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reality

A JOURNAL OF LIBERAL AND RADICAL OPINION

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EDITORIALS

1 FOR WHITES ONLY

Our rulers argue that it is only right that the April elections should be for whites only. Do not the Africans have their own elections? And do not the Coloured people have their own elections? And will not the Indian People soon have theirs too?

It sounds very beautiful, but it is a meretricious playing with words. The fact is that the white elections decide those things which most affect all our lives, while the other elections decide trivialities and cannot influence the things

which concern black people most, better wages, black trade unions, free and compulsory education, freer movement, and the removal of the humiliations and hardships of Apartheid.

If despair is ever permissible, one might be permitted to despair after reading the political headlines. The United Party is telling Afrikaners that the Nationalists are selling them down the river, while the Nationalists are telling English-speaking South Africans that the United Party is selling them down the river.

Both Nats and Progs tear the U.P.'s Federation policy to pieces, both Nats and U.P. tear the Prog policy to pieces, both U.P. and Progs declare that Apartheid has gone bankrupt. The Democrats have decided on the common future of whites, Coloured people and Indians, but still believe in punishment beyond the reach of the courts of law. Both Nats and Progs predict the early break-up of the U.P. while those U.P. members who were at each other's throats a short while ago are going about arm-in-arm and the right wing is calling in the U.P. left wing to pacify discontented U.P. verligtes.

On the outskirts hovers the H.N.P. like a jackal on the prowl for scraps. It is the most consistent party of them all. It knows where it is going, which is nowhere, because it means to stop where it is. It stands for no change, no concessions, no mixtures, no shoulder-rubbing. It survives by a miracle of anticerebration.

Watching this great performance is a multitude of spectators, some nineteen million if you count the children. Even if you do not know what is going on, the spectacle is fantastic. There are blows, cries, imprecations, warnings, accusations, promises. The great issue is the future of 23 million people, but 19 million of them sit in the stands for spectators. Democracy has taken a beating in Russia, Spain, Greece, Brazil. But the strangest of all its varieties is to be found in our own country.

The conclusion is foregone. The Nationalists will do more or less as well as ever. The U.P. will do more or less as poorly as ever. The Progs could actually quadruple their number of M.P.'s and while this would be a great help to Mrs Suzman, and would improve the quality of parliamentary debate, it will not materially affect the future of our country. The Democrats might get one seat, and they might not. The H.N.P. will get the Lion's leavings. Everything will seem the same as before.

Is there any chance that things might not be the same as before? It is legitimate to speculate.

Both Nationalists and Progressives expect a break in the United Party. They believe that the Cadman-Streichers and the Basson-Schwarzes are really incompatible, and do not want to be reconciled. The white forces for change seem to be growing more articulate. That they are composed of white and affluent people is indisputable. But that white and affluent people might come to their senses is a possibility. Indeed in the days of the Liberal Party some white and affluent people **did** come to their senses. And what is more, though they were outlawed as a party, their influence in present-day politics is evident.

Is it possible that the white forces for social change in the United Party will seek allies in the Progressive Party?

It seems possible. Will the white forces for change in the Nationalist Party also seek allies? That seems less possible. Nationalists believe that if there is to be change, it is the Nationalist Party that must initiate, guide and control it. Will the Progressives be favourable to a new alignment? It seems very possible. As for the Democrats, it is difficult to say; at the moment they are a person not a party.

Whether there is a re-alignment or not, it is possible that out of this all-white election one good thing may come, and that is the acceptance of the necessity for black South Africans to play an active and equal part in the planning of the Future. It is difficult for whites to persuade whites that radical change is imperative, but white people cannot sit down with black people amicably and regularly and with good intention without beginning to understand it. Whether there is to be a Convention, or a consultative committee, or regular consultations, the results must be good. Whether the Nationalists join in or not – and it seems unlikely that they will – these things must be done, and the broader the white front the better. It is difficult any longer to find any advantage whatsoever in consultations between blacks and whites if the whites cannot agree amongst themselves about the future.

This agreement need not be dogmatic and detailed, or partake of the nature of a blueprint. This leads to inevitable dissension and we cannot afford it. We haven't the time for it.

White politicians must however agree on certain essentials. They are consulting black people with the intention of planning for the sharing of power, the sharing of wealth, the sharing of responsibility.

Above all the white politicians must not forget that the most important and most difficult of all the immediate questions is the future political constitution of what is called "white" South Africa, with its four million whites, its 2 million Coloured people, its three quarter million Indians, and its permanent "temporary" black population of at least six million.

The planning of such a constitution will need much courage and imagination from the white participants, and much wisdom from the black ones. But even the adumbration of it would have a profound effect on South African politics. The Nationalist Party would not be immune.

If this is one of the consequences of our all-white election, then some good will have come out of what is to many of us a farce and a travesty of democracy. □

2 'IN DEFEAT, DEFIANCE'

"Gentlemen, you are today what you were yesterday" is one of the great phrases of the French Revolution. We Liberals must make it our own, despite the two wicked and indefensible Acts of Parliament rushed through by steam-roller methods in the dying days of a dying Legislature.

These Acts aim at ruining certain organisations by depriving them of overseas contribution and by abolishing the right of private meeting. (The right of public meeting went long ago.)

The hope of the Government is that these measures will eliminate all effective opposition to its policy of racial separation. We patriotic South Africans who wish to keep open channels of communication between the races and save our beloved country from the ruin and revolution to which Government policy is leading us wish to serve notice on the Government that we are today what we were yesterday, that our views have not altered and will not alter, that we shall continue to work, under every disadvantage, for racial goodwill, for freedom and for the rule of law in our country, that in short our motto is Winston Churchill's motto: "In defeat, defiance."

If we are precluded from obtaining money from the outside world (and much of this money is given for pure research) we shall try to raise it, as we already have done, from within our own borders. There is much wealth in South Africa. We shall make our motto not only "Cry, the beloved country", but "Pay, the beloved country".

But what of the right of private meeting? The Government's proposals amount to giving the Security Police control over

all our personal contacts. We need not waste printer's ink in demonstrating the wickedness of this, but we hope that our courage and resource may demonstrate its impracticability.

No Government in the world, no secret police anywhere, can eliminate all personal contacts. To advise people to defy orders issued under this law, indefensible as it is, is no part of our present programme. What we must and shall and do decide is not to do the Government's dirty work for it. "We are today what we were yesterday", only with more ingenious resource and more dauntless courage. Even if we have to obey immoral orders under this Act, do not let us forecast these orders and refrain from arranging a gathering for fear that it may be prohibited. If it is prohibited and we feel it our duty as citizens to accept the prohibition, let us accept all that is in it but no more than is in it. Do not let us help the forces of reaction by trying to avoid the issue of an official Order. Let us go on, with prudence yes, but also with undiminished courage. This is a life-long struggle and the forces of democracy and justice, though sorely wounded, may never surrender.

"Gentlemen, you are today what you were yesterday". On, then, into the conflict. Generations to come will honour you for your courage. But even if this should not be so, we must still fight on for we can do no other. Duty is duty, true patriotism must oppose false patriotism and true zeal for justice must stand up to legal rules forced on us against all the true principles of justice and right.

On then for the beloved country and for the yet more beloved ideals of equity and liberty.□

Articles printed in REALITY do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the Editorial Board.

The March issue of Reality was numbered Vol. 7 No. 1. This is incorrect. It should have been Vol. 6 No. 1

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LEO MARQUARD

FOUNDER, FRIEND AND FIGHTER

by Edgar Brookes



Leo Marquard

The Natal Witness

Leo Marquard was a Founder. He founded NUSAS, he founded the Liberal Party, he was a foundation member of the Institute of Race Relations. He was thus a pioneer of South African thought.

Leo was also a wonderful friend. None of those who worked with him can think of him as anything else. He was always the same, always good-humoured, always tolerant. If you met him after a long interval you found in him the same friend whom you had last seen years ago. Leo was a fighter — not an aggressive “militant” but a steady soldier, courageous in attack, unbroken in defeat. He was of the same metal as the British soldiers who sang “Tipperary” on the Retreat from Mons. Disappointment did not sour him, vituperation did not inflame him. He was unconquerable.

