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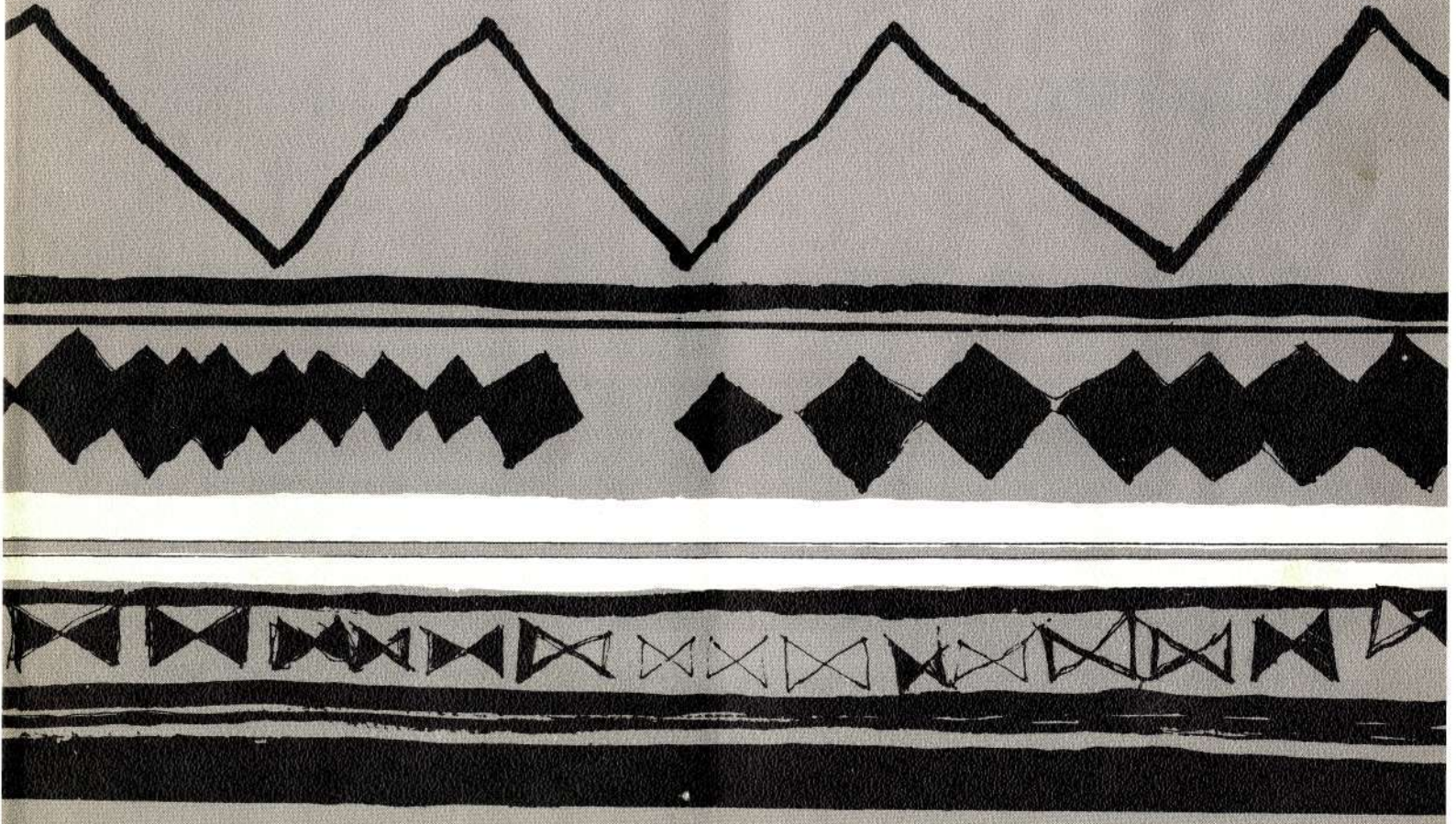
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**INSIDE:**

**Chief Buthelezi speaks on INKATHA**

**M. L. Lupton on Zulu Women's Rights**



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## EDITORIALS

### INKATHA

The last issue of Reality included an article on Inkatha the Zulu-based "National Cultural Liberation Movement". Founded with fairly modest aims by King Solomon kaDinuzulu in 1928, Inkatha lay dormant for many years until it was revived earlier this year, and then formally launched on a new and ambitious course at a widely representative gathering of Zulu people at Bhekuzulu College, KwaZulu, in July. In this issue we publish extracts from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's address on that occasion. In our next issue we hope to have another article on Inkatha—and no doubt in the future there will be others. We make no apology for this. Inkatha is new, we think it is important, and we also think it is going to be controversial.

