Karoo farmer living on an isolated sheep farm with four Coloured labourers. The parallels with Olive Schreiner are too close not to be deliberate.

The whole novel, written in 266 numbered sections, takes place within Magda's mind. If we expect a logical narrative which follows the dimensions of familiar space-time reality then we are disappointed with the result. It may be that all the "events" described are only in the woman's imagination – that the murders, seduction and rape do not actually "happen" at all. The question really has no meaning. It is what happens in Magda's mind that is all-important

Yet accepting that, and admiring Coetzee's skill in following the deep logic of his character's consciousness, one has to ask what he is actually doing. Joyce, Faulkner and Pynchon the formative influences in this style of writing were after all in pursuit of more than merely the structure, content and rhythms of particular minds. They had their larger themes. Their characters have their representative status even though it may appear and operate in ways quite different from the familiar patterning of the realist novel. Does Coetzee have his own larger theme? He does – but how clearly he understands and controls it I am not so sure. The Olive Schreiner parallel (or contradiction) is instructive here. He, like every other novelist in South Africa, is handling the national theme. Magda's consciousness gives him an oblique and penetrating perspective on the dimensions and fate of the master, locked in struggle with the landscape and

people of Africa. In her role as "poetess of interiority" Magda goes far beyond Schreiner's characters in registering and responding to the drama of the struggle.

Magda is a victim of the world. Rejected, denied and betrayed by her father, abandoned in death by her mother, her dark imaginings are her chief resource in a barren world. She is no passive sufferer. Murderous revenge is a central experience of power for her. But beneath her violence and beneath even her strongly creative awareness of things is a longing for affirmation through people – her father, Klein-Anna the servant-mistress or Hendrik the Coloured foreman. The pain of the novel lies in the terrible distortions and ultimate extinction which this most human of needs suffers.

My doubts about Coetzee's control over his theme derive from a sense of uncertainty which came to me through the surprising regularity of the tonal range of his sentences. The prose is startling in its precision, solidity and power. It handles abstract concepts and specific objects with the same facility and definitive energy. And yet I feel it doesn't have the capacity that one finds in the masters of the genre to register the layers and relativities of the consciousness. One cannot be sure of where the depths and the surfaces of Magda's mind are, nor of how they relate to each other. From this I think that the theme itself suffers some confusion. But in what other writing can one discover such a power of penetration – such a capacity to create the shape and feel of things – such a sense of the inward workings of emotion and thought and above all such an experience of entering the deep dark recesses of hidden states of mind, especially when the mind is our own inheritance.

Coetzee's contribution to South African literature has really only begun but already it is clear that he compels us to revalue all our previous literature. That in itself is a measure of his achievement and his value. □

UNIVERSITIES ON THE MOVE

The African University in Development by Asavia Wandira (Ravan Press)

Reviewed by Colin Gardner

In the world at large, the last thirty years or so have been years of incredible change. It is difficult to believe that there has ever before been a period in which so many shattering things have happened — and I'm thinking not so much of sharply-defined events (though there have been plenty of those) as of psychological developments and socio-political evolutions. Established empires and patterns of control have subsided or crumbled, new superpowers have reared up, but, most important, hundreds of millions of people have begun, under the leadership of their politicians and intellectuals, to view themselves with a new kind of self-consciousness and to assert themselves with unprecedented vigour. For most individual developing nations, as far as real growth and progress are concerned, the steps that have been taken so far may seem small; but for mankind as a whole the very initiation of the new humanizing process has been a giant stride. Despite the confusions and anxieties and enmities of the past three decades, it has been, in many respects, a wonderful era.

Meanwhile, back at home, we have just celebrated — what? Thirty years of National Party rule. Of course there have been some minor changes here too: our rulers may be moles, but they can't take us all down so far beneath the surface that we are unable even to hear what is going on in the normal world of the daylight. But the epoch has been a disaster. The powers-that-be have tried to resist all the creative currents that are transforming the rest of the world. The only alterations that have been made willingly have been in the safe realm of terminology . . .