He had that unusual and wonderful combination of enthusiasm and patience. He believed profoundly in education as a weapon. A true liberal, he did not scorn reason, and had no time for histrionics, superficial emotion and meaningless violence. He wrote much — and how well and lucidly he wrote! — and during his years with the Oxford University Press gave to the public other peoples’ writing which but for him might never have been published. In the Army Educational Services he did work of great value.

He never ceased to be a good South African. His vocation was not one of exile and protest but of persevering and courageous work in his own country. We thank God for him.

“ His life was gentle and the elements
So mixt in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world ‘This was a man.’”

How much he owed to his valiant and understanding wife. To our dear Nell we offer our sympathy and our pride in him whom she and we have lost. □

Leo Marquard was born in 1897 in Winburg in the Free State.

He was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford University where he graduated with a B.A. (Hons.) degree and a Diploma in Education in 1923.

In 1924 he founded Nusas.

From 1939–45 he helped Dr E. G. Malherbe in establishing the army education services and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel and awarded the M.B.E. (military).

In 1945 he represented South Africa at the inaugural conference of UNESCO with J. H. Hofmeyr.

From 1946–62 he was Editorial manager of The Oxford University Press, Cape Town, during which time he helped found the Liberal Party.

In 1973 he was awarded an honorary Doctorate of Laws by The University of the Witwatersrand.

In May 1974 a second honorary degree will be conferred posthumously on him by The University of Natal.

He was a member of the Editorial Board of Reality.

PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN LABOUR

An address given at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg

by B. I. Dladla

Africans, like all other peoples of the world, are striving to acquire skills and trades to enable them to sell their labours somewhere in the open labour market so that they may live decently in order to serve their people and improve their lot. These are the aims of any people anywhere in the world. A duty to yourself and a duty to the society of which you are a member. But when you are an African there are extra hurdles lying or lain on your way. Of these, two stand out, namely ignorance and poverty.

In fact, it is a vicious circle. We are poor because we are ignorant, and we are ignorant because we are poor.

In 1970 the Department of Statistics showed these wage structures from different walks of life:

Sector	White	Coloured	Asiatic	African
Manufacturing	R315	R 73	R 80	R 52
Mining	R341	R 71	R 93	R 19
Construction	R326	R110	R144	R 49
Central Govt.	R293	R145	R195	R 52

There is no comparison but a contrast. None of the salaries for Africans are shown above the Poverty Datum Line. Yet the bulk of the labour force in all sectors is African. Here is the proportion of the economically active population of South Africa as illustrated by the Institute of Race Relations. Figures are drawn from the Department of Statistics 1971.

Economically Active Population

Race	Population	Percentage
White	1 471 000	20%
Coloured	708 000	10%
Asiatic	161 000	2%
African	4 972 000	68%
Total	7 312 000	100%

The bulk of the economically active population is African yet the wages are not only the lowest but so low that there is a vast surplus reservoir of cheap labour which can be tapped at will from the street at any time. This labour force is kept unskilled and voiceless—not allowed to have trade unions to assure its availability. Skilled labour is imported from overseas. The African is kept both ignorant and poor.

The result is South Africa has the lowest productivity per capita.

In industry today there are jobs of a mixed nature where certain white collar jobs which were traditionally a white preserve are now shared with Africans.

The disparity in earnings is most shattering where all the workers have the same qualifications but are of different races.

In the nursing and medical professions—all nurses, chemists and doctors write the same examination throughout South Africa but salaries take race into consideration. The following figures are drawn from the Institute of Race Relations Survey 1972. These are the maximum annual salaries.

Nurses Salaries

Rank	White	Coloured/Indian	African
Sister	R3 450	R2 040	R 1 620
Student nurse	R 1 920	R 1 170	R 840
Physiotherapist			
Radiographer	R3 450	R 1 920	R 1 620

Notice that the Indian nurse earns 61% of the white nurse's salary while the African nurse is paid 45% of the white nurse's salary. A white student nurse on training earns a maximum of R 1 920 while an African Sister with a double qualification S.R.N. and S.R.M. earns a maximum of R 1 620, that is, R300 less than a white student nurse.

Perhaps money is not all. But money is a symbol of status. The other racial groups have a feeling of superiority toward us because they earn more.

Certainly they can get more for their money. In any case it is true man shall not live by bread alone, but man being mortal cannot live without the bread. However, we are entitled to that bread which is the fruit of our labour.

Whether the ignorance is all our fault or not is debatable. That we are ignorant because we are surrounded by such naked poverty, is not a matter for debate but grave concern.

Although the economic well-being and prosperity of the Republic of South Africa has progressed to a level

surpassing any achieved anywhere in Africa, poverty continues to be the lot of every Black man. South Africa can achieve its full economic and social potential as a country only if every individual has the opportunity to contribute to the full extent of his capabilities and to participate in the workings of our society.

It should, therefore, be the policy of South Africa to allow everyone the opportunity of education and training; the opportunity to work and the opportunity to live in decency and in dignity.

The most feasible way in which to tackle the problem of poverty in South Africa is that of increasing the national income by making a more efficient use of factors of production such as economic resources at our disposal.

The population of a country or at least, that part of it which is of working age, constitutes its working force and if the maximum use is not made of this working force, then the national income is not as large as it should be. Here in our country, this goal cannot be achieved unless South Africa uses to the fullest all of her available labour force.

A feature probably exclusive to the so-called South African way of life, and one which reduces the effectiveness of its labour force, is the migratory labour system. Some of these labourers spend six months of the year in industry and another six months as farm labour hands, while others live and work in gold mines under contract.

From the national point of view, this is an expensive procedure to follow. The high labour turnover in industry sends up its operating costs for, although the worker concerned normally works only as unskilled, he has to learn new routines each time he returns to industry. The ever changing population of

these "homelands" where this labour reservoir is, prevents the maximum use being made of the limited resources a worker has.

There are also several conventional legislative or administrative restrictions which prevent a Black worker from obtaining employment as a skilled worker. Trade Unions registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act may not enrol Blacks as members neither can Blacks work as artisans even for a wage less than that prescribed for white skilled workers.

The regulations flowing from this Act prevent the best possible use being made of available skills because those with some skills of some sort are not able to graduate out of the ranks of unskilled workers and there is absolutely no incentive for those with latent skills to develop their aptitudes. This is the reason you find that the majority of Black workers live on subsistence allowances and are in poverty.

The new labour bill is the first government response to black economic power, power that has not yet won any tangible victory but which will certainly be used in the future. New black unions are being set up and if the government were wise it would recognise them as an inevitable development today rather than agonisingly tomorrow.

As I mentioned earlier, there has been another force for change acting in South Africa's industry in recent years, the growth of the economy. There are some four million whites in South Africa, compared with 19 million blacks. As the economy has expanded the number of skilled jobs has outstripped the number of whites.

It is this phenomenon that has been powerfully used by those who believe that economic progress will ensure that all will come right in South Africa in the end.□

POLITICS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT

by David Maughan Brown

Every time a student voice is raised, or a placard appears outside the gates of a South African university, to protest against some government action or some piece of legislation which the students regard as manifestly unjust, an answering voice is heard down the road shouting "Stick to your studies", "Stop wasting the tax-payer's money" or "You are too young to know anything about it anyway."

These slogans can usually be dismissed in one of two ways. Either one can regard them as the evasions of comfortable men anxious not to have to think about the issues involved, or brittle men troubled by the stirrings of a conscience which, if not shouted down, could damage the skeletal narrowness of their views. Or one can regard them simply as the angry outbursts of prejudiced men who hate and fear those who don't.

share their prejudices, and jealous men resentful of the privileged position of students, and happy to seize on any opportunity to make that resentment vocal. This is the voice of a backward and often deeply bigotted white society desperately anxious to preserve its privilege at all cost, and the sound of its irrational anger can often be taken as a tribute to the incisiveness, accuracy and persistence of the student criticism.