Inkatha, as it is at present, is an entirely Zulu organisation, and it represents an entirely new approach to the problems of our society. Of all the African groups in South Africa the Zulu people have been the most reluctant to participate in the apartheid game. They were almost the last to join the Bantu Authorities system; did so only under extreme pressure and have spent a large part of their time since then saying

how much they dislike what they are having to do. The trouble is that once you are caught up in the apartheid system, you can criticise it as much as you like, but you are, in the day-to-day management of 'homeland' affairs, for example, largely obliged to operate within its limits. You cannot do anything about the pass laws, or job reservation or the medium of instruction in schools, you can only hope to push Pretoria into doing what you would like done. The frustrations must be endless. There is another side, too, to participation in separate development, this is the danger of eventually thinking that its institutions are more important than they are; of overrating their effectiveness as levers for change towards an open society. It is against this background that Inkatha must be assessed.

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, a creation of apartheid, has, through reviving Inkatha, set up a Zulu national organisation operating outside Pretoria's control, answerable only to its own members, intended to influence the actions of the ZLA, and rejecting the apartheid policies of which that Assembly is an integral part. It is an interesting situation.

While continuing to operate the machinery of apartheid the ZLA has established, outside that machinery, a movement which rejects apartheid and by whose views, it seems, its own actions will be guided. Inkatha, it appears, will be the Assembly's self-appointed watchdog, reminding it, whenever necessary, that its obligations are as much to the people outside its own homeland as they are to those living in it.

The Aims and Objectives of Inkatha, as set out in its constitution, show clearly its Zulu origins, but show equally clearly the direction in which it wants to go. Thus, for example, the first aim is "to foster the spirit of unity among the people of KwaZulu throughout Southern Africa and between them and all their African brothers in Southern Africa and to keep alive and foster the traditions of the people", while the second is "to help promote and encourage the development of the people of KwaZulu, spiritually, economically, educationally and politically". But amongst its other aims is one "to establish contact and liaise with other cultural groups in Southern Africa with a view to the establishment of a common society", and another "to abolish all forms of discrimination and segregation based on tribe, clan, sex, colour or creed." The intention, then, is to use a Zulu organisation to press for the establishment of a non-racial, common South African society. For that goal to be attained the leaders of Inkatha are obviously going to have to keep it very much before their supporters. It is easy enough to whip up group enthusiasm for a group cause but not nearly so easy to carry that

enthusiasm over group divisions to embrace people who are in some way different from yourselves.

There is another point. As Dr Bengu pointed out in his article Inkatha does not feel itself bound to the Western Party political system and intends investigating fully the relevance of indigenous African democratic systems to our situation. Presumably he is referring to the "consensus" politics of African tribal society. We think such an investigation could be most valuable. The rigidities of the present party system, with members bound by secret caucus decisions, need very critical examination. But we also have a concern about the application of consensus politics to our situation and that concern is for the dissident voice. Will it be heard? Would, for instance, the voice of SASO and BPC ever be heard? Their members may say a great many things which we find unacceptable but that they are brave and thinking members of our society with ideas that the rest of us should know about, we have no doubt. Though they will reject Inkatha, we hope that it will not reject them, that due allowance will be made in its development for all dissident voices to be heard.

Reality will watch the progress of Inkatha with the greatest interest, and will hope that it will soon grow from a purely Zulu organisation into one in which any person committed to the ideal of the common society to which it subscribes will be welcome and able to make a contribution. □

## PERSECUTION AND TERRORISM

Dr Monty Naicker, former President of the South African Indian Congress, is 65 years old. For one quarter of his life (16 years) he has been banned. When the most recent of his bans expired three years ago he and his wife applied for passports, hoping, one suspects, to be able to get away for a while from the suffocating restrictions of apartheid. They were refused, as they have been twice since then, most recently this September, when they hoped to have a holiday in Mauritius. Is this not vindictive persecution?

On or about September 23rd Mr Lindeliwe Mabandla and his wife Brigitte, both of Durban, were served with three-year banning orders and banished to the tiny Transkei town of Tsolo, where they are not likely to find work. On or about the same date Mr Mapetlo Mohapi was also banned and banished, in his case to the Zwelitsha and Kingwilliams-town districts of the Eastern Cape, and Mr Steven Carolus of Cape Town was also banned. All four have a common history. They were associated with SASO, were detained for between five and six months each at the time of last year's

Frelimo rallies, and were released at the end of these periods without charge. Presumably they were only released because their prolonged secret detention and interrogation failed to produce evidence that they had committed a crime. One must assume that they have been banned and banished because there is no evidence of the commission of a crime. After the terror of detention comes the persecution of banning and banishment.