But, to return to what it is tempting to call the real world, a period of rapid change has made people aware that institutions which the Western World had got into the habit of regarding as more-or-less static may in fact be — indeed should be — mobile, flexible, malleable. One such institution is the university. And a continent which has seen a considerable amount of psychological and sociological change is Africa (I exclude South Africa, though of course the majority of its people have *felt* with the times even if they haven't been allowed to move with them).

Professor Wandira's book is very precisely named: it is called *The African University in Development*. What the title suggests is both the development of the African university and the relationship between the developing university and the developing country which it is its task to serve and, indirectly, to help guide.

The book tells us a good deal about the history of university institutions in Africa. It then treats fairly fully recent and present developments and problems within African universities: the tensions between national concerns and

international reputation, between traditional academic values and various kinds of experimentation, between the private interests and sensibilities of staff-members and the complex pressures brought about by their position in the university and in society. Professor Wandira deals most imaginatively and wisely with these conflicts and with such questions as the localization of staffs, the partial Africanization of syllabuses, evaluating and maintaining standards, budgeting when there is little money available, and making administrative decisions in completely new circumstances.

Many of the challenges and problems that African universities are facing are different — too different, alas — from those that South African universities have confronted or have been allowed to confront. Our universities (both "white" and "black") are desperately attempting to maintain or generate some validity within the cool twilight atmosphere of a prison. Universities in the rest of Africa are creating and sustaining their being and their meaning in the warm but bracing air of a new cultural reality. Professor Wandira's book gives one a vivid sense of the quality of the best minds that are at work on the issues that he discusses. Of course it would be wrong to romanticize the advantages of free Africa. Universities there find themselves, from time to time, in the midst of every sort of social and political difficulty. In fact Professor Wandira, who becomes for the reader of this book a symbol as well as a proponent of intelligent patient optimism has himself experienced some of the vicissitudes occasionally produced in the new Africa. He is now Professor of Education at the University College of Swaziland, but he was "for a brief but momentous period" (as the dustjacket modestly puts it) Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University in Uganda. But then again the actions of President Amin are not typical of Africa.

The most striking feature of Professor Wandira's book is his view of the African university's specific role in the development of the country that it serves. He believes that, though it must maintain the traditional functions of teaching and research, the African university must concern itself with the intellectual and cultural stimulation of the whole community. It must be committed to extension work, adult education, part-time courses, correspondence tuition, refresher conferences, and so on. Indeed the author believes that a member of staff at a university in Africa has weighty responsibilities:

"In the selection of staff, universities tend to be guided by academic achievement and to play down the kind of man the academic is himself. Of course, members of society who do not attend his lectures or understand the sophistication of his subject, will not hesitate to judge the academic by the kind of man he is. They will

ask: 'Does he understand other men?' 'Is he devoted to his duty?' 'Is he duty-minded?' 'Does he drink?' 'If so, how much?' 'Does he dress properly?' 'Is he corrupting our youth?' 'Can he change youth in the right direction?' But how many appointments boards put these questions in the forefront of selection procedures? Many ignore the fact that if leadership in a situation of change demands that academic leaders should be sensitised to the demands and discipline of change, if there is no getting away from the censor of society upon the most educated and better paid sectors of the community, then university teachers must not only be good managers of the learning processes, they will have to be exemplary managers of their own lives and of public affairs committed to their care. The more senior the academic, the greater his responsibility in this respect. When he attends committees outside university or joins with other men in voluntary work, he will be expected by the community outside the university to show 'correct' attitudes and values and a sensitivity to the great issues of his time. To this he must add exceptional ability as a committee man, a good understanding of public business and leadership in the solution of problems. Though administration may not be his speciality, failure to administer a committee or a public service agency committed to his care will produce the most severe criticism, Why, it will be asked, should men of so much learning fail to grasp the most elementary of official routine and public procedures? Sensitising academics to the values and worrying issues of their time is thus not enough for their training. They must be good managers of change as well as upright men. The excellence of the academic cannot be limited to his speciality or to purely university tasks. It must extend to all tasks which society may increasingly call upon him to perform as well as to the kind of life he leads.