But there are other voices raised from time to time in condemnation of student political involvement, the voices of men whose elevated position and knowledge of student affairs should entitle their comments to be considered with respect. I am not thinking here of the politicians whose knowledge of student affairs seems to depend entirely on the everlastingly unpublished reports of parliamentary commissions of enquiry, and whose reasons for levelling abuse at students are usually the same as those of the man in the street, only more fanatically insisted on in proportion to their greater privilege. I am thinking of learned men in the academic world, in the English language universities at that, who have been heard to say much the same things, sometimes in only marginally sager tones. As, for example, the senior member of the Senate of the University of Natal who told the Harcourt commission of enquiry into student affairs: "Students should get on with their studies and not waste their time and their parents' money dabbling in politics."¹

Any attitude which can be shared by English speaking University professors, Afrikaans speaking Cabinet Ministers and for the most part impressively silent security policemen must, apart from having its curiosity value, be an attitude worth spending a little time discussing, if only to show that its manifestations have been heard and given due consideration before being ignored. My main purpose though is to discuss the suggestion that student political activity should be confined to political societies on the campus which would reflect South Africa's existing White political parties. A proposal being put forward by some of those who recognize that students are entitled to take an interest in politics, but are unhappy with the form that this interest takes and would like, in particular, to see some sort of restriction imposed on the political activities of the Students' Representative Councils.

If we take 'politics' to have two basic meanings, the primary meaning, "the science and art of government", and a secondary meaning, "the principles, convictions, opinions or sympathies of particular political parties" there is for each of these one basic reason why students not only may, but sometimes must, ignore the call not to "dabble in politics". In the first place Political Science, dealing as it does with "the science and art of government" is taken as an academic course by many of the students at our universities and must, as such, be a subject of free discussion and debate. In the second place many students are registered as voters and therefore have a civic responsibility to exercise their right to enquire into "the principles, convictions, opinions or sympathies" of the various political parties and cast their votes accordingly.

But this is to argue from a defensive stance. It is in the very nature of a university that its students should seek

out the truth in every sphere of life and declare it when they have found it. A university, according to Newman, is: "the high protecting power of all knowledge and science, of fact and principle, of inquiry and discovery, of experiment and speculation; it maps out the territory of the intellect, and sees that . . . there is neither encroachment nor surrender on any side."² A university should concern itself with both the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and the training of the minds of its students. In training those minds one of its main aims should be at the development of an intellectual curiosity which, once inculcated, will then direct itself not only at the academic courses on the curriculum but at every facet of the life of the student and his society. Only when this happens can a society reap the full benefits of having made a university education available to its members.

The reiterated demand that students should stop concerning themselves with politics stems very often from a fundamental misconception of the nature of a university. If a university were no more than a professional training school whose function was to drill into its students a certain amount of basic knowledge and a few basic skills, and whose quality was assessed purely in terms of its drilling efficiency and the practical usefulness of the courses drilled, then one would be justified in saying that society is paying for the students to be trained as quickly and efficiently as possible, and that any outside activities which might distract the student from that training are wholly unjustified. This argument would hold good even if one were to say that a student goes to university solely to absorb a certain amount of knowledge and be rewarded at the end of a specified period with a degree graded according to his absorption efficiency. But as soon as one accepts that a university's function is to train rather than simply fill the minds of its students one must accept that trained minds are probably going to find a lot to disturb them when, in their quest for "fact and principle", they apply themselves to the state of their society.

Those who, as tax-payers, shout "Don't waste the taxpayer's money" at students who give evidence of a newly acquired capacity to think betray a woeful ignorance, in their language, of the production methods and finished products of the factory in which they are investing their money. To put it another way, they could be likened to those English tourists who go into restaurants in France, order 'Steak tartare' ("You know dear, with that nice sauce like we had with that lovely cod at the Savoy in Eastbourne."), become feverishly indignant when served with a mound of raw meat topped by a raw egg and a bit of parsley, and cherish a lasting grudge against French civilization from that moment on.

They are, however, right on one point at least. It is to a large extent the taxpayer's money which enables the student to spend three or four years in a privileged position, free of the need to earn his living. The position "free from necessary duties and cares" which Newman, following Cicero, sees as being essential to man before he can be in a condition for "desiring to see, to hear, to learn." If he is supported at the university by society the student owes society an obligation in return; an obligation which

will not be filled simply by applying himself, as he must, to his quest for knowledge, and cannot be deferred until the time when he will leave the university and contribute what he has gained there towards the welfare of society.

The student has, as I see it, two duties to society which he should make some effort to fulfil while at the university. Being possessed, presumably, of one of its best brains, the student should take the opportunity provided by his position of detachment to cast a critical but dispassionate eye at the society which is sponsoring him. If his analysis leads him to the conclusion that, for the sake of example, society has embarked on a course leading to self-destruction, it is no more than common gratitude to say so. In this way society can subject itself to a continual process of critical self-examination conducted by its best and most idealistic brains. Society is not, of course, obliged to take cognizance of such criticism, the student can afford to be idealistic from his position of detachment and some of his advice will inevitably be impracticable, but such self-examination can only prove beneficial. To suggest, as many do, that youthful idealism is, by its very nature, precluded from having anything valuable to say about society, is to deny the voice of the one group of critics whose comments have any real chance of being both intelligent and disinterested.

The second duty the student has is to employ some of his leisure time in doing something practical for society in return for its generosity. A glance at the notice board in any Students' Union will give an indication of the many ways of fulfilling this obligation that have been found, from teaching at evening classes to collecting money for charity, from running medical clinics to investigating wages. Even in this sphere there is much criticism of student involvement. While few would criticize Rag fund-raising as being an example of student "dabbling" in politics – though making the public aware of the dependence of so many welfare organizations on money raised by students is, of course, a "political" act – many would, and do, strongly criticize such bodies as the Wages Commissions as politically motivated leftist organizations trying to undermine the structure of South African society. Leaving aside the possibility that the student's dispassionate analysis may have led him to the, perhaps entirely valid, conclusion that the structure of this society needs changing, it should be pointed out that the Wages Commissions and the Rag committees are doing exactly the same thing. In trying to fulfil their obligation to do something practical for society they are trying to help its less privileged members to achieve a level of existence freed from the more pressing imperatives of ignorance and want, and to gain the sense of personal dignity which comes with this. This sort of involvement, too, can only prove beneficial to society.

These two duties owed by student to society cover all the forms of student political activity which would be condemned as "dabbling in politics". The student's responsibility to seek the truth about society and to declare it when he feels he has found it leads to the statements issued by the Students' Representative Councils, to the distribution of pamphlets in the cities, to placard demonstrations and to the holding of protest

meetings and church services. The responsibility to do something practical for society in return for its generosity leads to the Wages Commissions and the evening classes. Students are thus usually at their most responsible when being condemned most loudly for "irresponsibility" by the man in the street, and are entirely justified in continuing to ignore the call to stick to their studies and have nothing whatever to do with politics.

This brings me to the views of those who agree that students have the right to interest themselves in politics but are unhappy with the way in which that interest is currently manifested. Professor Francis Stock, Principal of the University of Natal, is among this number and his views, as principal of an English language university, deserve careful consideration – even if some of his recent, highly controversial, statements on academic freedom suggest that his real interest lies in weakening a student voice which he finds embarrassing. I quote from his opening address to the Pietermaritzburg campus of the University in February 1974:

"While you are in the University it is of course right that you should take an interest in the nation's affairs, in its political parties, and so on. I remember well when I was a student we had political societies on the campus. A Conservative society, a Socialist society, a Liberal, a Communist society and even a society of Moseleyites, the fascists . . . And these were all active societies, recognized by the S.R.C. of the time, but their activities were not controlled by the S.R.C. I wish very much that similar societies existed here. On the other hand bodies like the S.R.C.s themselves or N.U.S.A.S., regional or national, if they are to serve the needs of the students they represent, must, like the Universities themselves, be apolitical bodies . . .

I am wholly opposed to national bodies or to regional bodies of this kind becoming involved in national political affairs. And I believe the situation in South African universities would be far healthier if these activities were left to individual societies whose primary purpose was to take an interest in party politics, and whose name identified that intention. Don't sail under false colours."