Of the many people detained at the time of the Frelimo rallies last year thirteen eventually appeared in court some six months later. The charges were thrown out by the court. Two of the thirteen were then released, two had their cases separated from the others and, a year after their detention, are still waiting for their trials to commence, the other nine are appearing on newly-framed charges before the court in Pretoria. Recently they celebrated the first anniversary of their detention by producing a cake in the court and asking the embarrassed State prosecutor to blow out the candle! A symbolic act; for the Terrorism Act under which the

prosecutor has framed his charges is what makes possible incommunicado detentions of six months or more and trials which don't come to court for a year or more; in other words, the snuffing out of the Rule of Law.

It is anybody's guess how many Terrorism Act detentions there have been in recent months. One only hears immediately of those that somebody knows and talks about. Breyten Breytenbach, the poet, was held for over a week before anybody knew about it. How many members of the South West African People's Organisation are detained? Nobody knows. What one does know is that a series of

detentions of young White people has followed on that of Breyten Breytenbach. What one has heard is the anguished cry of Horst Kleinschmidt's weeping wife, as her husband was taken away "How long are they going to hold Horst and what will they do to him?" The answer is "Nobody knows," And the father of Jenny Curtis "She has a lot of spiritual courage, but at the same time we can't discount the possibility that she will emerge from detention mentally scarred for life."

These are the words of people who know what the Terrorism Act, and its by-product, terror, mean. □

# **“DIVIDED WE STAND, UNITED WE FALL”**

by Peter Rutsch

Wherever one group of people deprives others of a rightful say in the government of their country, the principle of divide and rule is employed. This is true in South Africa. As an example of this principle in action in the administrative sphere, Reality will in subsequent issues, investigate the bureaucratic set-up in the Pietermaritzburg Area and in the lives of people living there.

Without delving too deeply, the following statutory bodies control the daily comings and goings of all of us:

- The Pietermaritzburg City Council
- The Drakensberg Bantu Administration Board
- The Development and Services Board (formerly the Local Health Commission)
- The South African Bantu Trust
- The KwaZulu Government
- The Natal Provincial Administration

various smaller local authorities such as:

- Hilton
- Howick
- Camperdown

and so on.

In addition, Coloured people fall under the Coloured Representative Council; Indians under the South African Indian Council.

The Group Areas Act and the Community Development Act control where Indian, Coloured and Whites live and

work, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development rules the lives of all Africans. In education, a different department determines the educational system of each "separate racial group". The Africans have two systems—one falling under the Department of Bantu Education—the other falling under the KwaZulu Government.

Does this incredible jumble of authorities lead to efficient government; government in touch with the people, respondent to their needs?

No South African with any insight into the South African way of life can answer that question in the affirmative. A simple example is labour, and the right to seek work where you wish. How many of us have had to undergo the indignity of dealing with the Labour Bureau? How many break the law in this regard?

Incredibly, a baby born at the Edendale Hospital cannot be adopted by a couple living in Imbali 'twenty minutes walk away', unless they get a permit under the influx control laws. Incredibly, thousands of citizens pay rates, yet have no meaningful say as to how that money is spent.

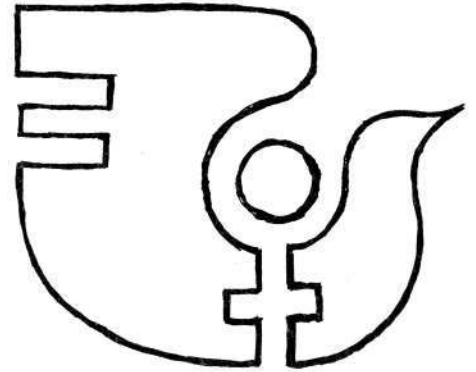
In the next edition, Reality will look at these statutory bodies, explain their aims and objects and try to relate the one with the other.

Thereafter, we will look at life under this umbrella! □

# FOR AFRICAN WOMEN EQUAL RIGHTS ARE NOT ENOUGH

by Thelma Awori

Reprinted from the UNESCO COURIER of March 1975



The international cry for equal rights for women is not the panacea for the problems of the African woman. Whether equal rights have been the solution to the problems of an oppressed group anywhere has yet to be proved. It is therefore necessary that the problems which the African woman faces be examined and their nature determined before an adequate solution is suggested.

My standpoint is that the exploitation which the African woman experiences today, as a result of her changing role within changing social systems, can only be solved by also taking a look at the role men play in society.

So I propose to examine one of the most prevalent problems of the African woman today, namely the problem of increased and ever increasing responsibilities, in the light of women's response to these problems and the proposed international solution of equal rights.

When it is said in Africa that the home is the responsibility of the woman, the statement is not to be interpreted lightly. It does not simply refer to the cleaning and cooking and child-care, but also to the production and preparation of all that goes into making her home.

In the Western world a man works to "provide" for his family. In the traditional African sense this is the responsibility of the woman. The father was important in that it was through him that a woman and her children gained membership of a group and rights within it. He was also supposed to be the protector and custodian of his family and its wealth.