The question that must be asked is whether present-day official conceptions of the job of an academic are sufficiently elastic to include these extra-curricular demands in a developing country." (pp. 111-112)

That in my view is a most interesting passage. I am a little

worried by the occasional suggestion that public opinion could become important in the wrong kind of way ("Does he dress properly?") or that, worse, the political powers might wish to exert too great a pressure on academic thought ("he will be expected by the community outside the university to show 'correct' attitudes and values . . ."). But the main thrust of the statement seems to me to be excellent: a really dedicated university staff-member should be, particularly in a developing country, a person who is constantly aware of the relationship between his specifically academic concerns and the whole life of the surrounding society.

And that is true also – or should as far as possible be made to be true – of South Africa. So is Professor Wandira's nicely balanced final paragraph:

"This discussion leads to one final conclusion. In seeking an identity which can be developed by Africa itself, the African university seeks those qualities, structures and concerns which will distinguish it from other universities and will better prepare it for service to its own continent. In asserting fellowship with other universities, however, the African university identifies itself with abiding concerns that transcend both time and space. The general and the particular thus remain inextricably interwoven at the centre of African university development. The dilemma of creating relevant models for African university development therefore lies in the difficulties of reconciling the legitimate but particularistic concerns of society with the desirable but universalistic perspectives of the genius of the world university community. The identity of the African university in development will depend on the balance it can, from time to time, strike between the particularistic and universalistic tendencies of its continent. In seeking that balance, the African university can learn from times gone by and from other universities and should, in turn, contribute to the common pool of knowledge those concepts of the university in development which it has found to be of lasting worth."□

SACHED TRUST

Commentary by Peter Brown

During May Mr David Adler, executive director of the South African College for Higher Education, and Mr Clive Nettleton, director of its newspaper programme, were each banned for five years. Although other members of the SACHED staff have been detained their detentions seem to be related to their activities in other organisations. In the case of Mr Adler and Mr Nettleton the bannings are almost certainly directly related to their SACHED work. What is it about SACHED that might make the Government want to do this? SACHED was established in 1958 to try to meet the problems, it was felt, would face many black students when admission to them to the "open" universities (Wits' Capetown and Natal) was prohibited by government legislation. It was anticipated that there would be a considerable number of black students who would be unwilling or unable (perhaps because their agitation against the closing of these universities made them "undesirable" in the eyes of the admitting authorities) to get into the

new ethnic "tribal" colleges. In order to meet the needs of such students and others who might be excluded from or unwilling to participate in the lower levels of the Bantu Education system, SACHED was set up to provide courses which would lead to degrees obtained by correspondence with the University of London. It continued to work to this end for twelve years. By the late 1960s however it had become clear that the tying of courses to the University of London was not satisfactory. Students had to take A Levels before they could start their courses and the result was that it took years to get a degree and, not surprisingly, a great many people dropped out before they had qualified. Students began to ask why they couldn't be helped to qualify through the University of South Africa (UNISA) instead of London. And so, according to the latest Annual Report of the SACHED Trust, "It was decided that it would be more useful to switch the course to helping these students. From that time bursaries were given to UNISA