Two obvious objections to this line of thought, quite separate from resentment of the insinuation contained in the last sentence, immediately spring to mind. In the first place it is somewhat unlikely, in a country where Special Branch policemen go, as a matter of course, to political election meetings to keep an eye on student hecklers that Socialist, Liberal or Communist societies would be allowed to flourish on the University campuses. For the students to be reduced, effectively, to a choice between Conservatives and fascists, would rather tend to defeat the object of the exercise. Unless, of course, that were the object of the exercise. In the second place there is a strong objection in principle to the idea proposed by Professor Stock. There are still, and one hopes always will be, some Black students registered at the English language universities. It is a rule laid down by the S.R.C.s,

certainly at Natal, that student societies must be open to all students. But the 'Political Interference Act' prevents Blacks from belonging to any of the White political parties, so presumably Blacks would not be eligible to belong to a Nationalist, United Party, or Progressive society on the campus. The idea of confining political activity on the campus to a few societies from which some students could be excluded on the grounds of colour is wholly unacceptable.

But, and perhaps even more important, Professor Stock's speech betrays an inability to perceive the fundamental difference between British and South African society. As a further justification for the present forms of student political involvement in this country it is worth spending some time pointing out that a system which may work very well in Britain may be totally inapplicable to this country.

The British political scene can perhaps be likened to a vast open-air forum where men of any persuasion can try to convince anyone who cares to listen about anything. The centre of the forum is taken up by the members of the larger political parties, while around the edges the fringe elements carry on their activities to the amusement of most, and the consternation of some of those near them. Provided these activities do not become violent they are magnanimously tolerated, and their authors have little worse to fear from those holding the centre of the floor than a somewhat chilly disdain. If Vanessa Redgrave wishes to lose her deposit campaigning in the East End of London on behalf of the Trotskyite Workers' Party that is her affair; we all, as they say, have our problems. The larger parties may become so absorbed in their struggle in the middle that they forget what is going on around them and ignore the interests of their supporters, in which case it always remains open to those supporters to form other parties which they think will serve the interests of society better.

It can readily be seen that in a democratic political climate such as the one sketched here there is no reason why political activity in the universities should be any more than a microcosmic reflection of the political activity of the society of which those universities form part. Where politics is a free and open debate we would expect to find political opinion in the universities divided along more or less the lines found outside the universities, though we would expect the proportion of supporters of left-wing parties to be higher in the universities than outside. And if students are divided along these party political lines it is unlikely that any body could be found which could speak on political issues with a corporate voice. It is, however, significant that at Oxford and Cambridge, where there were, until recently, no S.R.C.s, such bodies have now been constituted to accord recognition to corporate student opinion.

The South African political scene is patently different. It is not democratic. Where in Britain the debate could be said to be carried on, and the important decisions made, in the open air, here the important activity could be said to go on within the confines of a granite building of peculiarly squat and uncompromising design. The major parties again hold the centre of the floor but it is noticeable

that fringe activities are almost non-existent, there is no movement, merely the odd empty space, around the edges, and, more striking still, only a very small proportion of the community is allowed access to the building. The vast majority of the population throng round the outside waiting with a more or less silent and resigned patience for the decisions about their future to be communicated to them. The walls of the building insulate those who make the decisions from the majority of those who have to abide by them, and allow those within to concentrate all their aim in slinging mud at each other while ignoring the vital issues confronting the population as a whole.

Given this situation it becomes obvious that there is a vital need for a body of people who have access to the building but who will avoid becoming absorbed in the debate on the floor and preserve a critical detachment from their viewing platform in the gallery. The role of these people is to try to attract the attention of those down below to the plight of those standing outside; to give the latter what help they can and to interpret for them the decisions that come somewhat arbitrarily from within; to criticize those decisions from a position of detachment; and to examine and question the architecture and the very existence of the building as a whole. This role has traditionally been filled by the clergy, by small groups like the Black Sash, the Christian Institute and the Institute for Race Relations, and by the students, as represented by the S.R.C.s, at the English language universities.

It is axiomatic that if this role is to be adequately filled by anyone he must avoid party political involvement, for that would be to abandon his observation post in the gallery, to take his place with the rest on the floor of the building, and to lose his perspective in the process. And herein lies the basic objection to the idea of limiting student political activity to off-shoots of the existing political parties. If politically aware students were obliged to limit their activities in this way they would rapidly become enmeshed in the party political bickering which absorbs the attention of most of their elders and would lose their ability to proffer dispassionate criticism. Moreover it is one of the more regrettable aspects of South African politics that the policies of the existing parties are to a large extent dictated by the need to appeal to an exceedingly conservative electorate, and accordingly cover that relatively small area of the political spectrum between very conservative and fanatically so. So if student political activity and comment were limited to the confines of what would amount to campus branches of the Nationalist, United, Progressive and Democratic parties a great many of the students would not find a niche in any of the societies and so would be precluded from any form of political activity. And these would be precisely those students whose comment would be most valuable.

From the point of view of a university trying to lead its students along the path towards a dispassionate evaluation of the truth there is another, very much more important, reason for rejecting Professor Stock's suggestion of forming political societies on the university campuses. This is admirably expressed in the words of the Harcourt report: "the unquestioning loyalty to party

dogma demanded by most political parties is not easily compatible with the critical and dispassionate spirit of enquiry and challenge which should characterize the mental attitude and activity of a student."⁴ Much the same point is made by G. L. Brook in "The Modern University," where he says: "... a graduate whose education has been more than superficial should have acquired an ability to see an opponent's point of view, a willingness to concede the force of his valid arguments, and a refusal to misrepresent them which he can carry into the affairs of everyday life. Such a man is not as a rule a good party man, for a man whose chief aim is the pursuit and open declaration of the truth as he sees it must sometimes be disloyal to his party." The narrow sectionalism and emotive propaganda of party politics are contrary to the ideals of a university, and it would be in the best interests of our universities for political societies along the lines envisaged by Professor Stock to be kept

off the campuses. Which was, in fact, what the Harcourt commission recommended.

This would also be in the best interests of this country. South Africa cannot afford to have the political comment of its students emasculated; and emasculated it undoubtedly would be if it had to be channelled through the spokesmen of various campus political societies representing only the more conservative students. There could be no corporate voice and, worse, that would not matter, as there could be no detached vision to be expressed by one.

It seems clear to me, then, not only that students have the right and duty to "dabble in politics", as that University Senator put it, but also that it is in the best interests of the universities and of South African society as a whole that student political activity should retain its present form.□

¹ Report of the committee of enquiry into Student Affairs. University of Natal 1968. p. 228

² T. H. Newman. The idea of a University. Langmans, Green & Co., 1947 p. 335

³ Newman Op. Cit. p. 93

⁴ Op. Cit. p. 242

⁵ G. L. Brook. The Modern University. Andre Deutsch. London 1965 p. 12.

'IN THE ILLICHIAN FIELDS'

by Patrick Kearney



Ivan Illich

In June and July of 1973 I had the privilege of studying at CIDOC (Centre for Intercultural Documentation) in Cuernavaca, Mexico, and of attending seminars led by Ivan Illich, author of *Celebration of Awareness, Deschooling Society* and *Tools for Conviviality*.

As the calendar of this unusual Mexican institution states: "CIDOC is not a University but a meeting place for persons whose common concern is the reconstruction of society and the understanding of the effect of social and ideological change on the minds and hearts of men. It is above all an environment for contemplation and learning and not a headquarters for partisan action."

CIDOC was originally founded, early in the 1960's, to prepare North American missionaries for work in Latin America, by encouraging them to analyse their motives for wanting to do such work, and also to make in-depth studies of the contrasts between their own culture and that of the countries to which they were going. At the same time they were to learn Spanish. Now CIDOC has severed its official connections with the Catholic Church, and though priests and nuns still attend courses there (a Vatican ban having been lifted) CIDOC now draws a very much wider range of people whose concern is social change, as well as quite a number who simply want to learn Spanish.

NATAL SOCIETY
PUBLIC LIBRARY

There are three distinct activities sponsored by CIDOC: a library and publications section, a language school, and the Institute for Contemporary Latin American Studies (ICLAS). The library has a very fine collection of socio-political documents on Latin America, and the publications department sends very useful collections of papers relating to social change, to interested individuals and groups all over the world. The separation of the language school from ICLAS is of course a reflection of Illich's view that skill training should be separated from liberal education.

In the language school (the 'skill training' section) students have intensive sessions of five hours a day for four to sixteen weeks. Young Mexicans (most of them without any academic qualifications) have been trained to give instruction in Spanish, to groups of four students, in a highly disciplined and structured approach to language teaching. At the time of my visit there were close on 300 students learning Spanish in this way, and for someone who had spent 13 years 'learning Afrikaans' without succeeding in being able to speak that language, it was most interesting to see how rapidly these highly motivated adults acquired a new language!