So whereas the wealth, property, children and even the wife could be said to be "owned" by the father and his agnatic group, the responsibility of maintaining and improving those items owned by her husband fell to the wife. Even though the responsibility was great, at least she had the assistance of others in the homestead together with the assistance and moral support of her husband.

In colonial and post independent Africa this situation has been subjected to severe changes. The mobility of men in search of employment and education leaves women with the full burden of the family. From Cape Town to Tunis millions of women have experienced what it means to be father, mother, husband, wife even though they are not widows. The drift into urban areas and mines leaves women without the protection and assistance of their husbands.

Our rural sister is the worst hit by this mobility. Her husband left her years ago to find work in the towns. She might see him two or three times a year, but the rest of their communication is limited to messages and letters often written by others, since both of them may be illiterate. If she is lucky, money may trickle back home in small amounts for school fees or as capital for development. Otherwise she must engage in farming or business in order to keep herself and her children fed and clothed.

The towns and mines forgot she existed when they planned the one room for her husband to live in, and bath and cooking facilities to be shared with other single men. His wage does not take his seven children back home into consideration. Worse still he must have his small luxuries—alcohol and a few prostitutes.

If she is very poor her children may not go to school. They stay at home and help her with the work. Nowadays many children go to school or drift to the urban areas as soon as they are old enough, leaving a great labour vacuum in the rural areas. Cattle have to be tended, the land has to be ploughed, sowed and harvested, daily household chores must be attended to.

This situation influenced Kenya's Attorney General to make the following statement to a conference of women in East Africa: "Although wives have a right to be maintained by their husbands under customary law, in effect, the dying influence of customary sanctions has resulted in many abuses whereby husbands go to work in the towns leaving their wives in the country without adequate provision. This aspect must be remedied."

She is amazingly calm and hardworking for all her suffering, this rural woman. Perhaps we do not take a close enough look at her face to see the anxiety behind her eyes and the rapid aging of her figure. She goes on from day to day carrying out her duties, assuming the responsibilities left to her by her husband. She must protect and provide for herself and her household. It is she who has come to understand and accept the clear distinction between ownership and responsibility; not conceptually but in practice.

As long as she has children her plight is sealed. It would seem that the closer the African woman is to tradition, the more seriously she takes her responsibility for her children. Motherhood has a mystical slavish influence on her. She feels she must always be prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice for them—a feeling not equally shared by the father.

A mother is always a child's last resort. So that to leave her husband's home would mean leaving her children in the care of an equally over-burdened woman and an absentee father. This would not be an especially favourable situation for the children. Yet to take them as dependents to her parents, who themselves need her help, would be unacceptable to her people. So she does what is necessary to maintain her family.

This woman has a lot to teach her urban sister who finds herself stripped of traditional protection and barely able to cope with her new situation. Even if she does come to realise the distinction between ownership and responsibility, it is when it is too late; after she has had a baby by someone who admits that it is his, but will leave the bulk of the responsibility of rearing the child to her.

Many African countries have Affiliation Acts granting the unmarried mother rights to claim maintenance for her child from its father, but the amount is usually ridiculously small, sometimes 3 dollars a month. Kenya, in fact, repealed its Affiliation Act in 1969.

In other cases she might marry someone and find that full emotional and financial support is not as forthcoming from him as might have been expected. The bitterness with which she accepts this situation shows in her face and her manners more than in the case of her rural sister. If she is a working girl she can take care of herself. But she is often still in school and her parents have to bear the responsibility.

Only an insignificantly small number of African women, married or single, are non-income producing members of their families, whether the income is in cash or in kind. This is linked with tradition and with anxiety. The tradition is that African women have always worked. The tradition of polygamy seems to have made it necessary for the African woman to be self-sufficient. The anxiety is related to making sure that ends meet regardless of the circumstances.

In traditional society the anxiety was not as great because society had built-in securities for its members. In the present situation the anxieties, especially of the urban African woman, are tremendous. The family structure, even though still existent, no longer provides all the security she needs.

She is anxious about her own support and welfare. She is anxious about her husband's continued and undivided affection. Ten years ago, in **Kenya Women Look Ahead** (East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1965) C. Oloo and V. Cone alluded to the tensions the modern African woman experiences. Today these tensions are full blown.



Photo Pamela Johnson

World Bank

Many women married to the most responsible men will fear to praise their husbands openly. "He is good today," they say, "but men change, you know." The anxieties of the modern African woman are justified. Men change and the African male has undergone many changes which have also caused him anxieties, the most severe being that of maintaining his image as "the boss". This translates itself into very oppressive behaviour to both men and women.

What is the African woman doing about her situation? The answer is contingent upon several factors. As has been said before, our rural sister is more calm about her plight, especially if she is married and has several children. If she is unmarried and young, the town is the answer with its multifarious means of "happiness", independence, and a life which is physically less strenuous.