students and tutorials were arranged for them. But other problems arose and the report records that "at about the same time it became clear that these students had great difficulties. Two major difficulties were 1) The school system for blacks did not prepare them adequately for university study. 2) The poor standard of English taught in black schools made studying in English difficult for university students. To help students, SACHED decided that it was necessary to work at the secondary school as well as the university level. SACHED also decided that it would help adults rather than school children. This meant that the best thing to do would be to start a non-commercial correspondence college for adults who wanted to study for Junior Certificate and Matric. Turret College was started and from this start grew the other projects of the SACHED Trust." I will return to these "other projects" later. Suffice it to say that by the end of 1977 SACHED's "Bursary Programme" based on its three centres in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg was catering directly through correspondence courses for nearly 2,000 students. Some of these students were still taking GCE courses aimed at a London University degree but the majority were involved in courses at JC level or higher, many of them aiming to obtain degrees from UNISA. The large-scale rejection of Bantu Education in Soweto and other places brought with it new problems. SACHED, which had specifically set out to cater for adults, found itself being approached by more and more children – but they were children who didn't want to write the Bantu Education examinations which were the only local ones for which SACHED could help to prepare them. Partly in an attempt to cater for the needs of the large number of children not in school and partly as an extension of earlier work in providing educational material for those not at school through newspapers, People's College was started in March, 1977. It appeared as a twenty-four page educational supplement to the Weekend World and continued to do so until that paper was banned. Since then attempts have been made to continue its publication as a supplement to another paper, but without success, and the project in this form has now been abandoned. Through Weekend World, People's College made educational material easily available to a great many students of all ages. Its abandonment is a tragedy for them.

Apart from running the Bursary Programme and the People's College SACHED had several other interesting projects in mind or already in operation when the Adler/Nettleton bannings took place.

It is developing what is called a BASIC EDUCATION PROJECT the main aim of which is to work out a programme which will make it possible for black adults in urban areas, who have not had the opportunity to acquire an education, to get one equivalent to primary school level. First steps in the implementation of this project were taken this year, with the training of tutors and the drawing up of a model teaching programme based on research into what potential students want to learn and how best they might be taught it.

Another new venture in SACHED's plans for 1978 is the COMMERCE IN-SERVICE PROGRAMME which is designed to give adults whose second language is English, and whose jobs require them to work through English, a better grasp of the language, as well as basic training in skills which will increase their understanding of, proficiency in and satisfaction with those jobs. Apart from language training, courses in such things as Basic Accountancy, Administration and Money Management have been worked out.

One could say that what SACHED has been trying to do since 1958 has been to give as many people as possible as broad a basis to their education as it could . . . while the official Bantu Education system has been trying to do the opposite. For two years now the Bantu Education system

has been in disarray, so much so that the Government has decided to give it another name and to set up a body to review its content. How far-reaching that review will have to be if the new system is to have any claims to acceptability by world standards is clearly shown by the reasons SACHED has given for setting up two other new projects – its **Training Programme** and its **Education Enrichment Programme**.

The **Training Programme** is designed to produce trained Black staff for SACHED's own projects. SACHED says that it is necessary because –

"After some 20 years the Bantu Education System has grown in size and number, but the educational quality of its output has become progressively mediocre. Recognition of this mediocrity and the inferior quality of the system is one of the main contributory causes to the present crisis in black education. The Bantu Education System (even at university level) has encouraged dependant, non-critical students who pass examinations because of their ability to memorise rather than analyse. The content knowledge of the students is also limited. The "final product" of this system has, consequently, had his creativity, initiative and confidence stunted and channelled.

This is frightening, both in human terms and for the future of the country. For organisations such as ours, involved in the process of change, it poses immediate problems.

The various programmes of the SACHED Trust need strong, competent blacks who demonstrate initiative and independence. The education system is, on the whole, not producing such people.

This poses a dilemma for the Trust. The need, (which becomes more urgent daily) to employ black people at all levels of the organisation must not conflict with the professional outlook of the Trust. We have always appointed people on merit and have never cosmetically "blackwashed" in order to pretend that we have black members. We intend continuing this policy so that we can provide professional services which fulfil their promise and handle their affairs properly. This is why we have survived and grown where many organisations have failed.

Nevertheless, there are dangers in this approach. If we continue this policy and only take on people who have been trained sufficiently we will perpetuate a white-dominated organisation with no adequate input with regard to the needs of the community and the feel of our audience. Survey opinion is not enough – the organisation must have a 'feel' based on experience and interaction with its audience.

For these reasons we have no alternative but to set up a training programme which will provide black personnel of a high calibre.