Fees in the language school are 50 dollars a year (the CIDOC registration fee, paid also by ICLAS participants) and 30 dollars a week purely for the language classes. Those who enroll in the language school are not required to enroll in ICLAS, and vice versa; nor are they automatically entitled to attend ICLAS sessions unless they pay the fee required of ICLAS participants.

ICLAS (the 'liberal education' section) functions simply as an agency for free-lance teachers. Both teachers and students pay the 50 dollar a year registration fee, and 8 dollars a week for each week they participate. This entitles them to the use of the library and archives and to attend the *ciclo*, a session held each day in the garden at 11.00 a.m. These *ciclos* are not unlike the College Lectures at Natal University, except that they provide an opportunity for teachers to 'display their wares'. After this initial presentation of a new course, a student may enroll if he wishes: the teacher may charge a fee of up to 30 dollars (for a course of between 2 and 8 weeks), which he must collect himself.

Amongst the courses being offered in the summer of 1973 were the following:
 "Pre-Columbian Religious Thought and its Survival in Mexico", "Alternative Approaches to Health and Sick Care", "Political Ideologies", "Pre-Hispanic Political Philosophy", "Deschooling as a method of social change" and of course Illich's own course: "Multiple Limits to Growth".

Because my visit was only to be a brief one, I decided to concentrate on Illich's seminar and to try to discover as much as I could about the background to his thinking. Advance notice of Illich's course introduced it as follows:

"Industrial growth is limited in several, equally fundamental and independent dimensions. Not only the overproduction of goods but also the professionalization of services can become destructive. The major tools of society must be inverted, as a necessary condition for a life-style which is both socialist and convivial."

All the meetings of this seminar took place in the beautiful upstairs garden (crupex covered and enriched with the singing of a great variety of birds). The class was divided into two groups the one Spanish-speaking and the other English-speaking (about thirty people in each). As the weeks passed, Illich made no secret of the fact that he found the Spanish speakers far more stimulating: they approached problems with an intensity founded on personal experience, while the English-speakers (chiefly North-Americans) were overly-intellectual in their approach.

Illich lost no time in informing the participants that we were gathered to discuss 'with discipline and austerity' his current concerns and interests. He has now moved on to other concerns than schooling and education, though each of these new concerns is closely linked with the idea of 'deschooling'. Illich's present concern is the transformations of language in the course of the industrial age, and how these mirror a changed philosophy. He noted that in the course of the industrial age a number of concepts that were formerly referred to by means of verbs are now much more commonly



An Ndebele hut in the Northern Transvaal.

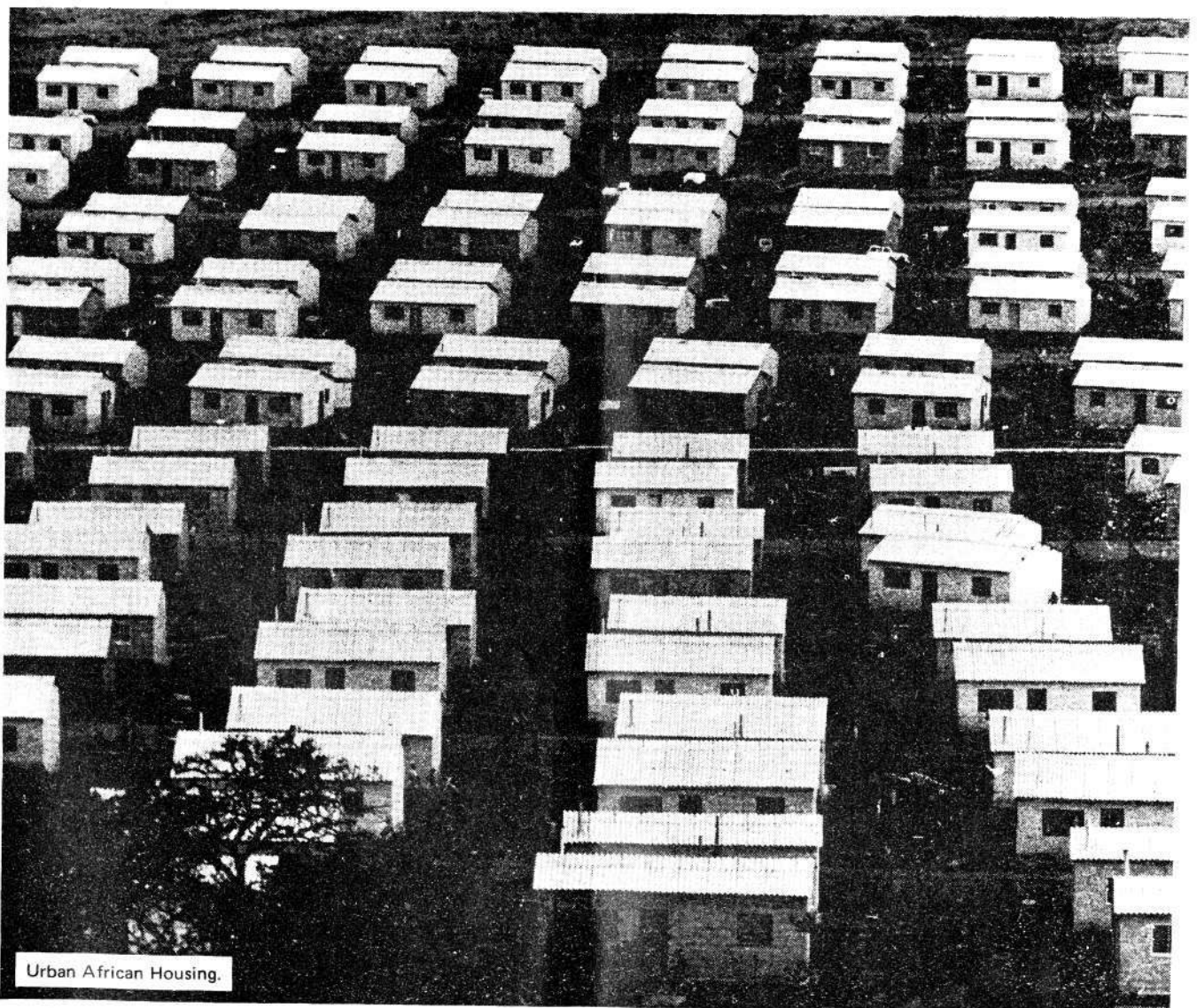
referred to by means of nouns. Whereas people used to make use of verbs like 'to house', 'to move', 'to learn', 'to heal' — they now tend to refer more readily to 'housing', 'transportation', 'education' and 'health-care' — all of which have become commodities which must be provided for people rather than activities which people undertake on their own behalf. As long as provision is made in this way, there will inevitably be a shortage of these 'commodities'. In fact, social inequalities will be sharpened rather than reduced. The richness and variety of human life will be severely limited, so that progress will come to mean, for example, the arrival of township housing to replace the colourful housing of the Ndebele, or the easy availability of Wimpy hamburgers in the most far-flung jungle.

To depend on others for one's housing (or entertainment, health, learning, etc.), Illich stressed, is to allow oneself to be less than human, and alienated from reality. Clearly this is a concept with profound consequences for one's idea of world justice and development. It is worth noting that Illich has taken the ideas of pessimistic ecologists (Meadows, Jackson, Dubos, et al.) and given them a philosophical base. It is not only necessary for man to be more self-

reliant because of the scarcity of human and natural resources — it is also more desirable.

In order to protect both man and his environment from the destructive consequences of the industrial method of production, a variety of limits needs to be imposed upon growth, and the nature of technology used should be selected with great care (Illich tends to class the school and other institutions like jails and asylums as forms of technology). Like Jacques Ellul, Illich regards modern politics as illusory, while most people view politics as **the** arena where the destiny of men and nations is decided. Illich's contention is that it is actually the form of technology used that shapes society rather than the political process.