Even as a single girl her relationship with men is not rosy and totally to her advantage. She is constantly in competition with other girls who are out to get the big spenders, the "sugar-daddies".

If she accidentally becomes pregnant and the relationship falls apart, she must take full responsibility for the child or leave it in the dust-bin, where the social workers collect babies for charitable homes.

But if she is lucky and her relationship with her man continues, the baby will get support and she might get her rent paid and even a car. These girls are the envy of women generally. Without the obligations of wifehood they seem to be able to get exactly what they want from men.

Men also seem to respond better to this situation, which is free of psychological, financial and legal complexities. A man can step in or out of it whenever he likes. Many single girls and young divorcees find this a perfect situation.

The older, Christian woman will take her problems to the Lord in prayer. After all, she reasons, the life of Christ was a sacrificial one. So why not hers? Without this attitude many of our young men and women today would be unable to boast of an education and a family home life.

Yet this woman too, unable to leave an oppressive situation because of her children, will spend sleepless nights figuring ways of stretching meagre earnings and making the best use of them. She has accepted the responsibility-ownership dichotomy and will take the responsibility.

The most problematic case seems to be the younger, more educated African girl. Regardless of the advice she receives from her elders, she psychologically rejects the irresponsibility of her man, but not without a battle. This reformist believes in doing something about her situation and the battle is often fought on many fronts—psychologically, socially, financially and sometimes even physically.

This is the girl who believes that one's rights are not to be taken away without a struggle. But with what results? Often, in defeat, she resorts to the legal system when she may secure her divorce, only to increase her anxieties. The care of three or four children in a male-dominated society is no easy task for a single woman. Besides, society has more sympathy with widows than with divorcees.

If her elders prevail upon her and she remains in the union she does so with bitterness; a bitterness that produces ulcers, bad headaches, depression and aggressiveness. But this is the fighter for equal rights. Her anxiety moves her to act. She has fought for equal pay, paid maternity leave, housing in her own right, the right to own property in her own name even if she is married.

She has succeeded in achieving these ambitions, but none of these have improved her relationship with her husband. The more rights she secures the more independent she becomes and the more responsibility she assumes. Unlike her lucky urban sister with a "sugar-daddy", she finds herself contributing more than her fair share for family maintenance.

The situation is so prevalent, many women wonder why it is necessary to have a husband. Somehow the African man does not seem to respond well in this atmosphere. He feels overshadowed, overpowered and humiliated.

For those who are concerned about the family as an institution of a healthy society, this situation in Africa warrants examination from a fresh perspective. Clearly the struggle for equal opportunities and equal rights might be more difficult in some countries than in others, but African women within a decade of independence are miles ahead of their European sisters in their legal achievements.

In Uganda, as soon as women were courageous enough to ask for certain rights, by sending a delegation to the President, everything they asked for was granted. In Somalia, a predominantly Muslim country with a military government, women also have been legally given equal rights. It would seem therefore that the struggle for **more** opportunities and rights for women (the word "equal" is totally irrelevant) is not a priority. These are being achieved with the co-operation of men.

The problem that warrants attention is a clearer definition of the male role in African society today and this needs to be done in conjunction with a definition of the female role. Our men are having just as many problems adjusting to the changing circumstances of society.

The struggle for more opportunities for women will solve other problems in society but not the problem of the male-female relationship, which is a human relations problem, and these are seldom solved by laws.

The prevalent attitude of most men towards their present situation was well expressed by one African leader in a speech to a women's seminar. He said, "The wife is responsible for peace and stability in the home. She must create a safe and steady base which would encourage her husband to succeed in the world of business or employment. This attitude on the part of women would reduce heavy drinking and road accidents and would induce husbands and children to stay at home." This statement may be interpreted in many ways, but it must never be mistaken for anything other than what it really is—a **cry for help**.

A statement of this nature shows a strong unwillingness to take responsibility for one's own behaviour. In effect it says, "My role is to succeed in employment and business, but you too must get a job or go into business because I cannot do it alone. And if I fail, it is really your fault because you have made conditions at home so unpleasant for me. You must also always be prepared to cover the tracks of my failure by keeping a smiling face and an appearance of financial and psychological well-being regardless of what I do." The woman, therefore, becomes the scapegoat for all his failures, and not being fully aware of her situation, she fights for equal rights and thereby becomes a better scapegoat.

The African woman today must get rid of this man-child on her back. This is the responsibility, the burden. Equal rights will not rid her of this burden. She must help her man to stand on his feet and discover his role in a relationship of equal responsibility.

The mechanics of how the role of men will be defined and how men will become committed to a more responsible role in their relationship with women is what requires public discussion and public concern. At present our men find their

profession, time spent in bars, and other non-productive behaviour useful facades for their problems.