THE NEED FOR A TRAINING PROGRAMME

The African graduate goes through 14 years of formal schooling. During the 11 years of Bantu Education schooling and 3 years of Tribal University training, most students are not encouraged or trained in the skills of analytical thinking or questioning. The process of education is conditioned by the authoritarian nature of the system. The system allows little questioning and implies an 'inferiority' of blacks. It undermines the confidence of the black student.

The prevailing language policy prevents mastery of any one language and more particularly precludes proficiency in an international language, such as English. The African languages are, at present, unsuitable for coping with the demands of a technological and commercially orientated society.

The South African policy of separation and exclusion inhibits the black child from understanding the world around him. He is prevented from understanding and manipulating the implicit assumptions underlying the dominant social, economic and commercial institutions of the society. For the white child these implicit assumptions become internalised as an integral part of his educational process.

For blacks, there is also a general non-experience and non-participation in administrative matters. This often leads to the breakdown of understanding and consequent communication in the actual job situation. This is also a contributing factor which has led to the collapse of many black community, religious and welfare organisations.

When a black graduate or school-leaver applies for a job, or takes on a leadership position, he is in fact not as 'qualified' as an equally certificated 'enriched educationally' white, who is at home in the prevailing culture. There is a difference in perception between the white employer and the black applicant. The black applicant cannot understand why he is 'under-qualified'. After all, he has spent, with some considerable sacrifice and effort, the same number of years in the educational system and his certificate proclaims him equal. The employer, however, knowing the nature of the black system, typically says "He cannot afford" to train and make up what he considers to be deficiencies. Usually he will take on the white applicant.

Perhaps we can illustrate this with a recent case in our experience.

A recently graduated student from the Tribal University of the North applied for a job as a writer in commercial subjects. The applicant was suitably qualified in that he had a good Bachelor of Commerce degree. In outlook and in experience he was suitable. Nevertheless, it became apparent during the interview, that his ability in English was weak and there was a question in the minds of the interviewers about his subject competence, particularly in Bookkeeping and Accounting. We subsequently tested this by asking the applicant to write a Matric level simple test. The applicant did not have the ability, the skill nor the content knowledge, even at the Matric level. We were also interested in the testimonial the applicant brought with him from the firm of accountants who had employed him during the previous three months. The testimonial implied intelligence but stated that "the firm was not large enough to provide the experience that the applicant required". We contacted the firm. They confirmed that the applicant did not have the ability or administrative understanding which they would take for granted with an applicant from a white university. The accounting firm felt that they could not "afford" the time required in training up such a clerk.

We offered the applicant a job as a 'trainee' since he would not be able to produce courses for some time to come and would require training on many levels. As a trainee we could only afford to pay him a maximum wage of R250 during the time he was being trained. The applicant felt that this did not square up with his status and ability and refused the offer.

Sometimes blacks are appointed or promoted for reasons politique on the basis of colour. Such applicants are invariably appointed above their competence and are unequal to expectations of them. This usually results in frustration, suspicion, lack of credibility and often racial conflict."

SACHED says its EDUCATIONAL ENRICHMENT PROGRAMME is needed because —

"The bitterly fought for 'Education of Quality', which

is the cry of SOWETO students focuses directly on a fundamental dilemma in the education of blacks in South Africa.

On the one hand the call is for an equality of facilities (more teachers, classrooms, equipment, money etc.); whilst on the other hand there is the demand for an education of an 'International status'.

The two calls are contradictory, certainly at present. The guide of experience shows that more of anything means a greater mediocrity in the system.

'More', has also resulted in ill-trained, unqualified and consequently insecure/authoritarian teachers. The ill-effects of this aspect of Bantu Education will be with us for many years to come.

The situation is further complicated by a 'gap' (sometimes referred to as a 'cross-cultural gap' or a 'linguistic deprivation gap'). The 'gap' is between the mental/skill development of those reared in an Apartheid/Bantu Education/authoritarian-based environment and the skills/attitudes required for easy maneuverability in the prevailing commercial/technological environment.