One example of a controlling technology which shapes man and society, and which Illich refers to very frequently, is the car, with its insatiable appetite for scarce resources like fuel and land. All 'developed' nations have allowed themselves to become addicted to the use of cars rather than to simpler means of transport (like the bicycle) which enable man to do his own moving, rather than taking over that function from him. In the field of



education, said Illich, the library is rather like the bicycle, the school like the car. He made it clear that he is not simply reviving the neo-Luddite argument: he is not against technology as such, but against those technologies which leave man no alternative way of achieving his aims.

It is now close on five years since the publication of **Deschooling Society**, and a suitable time to consider how Illich's thinking on education has developed. For this reason I spent a considerable amount of time in the CIDOC library reading articles that Illich has published subsequent to **Deschooling Society**, as well as resource materials which he had put on 'reserve' for those taking his course.

The greatest change in his thinking has been in his attitude towards the concept 'education'. In **Deschooling Society** he attacked schools as a method of educating people, but continued to regard education as an ideal. Now he questions the value of education, and it is interesting to examine why.

In 1970, during conversations with the German philosopher Ernst Bloch, Illich learnt that Bishop Comenius, who is commonly regarded as the founder of modern school systems, was an alchemist. Subsequently Illich discovered evidence for Bloch's assertion in the form of a record which stated that Bishop Comenius founded an Alchemists' Lodge while he was in London in 1642.

In analysing terminology used in education today Illich found that practically all such words as **process, program, subject matter** and **enlightenment** were part of the technical terminology of the 'great art' of alchemy during the late 14th and 15th centuries.

In order to understand why Illich is so concerned about this connection between education and alchemy it is necessary to remember that alchemists were not only desirous of transforming base metals into pure gold, but that they hoped at the same time to have their own consciousness transformed in order that they might share in the 'great enlightenment'. Thus Pauwels and Bergier state:

The secret of alchemy is this: there is a way of manipulating matter and energy so as to produce what modern scientists call 'a field of force'. This field acts on the observer and puts him in a privileged position **vis-a-vis** the universe. From this position he has access to the realities which are ordinarily hidden from us by time and space, matter and energy."

What the alchemists believed actually happened in the transmutation of lead into gold was the regaining of the nobility of human nature, those qualities which Adam lost, and which are to be regained so that man may become the new man, differing from others in some complete and perfect way so that comparison with other men is no longer possible. It is clear then that from a Christian viewpoint, Alchemy denies the salvation and regeneration of all men through the incarnation,

death and resurrection of Christ, and substitutes for this an exclusive and quasi-magical transforming process.

Bishop Comenius' writings on education gave rise to a subtle but important change of emphasis — transference of the responsibility for education from the learner to the teacher. The accent was no longer to be on the learner's responsibility to study but upon the teacher's duty to instruct. Education became a process which was 'done to people', rather than an activity which they undertook on their own behalf. Once Comenius' approach became popular, people no longer thought of going to a school or university to 'read history or philosophy or the classics', but **to be educated**, to be, as it were, the subjects of a process undertaken by someone else. In our own age we state it even more crudely — the aim is to **get an education**.

The connection of alchemy with modern schooling practices becomes startlingly clear when one recalls that the alchemists had devised a series of 12 stages through which metals had to pass in order to become gold, and through which the alchemists' soul passed in the process of reaching the higher enlightenment. These 12 stages bear a rather disturbing resemblance to the 12 years of compulsory schooling through which we believe all children must pass in order to become fit for society! As Illich states:

The alchemist sought to refine base elements by leading their distilled spirits through twelve stages of successive enlightenment, so that for their own and all the world's benefit they might be transmuted into gold. Of course, alchemists failed no matter how often they tried, but each time their 'science' yielded new reasons for their failure, and they tried again.

Padagogy opened a new chapter in the history of the Ars Magna. Education became the search for an alchemic process that would bring forth a new type of man, who would fit into an environment created by scientific magic. But no matter how much each generation spent on its schools, it always turned out that the majority of people were unfit for enlightenment by this process and had to be discarded as unprepared for life in a man-made world.

Illich's thought might superficially seem to have little direct significance for the present political situation in South Africa, and in some respects his analyses of school would seem to be disproved by the history of schooling in this country. With this in mind I was anxious to discuss South Africa with Illich, and had one fairly lengthy conversation with him on this point. His first reaction to the merest mention of South Africa was that it is not a country that he likes to think about very much, in view of his experience of racial discrimination at the hands of the Nazis.

Then I posed him the following problem: if it is true, as he asserts, that schooling is a method of 'domesticating' people rather than 'liberating' them, why has the South

African government consistently refused to impose compulsory schooling on the black population, while its opponents have made this demand regularly. His reply was that if the government does really want to succeed in dominating the blacks and keeping them in a subservient position, then indeed it must impose compulsory schooling **and** integrate the universities! Unfortunately, immediately after this statement Illich was called away, leaving a somewhat dazed listener.

On reflection I came to see his view as not so extraordinary after all, especially if one bears in mind the depth of his analysis and the long-term view he takes. When there are so many signs of the future collapse of western industrial civilization, it does seem odd to be desperately concerned

that blacks in South Africa should be 'hooked' on our institutional patterns, rather than seek alternatives that will ensure genuine progress and a greater measure of social equality.

My visit to CIDOC and Mexico was over all too soon. I came away having thoroughly enjoyed the stimulation of participating in Illich's course, and meeting students from North and South America who are similarly concerned about the future. Research into the background of Illich's writings had convinced me more than ever of the significance of his analyses of contemporary society. I could not help wondering whether some sort of CIDOC is needed on the African continent, to study the effects of westernization, and intercultural contact.□

PROVERBS OF WHITE POWER.

compiled by Vortex.

1. In order to maintain law and order, it is not sufficient that injustice be done. It must be seen to be done.
2. Let no-one say that we do not recognise quality when we see it. If we did not recognise it, how could we have been so accurate in our assaults upon it?
3. It is quite untrue to say that we object to dialogue as such. It is only **effective** dialogue that we condemn. Indeed the other kinds are a part of our policy.
4. Of course black people must be allowed to think for themselves. But it would be irresponsible to allow them to interpret their own thoughts.
5. Black people must think for themselves, that is, they must think creatively – in other words, in the way which we prescribe.
6. Federation is not enough. We insist that every homeland be accorded its holy right to be independent, self-respecting, neglected, and exploited.
7. Blacks must not be exploited by others, It is our prerogative.
8. If you don't have to make concessions, don't make them. If you do have to, still don't make them. When you **have** made them, say that you haven't. Unless of course you happen to be at the United Nations.
9. We have a right to most of the land in the country. History proves it. We wrote the history books.
10. If a person you dislike has broken the law, charge him. If he hasn't, ban him. If it isn't expedient to ban him, smear him. If it is awkward to smear him, put him on your black list: who knows what opportunities the future may offer?
11. If someone criticises one of your actions, be silent. If he demands an explanation, say that it is not in the public interest to give it. If he substantiates his criticism, again be silent. If he quotes you, say that you have been quoted out of context. When the fuss has died down, ban him.
12. Anything can be made legal by legislation.
13. Don't allow the country to be called a "police state". But make sure that it is one.

THE TWO FACES OF MALNUTRITION

A speech given at the Annual General Meeting of the Molweni School Feeding Scheme.

by Anthony Barker

What an excellent thing it would be if all might eat enough for their needs and none might eat to their own destruction. Nowhere do we see this two-ended dilemma more clearly than in this, our beloved country, for here, in fact there are those who eat too much food and die of it, and others who have too little, and die of that, too. Our own local tragedy is that it can be absolutely depended upon that those who have too little will be black. This is tacitly recognised by the existence of your organisation here, with its splendid, lasting and impressive concern for the feeding of so large a number of school children. Yours is one of many organisations dedicated to the welfare of those who have too little of this world's goods, and too little of its happiness and comfort, also, yet I think you do it better than most, and I'm spellbound by the record that I have read of your work in these past years. To do this kind of thing at all, let alone to do it well, requires great and benevolent cunning, and — which is even more — sheer grit, to go on and on when the returns seem small, and interest flags among the workers. I humbly congratulate you — who am I to say this? — on your work. To which word of congratulation I'm certain that hundreds of satisfied bellies will raise the echo of a grateful amen.