The task therefore that must begin in 1975, declared "International Women's Year" by the United Nations, is the task of helping our men on the African continent to

# NUSAS

by Edgar Brookes

Few groups of South African citizens have been so ruthlessly and persistently persecuted as NUSAS. It is remarkable that the English-speaking population of the country has protested so little against the persecution of its own courageous sons. For whatever else NUSAS has been and done its members have never lacked courage.

As one who believes neither in the infallibility of the Pope nor in the infallibility of Karl Marx, I am not prepared to argue for infallibility of NUSAS. NUSAS has made many mistakes. It has done the right thing at the wrong time, it has expressed right views in a wrong way. At times it seems as if it has gone out of its way to provoke the authorities. But surely these are characteristics of young people in politics, whether they be the young members of the Afrikaanse Studente Bond or the Young Liberals of England.

Let us get down to ultimate realities. NUSAS is persecuted not because it is provocative or dangerous or unwise, but simply because it is opposed to apartheid. It sees in apartheid a process which is wholly wrong and is dangerous to South Africa. And here we who call ourselves Liberals must examine ourselves and see whether we are really opposed to apartheid in principle. One of my reasons for signing a minority report in the Spro-cas Report on Politics was that there seemed to be too much toenadering with homelands and other forms of apartheid in it. Even if the Homelands were much more viable than they actually are, true liberalism must regard as wrong a system built up on racial separation. The fundamental faith of liberalism has been faith in the individual human being as a person and not as a member of a particular race. To this NUSAS has been loyal and we should be loyal. True, we are all marching forward. The supporters of apartheid have shown themselves much more teachable than one would at one time have expected. The way out may well be found. But that capable and courageous young people should be persecuted for

define their role in a meaningful relationship with women. The training of our sons, an opportunity often forgotten, is an area of great potential. As for our husbands and fathers of our children, the battle seems impossible, but to win it would certainly be worth the effort. □

saying that apartheid is not the ultimate remedy for our ills is something quite indefensible, and that liberals should condone this persecution is even less defensible.

Another point which should be made is that NUSAS has been actuated by motives of genuine South African patriotism, they have loved South Africa as a whole and they have been actuated by a sense of doing the best for our country. Anyone who has known NUSAS leaders and members will certainly subscribe to this picture of them. Their patriotism has been to South Africa as a whole and not to any one section of it, but it has been a very real thing. From the beginning NUSAS aimed at an inclusive South African patriotism. Delegates from the then unilingual University of Natal were surprised and dismayed at the first NUSAS Conference that Afrikaans was freely spoken and they had to be helped out by friendly bilingual members. (This was in the days when Afrikaans had not risen to its present position of dignity).

In the course of the years the Afrikaans-speaking Universities withdrew from NUSAS because of its acceptance of African members, and African students withdrew from it because it was not completely acceptable to "Black Power" theorists. It left the majority of NUSAS English-speaking South Africans, although right up to the present day there have been others in its membership.

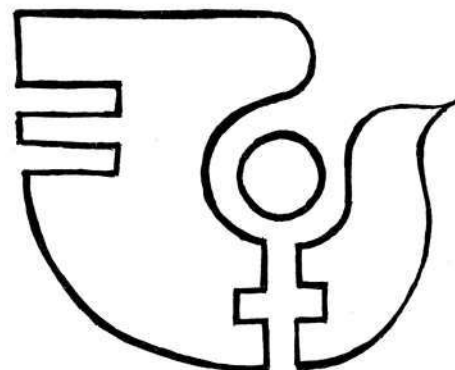
It is not part of the plan of NUSAS to stand for only English-speaking South Africa. It has been forced into something like this position, but never of its own free will.

But it certainly represents the best of English-speaking South Africa in wonderful contrast to the apathy and the concentration on profits of so much of the English-speaking population. If English-speaking South Africa were to wish to justify itself, one of its greatest assets would be the work of NUSAS. □



# THE ILLEGAL DISABILITIES OF ZULU WOMEN

## PART II



by M. L. Lupton

Two million Zulu women bear the dubious distinction of probably bearing the heaviest burden of legal disability (enshrined in statute) of any group of women in a developed country. One can rightly refer to the Natal Code of Bantu Law, Law No. 19 of 1891, (first drafted in 1878) as being a species of legal dinosaur which has miraculously survived the process of natural legal evolution.

The Matrimonial Affairs Act, No. 37 of 1953, greatly alleviated the legal disabilities, mainly of a patrimonial nature, of married women (its provisions are largely irrelevant to African women), while in the Cape, Free State and Transvaal an African woman acquires the status of majority when she turns 21. Despite these concessions the government has, in its wisdom, seen fit to maintain the shackles of feudalism upon Zulu women in spite of having the opportunity when it revised the Code in 1967 to proscribe the repressive sections.