Components of the gap are certainly cultural or linguistic, but at root they are the result of an impoverished, bleak and selective exposure. The educational growth and development of blacks under the Apartheid system has been characterised by a withholding of the tools and a neglect of the implicit norms and skills which would allow them easily to work within, understand and fully participate in the South African environment.

The problem in the learning of English illustrates what we mean. "Blacks have to learn English as a second language and then use that unfamiliar language as the medium for most of their studies. These studies demand English First Language Skills. At the same time they should be learning cognitive and communicative skills which will allow them to understand and use prevailing philosophy, science and technology. They need to develop confidence in their ability to deal with the world around them. In common with students all over the world, they are faced with a flood of information and persuasion, much of which is irrelevant, trivial and confusing. They need to develop not only ease, fluency and accuracy in the use of English, but powers of discrimination and independent thinking".

The SACHED TRUST has been active in attempting to solve these problems since its inception. Through its experience both in the training of teachers and in grappling with the 'gap' we feel that we can provide a programme which will begin to take us in the direction of a solution.

AIMS OF THE ENRICHMENT PROGRAMME

The aim of the programme is to work with and train teachers to use an appropriate methodology and tested materials which will enable them to provide a 'total enrichment experience' to students within the school or in an extra-mural system. The methodology and materials will develop those thought and psychological processes which have been stunted by the education received by blacks. At the same time the programme will provide firm foundations on which to build the skills of communication, classification, analysis and conceptual understanding which will allow blacks to compete with less disadvantage in the South African system.

The broad components of the course will be: 'English Skills'; 'How to Read and Study'; and 'Mathematical Concepts'."

One begins to suspect why David Adler and Clive Nettleton were banned. They were trying to spread new

ideas on black education in South Africa, based on concepts which would be regarded not only as foreign but also as frightening by those who hold the Bantu Education reins. Yet the kind of education SACHED wants is the kind of education most black students want and unless the new black education deal attempts to provide it the state of discontent in black schools will become endemic.

At this critical stage in black education a sensible government would have been consulting David Adler and Clive Nettleton, not banning them. The bans are not only a tragedy for them personally they are a tragic blow to the changing black educational scene. One hopes that, in spite of these grave losses, SACHED itself will be able to continue to play the innovative role it has set itself. □

THE BACKGROUND AGAINST WHICH SACHED WORKS

Reprinted from the SACHED TRUST Annual Report 1977.

1. PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE

From the time of the introduction of Bantu Education until 1970, the expenditure on black education was fixed. This meant that although there was an increase in the number of students in the schools, the amount per student dropped.

In 1970, the system of finance was revised with final adjustments being made in 1972. The result has been a rise in per capita expenditure from R17 to R50. However, this must be compared with a rise from R450 to R650 for whites. The rise in expenditure on whites is four times the total expenditure on blacks.

The small amount spent on black education is justified by its apologists on two grounds: firstly that blacks should finance their own education, and secondly that as the opportunities within the black economy are small and the demand for skilled manpower in the white areas is the preserve of whites, the need for higher training amongst blacks is small. There have been adjustments to the realities of the economy and the need for the development of a civil service to man the governments of the Bantustans in recent times, but the principle of inequality remains. There have also been promises of developments in black education with compulsory education to be introduced eventually with certain interim steps, e.g. the provision of text books, but the ideal of a complete separation remains even if it is increasingly recognised as a practical impossibility. Certainly there is no thought of a common education system or common schools.

2. SCHOOL ENROLMENTS

Tables 1 and 2 give an indication of the development of the system in recent times. The following features are particularly noticeable.

- a) The number of pupils in school increased dramatically between 1962 and 1972, rising from 1,6 million to 3 million.
- b) However, the distribution of students has not changed significantly. There is still a very high dropout rate with very large numbers not even completing the first four years. The exact dropout rate is hard to calculate as there are large numbers repeating and people who drop out and return. It is also significant to compare the distribution of black students with the white distribution. The effect of compulsory education for whites is that the percentage in each form remains relatively constant until Standard 8, where there is a fall-off.
- c) Between 1960 and 1970 the percentage of people in the 7–20 age group in school increased from 32% to 52%, and the percentage of the total black population in school increased from 13% to 18%. In the same period the population increased from 10,9 million to 15,3 million. These increases indicate that there has been a substantial increase in the number of blacks attending school. But the system has not been able to increase the percentage of people who succeed in getting to the higher levels. In other words, the system has expanded, but has not changed significantly in any other way.