I want to talk about the evening-up process which this country needs (and this world, surely?) in the provision of food and the distribution of the national resources. I begin with an affirmation, which I make loudly and clearly: it is intolerable that some should have too much while others have too little of these resources. I believe this is more the result of man's contrivance than of any natural or historic process. I further believe that this is a time when we must look at this imbalance and cry "Hold! Enough! We will have no more of this rampant greed, nor any more of this wicked prodigality!" This we cry, even though we are never so small a voice, through the great Market-Hall of the world.

To begin with, it seems hardly necessary to discuss with your organisation the baleful effects of too little food. These effects are known in our very bones, and our minds give assent as we see children stunted in growth, or with

bodies swollen with Kwashiorkor. We fear lest these deprived little ones may carry with them all their days the burden of shrunken minds, incapable any longer of rising to the full stature of their manhood. Latterly, work of nutritional scientists, seems to indicate that this does not invariably happen, which must be a relief to our fears. Yet it seems undoubted that such mental truncation does occur in some cases of prolonged childhood malnutrition, and that we should produce even a few such is more than our society can afford. With us, at Nqutu, malnutrition stems from poverty and social breakdown. The poverty is real enough, alas, though, paradoxically there is more money coming into the district than there was, and the traders look prosperous enough. Generally, those engaged in commerce give disbelieving looks to those of us who still cry poverty. For, they say look at the queues outside the bottle-store at Christmas! Truly, this was a frightening sight which many of us saw with horror this year when the better-paid men came back home for the Feast. Thousands — I speak literally —, thousands of Rand poured into that sad trade on the day before Christmas, with an emphasis, the hotelier tells me, on expensive spirits. So how, they say, do we still plead poverty? Because there is a big difference between the cash the Migrant receives in his weekly pay packet, and the sum he sends in his (hopefully) monthly registered letter to his wife at home. This reduced percentage — estimates vary from 20 — 40% of his wages — which cares for his family is not evidence, in itself, of the worker's greed or perversity. Often it costs a man 60 — 80% of his wages to survive at all and pay for his transport, lodging and food, even leaving aside those aspects of la dolce vita with which he is tempted to render tolerable the intolerable aspects of his city life. The money that reaches our grannies' eager purses is more than often pitifully inadequate, even for their country needs: which is poverty, and means for our people, malnutrition.

I have not said that poverty alone is responsible for our malnutrition. There is more to this picture than lack of money, or even lack of food. Under the general title of social breakdown are included illegitimacy, alcoholism, ignorance, prejudice, greed (which operates at the lower

levels of society as it does in high places), and old-fashioned sin (though our sinful society does not love that word). The social sequence which carries a child to our kwashiorkor ward may be daily repeated all over the country: illegitimacy: repudiation of responsibility by the father (for were there not others beside myself?): economic strain within the home brought on by an idle mother and a hungry infant: a need to earn: lack of work opportunity in the homeland: departure of mother and final gogulation (which is the reduction of the child to gross malnutrition by the ill directed, well intentioned care of grannies). This has the inevitability of a Greek tragedy, and can barely be halted. "Depend upon it," said one of our doctors, "if you see a child on its grandmother's lap, sooner or later you'll have to admit it to hospital".

Governments and those responsible have tended to hide behind this social aspect of malnutrition, excusing themselves from blame when, so obviously, the main factors in the breakdown were the promiscuity of the mother, the prodigality of the father, and the ignorance of the grandmother. "Aren't They awful!" is a white man's comment, which may even be made in a sort of compassion though only, I think, in ignorant compassion. Smashed-up societies always generate evil manners. "An empty belly has no conscience," we used to say at sea, and we remembered, too Kipling's reference to the East, where "there ain't no ten commandments . . ." "And isn't this true, also of the arrived end of society? Haven't we held the ten commandments pretty lightly, also? We pay little attention to those sly ones about fornicating (which we call by politer names) and coveting your neighbour's goods, and bearing false witness against him. So we come to see it as true that for individuals to sink so low in the care of their own loved ones, it is society that sets the scene. This is a tragedy acted out before a backdrop of repression and exploitation. It was so in the time of the French Revolution. It was so in 18th Century England, when Hogarth portrayed the exceeding squalor of cheap gin in the already burgeoning slums of London. It was so when Charles Dickens wrote of the poor and wretched and those who lived in 'unfurnished lodgings under the dry arches of Waterloo bridge' How familiar it all is here, today! Here we still have the disgrace of gross cleavage between the rich and the poor: between the powerful and the utterly impotent. Here we still have cheap liquor and expensive bread. Here we still have gross wage differentials; a nation of Bob Cratchitts without so much as a Scrooge to have his heart melted by the plight of his servant. And here we have, over all, the pall of a caste system which precludes vertical mobility within society, whereby the poor might rise up by honest merit and homespun virtue to a recognition of worth. Surely this society must accept responsibility for its poor, its hungry, its ignorant, its disturbed ones; and bear on its own shoulders the burden of this evil? We cannot exteriorise all this pain. It is ours, it belongs to us all, to the politicians and the preachers and the business men and the bankers and the ones successful in professional life, just as it belongs to the poor and the disrupted and the despairing who feel its weight most personally.

So much for the one end of society; the poor end about which we are getting to the point of having nothing more to say, at least nothing that has not been said

before a hundred times, by lips more eloquent than our own, out of better prepared minds. But I do not think it enough to talk—as we consider the evening-up process I speak of today—only of the deprivations of the poor.

As much as to the poor, I turn our attention to the problems of the rich who are about as messed up as anyone can be, with few to look at their dilemma, or make a firm diagnosis of their trouble. Now, of course, I acknowledge that the sorrows of the rich are far more supportable than are those of the poor. I'd rather by far have wall-to-wall carpeting in the bathroom than share a communal privy in the yard. I'd far rather be sure of a place in a good school for my children than live in doubt whether there will be money enough to continue Thokozile's education at all, or, if there is, whether there will be a place for her to study. Yet, for all that, I'm not being perverse in talking about this powerful end of the scale. I seriously mention these because for them the moment of truth has only now begun, and the appreciation of their peril is only just dawning.

At the simplest, nutritional level, I recall that I began this talk by mentioning people who eat to their own destruction. This was not just a fragment of idle rhetoric. Some of us are uneasily aware that the lives of prominent citizens are greatly truncated; that they are mown down by coronary arterial disease at an increasingly early age or fall victims to high blood pressure and diabetes. Are we not to be alarmed by this, also? Are we not to be worried over good minds scattered by cerebral haemorrhage, or blunted by ischaemia, just as we worried about mental capacity lost through childhood malnutrition? Of course we must worry, for this loss is really just as serious. We may be further alarmed by the growing number of Africans within the more prosperous income groups who are moving inexorably along the same pathways to destruction that their white colleagues have long been treading. Obesity, high blood pressure and diabetes are increasingly common among professional Africans, with even a few cases of coronary thrombosis appearing in these latter days. This change in dietary patterns, with its terrible price-tag of avoidable illness, is paralleled often by social patterns which spring up as black and white life styles grow more and more close together. Most prominent among these social disasters is alcoholism, which constitutes a terrible threat to black and white, rich and poor alike. Marriage fares little better, so that that dignified and commodious sacrament is fallen into low esteem among whites and is looked upon with fearful apprehension by blacks. My nurses despair of the permanence of marriage as an institution, and from their doubts draw alternative conclusions. One such is that it is better to have your children — which you can afford on nurse's pay — without the added burden of a husband who may well sit back and let you go on earning his and the children's keep. So we see that malnutrition has a dimension both in deprivation and excess. And we see that malnutrition is but a part of a pattern of social decay which operates not only at the poor end of society, but at the prosperous end as well. Each end might wish, in a guarded sort of way, to change places with the other. Certainly the underfed would wish for more food, while the satiated play around with their polyunsaturated fatty acids like stockbrokers on the share market, victims

of every gimmicky faddist who wants to make a living out of the dietary guilts of the wealthy.

OH! Wretched men that we are! How do we get out of these, our dilemmas? I think we are not yet ready to do so until we have gone more deeply into our problem, and made a more trenchant diagnosis. But, even as we stand, we sense that we are coming to the end of things. The great social questions: must this man starve that I may eat? must this man be a slave that I may be free? are presently demanding of us, answers.