Fortunately, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, realising the plight of their women as being not only a personal hardship, but also a burden to the development of their fledgling state, took the initiative and appointed a Select Committee to thoroughly canvas the legal disabilities Zulu women are subjected to. This committee, under the chairmanship of Councillor S. Z. Chonca presented its report to the Executive Councillor for justice in KwaZulu on the 6th March 1975.

This Committee (of six males) is to be congratulated on the thorough research undertaken in the short time at its disposal and upon the courageous and enlightened report it presented, despite the fact that Government Officials remained opposed to changing the code and failed to co-operate with the Select Committee. They ascribed this to the following, "This attitude is understandable because the provisions of the Code as they stand offer the easiest way out of a difficult problem."

The thirteen recommendations for amendments to the Code were motivated by the Committee as follows, "We . . . feel that vast changes in the law are necessary to take cognisance of urbanisation and the socio-economic inroads it has made in the social structure and the acceptance of Christianity by a large section of Zulus".

The Committee's recommendations can broadly be grouped under the following headings:

### 1. Disabilities attendant upon perpetual minority

- a. The natural starting point was to recommend the removal of the cornerstone upon which all the other disabilities rest viz. section 27 (2) which dooms a Zulu female to perpetual minority and hence to perpetual subjugation and reliance upon a male guardian.
- b. The repeal of section 27 (2) would naturally lead to the repeal of section 28, which makes provision for the emancipation of women. The Committee levelled the following criticism against this section, "... it does not go far enough. It does not even pretend to confer on a woman the common law status".

They also criticised the Bantu Affairs Commissioners, before whom these applications are heard, as being insensitive and unsympathetic to the true legal and social issues involved in emancipation, and of not properly understanding the criteria for emancipation in the light of the altered circumstances of the seventies.

The Code, and its current interpretation by the Bantu Affairs Commissioners, freezes the law as it was in 1878, losing sight of the fact that had they been left to themselves the traditional African Courts of Law, unfettered by legislation, would have adapted themselves to developing attitudes and circumstances in the normal process of evolutionary legal development.

- c. Further consequences of the repeal of section 27 is that African women will be able to contract without assistance and enter into a marriage without the consent of a guardian (sec. 59 (2)) when they are above the age of 21. This together with the recommended repeal of section 26 will also enable a Zulu female to acquire property in her own right instead of on behalf of her guardian.
- d. The repeal of section 27 would also lead to the repeal of section 44 (4 and 5) in terms of which a widow or a divorcee automatically reverts to the guardianship of her father or former kraal-head. This section is in direct contrast to our common law which confers the benefits of majority upon all married couples.

However, to maintain some link with tradition, the Committee suggested that a new section be inserted in terms of which a widow or divorcee who feels in need of placing herself under the care of a guardian may do so of her own free will.

- e. The old section 83 (a) which instructs the court granting a divorce to give implicit directions as to the place of residence of the divorcee unless she is to reside at her guardian's kraal, is also to be repealed and a new section inserted in terms of which she is free to reside where she pleases except that where she has been granted custody of her minor children the suitability of her place of abode must be inspected and approved by her chief or the local authority concerned, in the interests of the minor children. These findings are to be submitted to the Magistrate.

## 2. Marriage and Lobolo

- a. The fact that the Zulu economy has changed from a cattle to a money economy and that something as fundamental as this has been ignored by the legislator and not been revised in the Code, bears startling testimony to the irrelevance of many of its provisions in contemporary society.

This is no more starkly illustrated than in section 86 which prescribes that lobolo shall be paid in cattle and that the standard value of lobolo cattle is fixed at R10. Section 87 determines that the maximum lobolo for a commoner is 10 head of cattle.

Because of the current scarcity of cattle, money is increasingly being used as a substitute in lobolo transactions, especially in urban areas. But because the standard value of lobolo cattle fixed in the Code bears no resemblance to reality, fathers pay scant heed to its provisions which are honoured more by default than observance on this point.

On the other hand few young men can afford the sums of R800—R1 000 being demanded for their daughter's lobolo. This the Committee concludes is one of the factors contributing to the high rate of illegitimacy among Africans.

The Committee thus recommends that the present provisions for a fixed lobolo be done away with, and that the figure be determined by agreement between the parties concerned, taking criteria such as their social standing, wealth and the girl's beauty into account.

- b. The Matrimonial Property Regime is at present regulated by section 22 (6) of the Bantu Affairs Administration Act, No. 37 of 1927, which determines that civil marriages concluded by Africans shall not result in community of property unless the intending spouses appear before a Magistrate or Bantu Affairs Commissioner one month prior to their marriage and make a declaration to the effect that they desire their community to ensue. This is directly opposite to the position in Roman Dutch Law which regulates European marriages.