3. TEACHERS

An important feature of any school system is the number and qualifications of teachers. The teacher student ratio in recent times has not changed at all. In 1960 it was 1:54; in 1970 1:58; and in 1973 1:56.

Table 3 shows the number and qualifications of teachers

and compares them with the white teaching profession. The low qualification of black teachers is obvious. The whole system at this level is clearly inferior to that of whites. There is also a clear hierarchy: whites at the top, followed by Asians and Coloureds, with Africans at the bottom.

TABLE 1

	NUMBER OF AFRICAN STUDENTS IN SCHOOL — 1962 AND 1972		NUMBER OF WHITE PUPILS IN SCHOOL
	1962	1972	1975
— Standard 2	1 001 480	1 700 656	253 247
Standard 2	203 792	359 339	77 716
Standard 3	153 688	301 232	78 669
Standard 4	112 103	222 913	78 169
Standard 5	85 466	176 109	74 901
Standard 6	71 738	161 472	
Form I	21 730	63 733	78 865
Form II	14 594	47 256	74 839
Form III	10 823	32 074	75 492
Form IV	2 006	9 909	56 102
Form V	969	4 814	43 776
	<u>1 678,388</u>	<u>3 079 507</u>	<u>891 976</u>

TABLE 2

	DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN PUPILS— 1962 AND 1972		DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE PUPILS
	Percentage in each class.		
	1962	1972	1975
— Standard 2	60.0	55.2	28.0
Standard 2	12.1	11.7	8.6
Standard 3	9.2	9.8	8.7
Standard 4	6.7	7.2	8.7
Standard 5	5.1	5.7	8.2
Standard 6	4.3	5.2	
Form I	1.3	2.1	8.7
Form II	0.9	1.5	8.3
Form III	0.6	1.0	8.4
Form IV	0.1	0.3	6.2
Form V	0.06	0.2	4.9

TABLE 3

TEACHERS QUALIFICATIONS:

	African	Coloured	Indian	White	TOTAL
Professionally qualified with:					
University degree	1 143	678	1 186	12 938	15 945
Matric or equivalent	6 488	5 610	4 449	28 394	44 941
J.C. or equivalent	33 598	16 633	945		51 156
Standard 6	14 399				14 399
Other qualifications (e.g. technical)	1 542		4		1 546
No professional qualifications but:					
University degree	60	54	26	1 096	1 236
Passed some univ. subjects	78				78
Matric or equivalent	591	476	89	1 479	2 635
Technical or other vocational	95	72	5		172
Not matriculated and no technical or other qualifications:	10 169	1 282	133		11 584
	<u>68 083</u>	<u>24 805</u>	<u>6 837</u>	<u>43 907</u>	<u>143 632</u>

The poor standard of school education for blacks over a long period in South Africa, combined with a high dropout rate, has resulted in a generally low standard of education among blacks. The illiteracy rate in urban areas is 39% while a further 37% have not completed primary school. The following table gives a breakdown of the educational levels of the urban African population in the 20–49 age group.

EDUCATION LEVELS, URBAN AFRICAN POPULATION (20–49) 1975

	No. at each level	%
None	864 528	32.3
– Standard 2	184 258	6.9
Standard 2	215 211	8.0
Standard 3	233 557	8.7
Standard 4	267 527	10.0
Standard 5	284 404	10.6
Standard 6	363 181	13.6
Standard 7	94 496	3.5
Standard 8	108 939	4.1
Standard 9	41 169	1.5
Standard 10	20 933	0.8
TOTAL	2 678 204	100%

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