Since this is a society whose purpose is feeding, I concentrate on the first part of our question, though we shall remain aware also of the second, since it is relevant to our dilemma. And the answer to the first part of the question is that we cannot all eat equivalently well with society as it is presently organised and food production through the whole world remains at its present level. With agriculture, as with every other resource, we have been squanderers which will make us, in the eyes of those who follow after us, monsters of prodigality, thieves of the future. Surely this is the lesson of the oil crisis? I am sickened by official complacency and opportunism here: there either is an oil crisis or there is not. If, as I suppose, there is such a crisis, then let us, for heaven's sake, stop fooling ourselves. At present we are saying that the increased price of gold can keep **our** tanks full right up until the last drops of oil ooze out of those desert wells and oil is gone for ever. We pat ourselves on the back that under **our** hills lies buried sufficient coal for 100 years, or may be even 200 years. In time these are little moments only. It is in the highest degree irresponsible to say that we shall be all right in our time—30 years or so—and then go on with motor racing and the violent abuse of the oil stores we have. I think the Arabs are right here, calling us to a sort of penitence in the West, over the squandered resources of the globe which the whites, more than anyone else, have greedily taken to themselves. They are saying to us — I speak to my fellow whites—"we will not let you make a good thing out of the only asset we have under our desert soil. We shall stop you—who already have so much—from taking our lives, too, into your lordly hands." Much as I hate and abominate the horrible methods of hi-jack and bare terrorism, I would have us all learn this lesson which these men are teaching.

This is a prophetic time. Which means, roughly, that we may not know all the answers, but we are being made to look at all the questions. This is what those old Jewish prophets did. They had the advantage over us of being able to say that what they thought, was indeed the word of Jahveh himself. "Thus saith the Lord . . ." We today realise that even our elevated status in South African society hardly qualifies us to speak as though from God,

but we need to raise the prophetic voice, all right. This is why I began as I did: to urge us to cry out with our tiny whisper, and say 'enough!' Here are the facts: We are two societies when we should be one. We are, by law, divided from one another in wealth, opportunity, education and the provision of health. We are committed to policies of the preservation of white supremacy that preclude the just ordering of our society. We face, yet do not face up to, the imminent end of facilities which, over the past 75 years, we have come to see as part of life — the motor car, aircraft and dietary excess. Around us, through an uneasy world, there burgeons a new negativism whose sole purpose is to challenge our hold on power: urban violence, guerilla warfare, the anger of utter despair. Drugs and promiscuity sap our vitality, and cast our people adrift on a sea of indecision.

These terrible spectres on the road ahead are conjured up by our human breakdown. We have so completely lost our way; so entirely stopped our ears to the voices of the wisdom of the ages, that we have blotted out God, silenced our consciences and become totally committed to ourselves and our own selfish advantage. For what other than a greedy society would hog, for the few, all the goodies as this society does? What other than a most selfish system would waste its assets as our society of the west does? Who else but people drunk with the heady wine of personal success would be so careless of the nation's potential, permitting an educational system that condemns bright minds to dull tasks, leaves surgeons pushing wheelbarrows, and shuts poets in clerk's offices?

I truly believe we must, as a society, repent our folly and abase ourselves before God for our determined wickedness. Nothing less will serve to clear the ground. If this seems too unrealistic, too hopeful: if we despair of so sweet a change of heart among those who sit in the seats of the mighty, cannot we, who care, study to reorder our own lives? This is a time for going without ourselves, so that others may have more. This is a time for curbing our own ambitions in order to bring essentials to those who do not even have a chair to sit on, a school for their children.

Here, among you concerned people running this feeding scheme, there is little need for me to speak, yet I speak to myself most of all and also to you and also to South African society, reminding that beyond the repair work (which is what we all do) there is building also to be done. Not much, you say, we can do about this: we cannot alter things very much! I think of Wilberforce and Lincoln: I think of Elizabeth Fry and Florence Nightingale: I think of funny old William Booth and Charles Kingsley. They altered things a lot in their time, largely by their **being**, largely by their singleness of purpose. Have we none such among us today? □

A 'SOLOUTION'

WHICH DOES NOT SOLVE

by Edgar Brookes

Federation is much in the air at the present time. It is a strangely elusive conception. When one comes to examine its political implications one finds that no Party is wholly committed to it. The Nationalists are more or less in favour of complete autonomy for the "homelands" at some unspecified time and on some not clearly defined terms. The "homelands" thus freed are to form a sort of economic confederation or "commonwealth" with the Republic, but never a political federation. The Nationalists are not federalists.

The United Party claims to favour federation, but it is a federation of a kind unknown in the rest of the world—a federation not of states but of races. So far as state boundaries go the United Party is anti-federalist. If it accepts the "homelands" it will be because it has to: it never tires of pointing out their dangers. There will apparently be an all-white sovereign Parliament and a Federal Assembly representative of all races. When the Federal Assembly will become supreme, if it will ever become supreme, in what proportion the races will be represented, are points left in that cloudy ambiguity in which the United Party excels.

The Progressive Party is the only political party which **could be** federalist in the true sense of the term, but it is not committed to federation, and its chances of office are too remote to make any federation which it might favour a practical proposition.

There are two other groups which may perhaps be counted as favourable to federation. One is the "homeland" leaders of whom the most vocal is that very able politician Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. Probably the Chief's activities in this field mean no more than his conviction that this is a way in which he can induce white voters who are not committed liberals to agree to an extension of powers for the "homelands". Any really federal "solution" would involve the consolidation of "homeland" boundaries, and then what of the black millions—all the Indians, all the Coloured people and millions of Africans—not living within those boundaries?

The remaining group is that of the liberals. In the Political Report of Spro-cas federation is seen as a step in the solution of our racial difficulties. But is it?

If federation is in any way to "solve" the problems of race there is need for State boundaries which will to some extent coincide with racial boundaries. The "homelands" meet this need. But outside the "homelands" how can boundaries be drawn? One at least of the reasons which made Smuts and Merriman work for legislative union in 1908 was the difficulty of drawing such boundaries. How could the Cape and the Transvaal be divided geographically between English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking whites? The exclusion of the Witwatersrand from the rest of the Transvaal and the division of the Cape into an Eastern Province, a Western Province and a Free City of Cape Town might go some way to meet the difficulty. Certainly English-speaking South Africans, a submerged group despite their possession of the franchise, would benefit by

such a division if we still lived in the atmosphere of the 1910's when only the whites counted. But in the atmosphere of the 1970's could so radical a reconstruction of South Africa ignore the Coloured and Indian South Africans, and if it could not what of the Coloured vote in Cape Town and the Indian vote in Durban? Will English-speaking South Africans in Natal rejoice at their emancipation from Afrikaner rule if it means that they are subjected to Indian rule?

There are arguments in favour of federalism for its own sake, but federalism as a means of dodging the issues of race and colour cannot for a moment be acceptable to liberals who are consistent in their creed of non-racial freedom. It may be that, as Olive Schreiner taught, small states are more free and less inclined to nurture tyranny than large ones. It may be that in a federal (but still race-conscious) South Africa, some of the States may rise a little above the level of the present central authorities. On the whole one would be ready to support federation as such, but with no quickening of the blood.

But how can federation as such "solve" our problems of race and colour? For most South Africans the process of political thought has been one of twisting and turning in order to avoid facing the real issue of the colour bar. If as liberals we believe (and we do so believe) that the colour bar is immoral and in the long run impracticable, we should avoid being mixed up in one more twist in this evasive action.

The challenge of the black South Africans will be no less insistent in what is left of the Republic after the homelands have been excised from it. It may be more insistent. The side-stepping of the Coloured people's legitimate claims by Mr Vorster and his Government has been one of the greatest weaknesses of the regime. Many thoughtful young Nationalists are deeply distressed by it. The Coloured people's claims must still be faced even under federation.

Unless we accept this fact, the propaganda for federation will be at best irrelevant and at worst self-deceiving. The

same applies to the case of the Indians in Natal.

In any federation the composition of the Federal Legislature is very important. What would it be in a federated South Africa?

The main fact for us Liberals is that **THE COLOUR BAR IS WRONG**. To combat this is our first and most urgent duty. It is doubtful whether propaganda for federation will do much to assist us in this uphill fight. □

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STOP PRESS

Reality wishes to record its pleasure that at last some signs of change are visible within the thinking of the White Electorate of South Africa.