The Committee is of the opinion that a marriage out of community is not in the best interests of the wife

and children, especially in view of the fact that the husband's marital power cannot be excluded. The husband is free to bequeath his entire estate (with the exception of House property) to an outsider by means of a will, thus cutting off the wife's means of support. If the husband dies intestate the estate devolves according to tribal law to the eldest male relative, who cannot always be counted on to support her. The Committee also recorded the intense dislike it encountered amongst Zulu women for heirs (**ondalifa**), most of whom are only intent upon grabbing the property without accepting the responsibility of supporting the widow and children. Examples of the greed of some heirs which the Committee encountered were that contributions to the funeral expenses had been claimed and in another instance even the yoke and plough had been taken.

The Committee thus recommended that all African civil marriages be in community of property and that these provisions be retrospective, so as to provide a measure of security for widows. They also recommended that the estate should devolve in terms of the Common Law and the Succession Act of 1934.

## 3. Succession and Administration of Estates

The present law regulating succession is one of primogeniture in terms of which the property goes to the eldest son of the deceased in a particular house, or failing a son, to the eldest male descendant. The younger son only inherits if his eldest brother predeceased him leaving no son as heir. The widow and daughters are excluded.

In bygone days the large kraals with their attendant collective responsibility offered security to the widows and children, but this is not possible in urban and semi-urban communities.

Other problems presented by this old system of succession in urban areas are:

- (i) The strict norms and social customs of tribal society have broken down with the result that there is no check upon the avarice of unscrupulous heirs who ignore their duty to support the widows.
- (ii) There are problems of distance to be travelled where a widow is resident in a kraal while the heir lives in an urban area.
- (iii) Because of her minority a widow residing in a township is in danger of being evicted from her home, because it cannot be transferred into her name unless she can find an heir who is her guardian.
- (iv) Where the heir is married by Christian rites the constant attention he is expected to devote to the widow places a strain upon his marriage.
- (v) Where the estate of the deceased is insufficient to support the widow it can also involve the heir in a heavy financial obligation.

For the above reasons the Committee recommended that the role of the senior member of a

polygamous household, presently known as the general heir, be changed from that of the administrator of the estate to that of an overseer and that the widow should administer the estate.

To ensure that the widow does not abscond with the estate and leave her children destitute, provision is made that upon the death of her husband she should go to the Chief, or Township Council and have an inventory of the assets and liabilities of the estate made, which in turn is to be registered at the Magistrate's Court.

These provisions with the recommendations that the estate should devalue in accordance with the Common law (and

not Bantu Law) and that the marriage should bring about community of property should provide the widow with sufficient protection.

#### CONCLUSION

The Committee notes that "... if our proposals are accepted, Zulu women will be at par with the other women of the world and the rest of their battles they can fight on their own. Let us hope that these far-reaching and long-delayed reforms are speedily accepted and the Code amended accordingly so as to finally alleviate the crushing burden of disability under which the Zulu woman groans.□

## MR VORSTER

# AND THE WHITE BACKLASH

by Jan van Eck

Most South Africans are today aware of the fact that a White backlash is building up in South Africa. Although it is a quite recent phenomenon and although it has an in-built ceiling, I believe that we cannot afford to ignore it.

Conservative White South Africans have always existed, but they have never been so outspoken, angry and militant as right now. Allow me to illustrate this. In the Transvaal an organisation was formed on the banks of the Vaal River and the members of the society had to take a blood oath for their cause: "To fight for White survival". The same group rejected the H.N.P. as being 'too liberal' (!).

At a Congress which I attended earlier this year in Pretoria, resolution upon resolution pledged to organise conservatives into a new political party in order to safeguard the White man's future. An interesting new note was introduced, i.e. that not only Afrikaans-speaking Whites should be drawn into the new White "laager" but also English-speaking conservatives. This, surely, makes sense, since verkrampptes have never been limited to the Afrikaans-speaking section of our population.

The group which organised this Congress calls itself 'the Committee for Informing the People' and has established strong contacts with leading conservatives in the National Party Establishment as well as in the United Party. They

also have strong contacts with people in the Rhodesian Government and spread the story quite openly that the Vorster Government is selling them (the Rhodesians) out to the Blacks. Leading South African conservatives have frequently appeared on Rhodesian TV and have tried to convince White Rhodesians that White South Africa is behind them in spite of what Mr Vorster may say.

Although I do not believe that this conservative backlash poses any serious threat to our country, I believe that it would however be utter foolishness not to take serious note of them since they can, after all, exert a considerable braking pressure on the Government just at a time when it should be moving much faster ahead.

The ostrich-attitude which many Government spokesmen and newspapers adopt, i.e. to ignore them and to act as though they do not exist, will not really help. The fact is that they **do** exist and that their ranks extend beyond the H.N.P. into the N.P. as well as the U.P. As and when Mr Vorster moves further forward into the 20th century according to the demands of detente, the White backlash will, of necessity, increase.

This is, after all, what caused the backlash originally; the promise of change in Mr Pik Botha's speech at the United Nations and Prime Minister Vorster's 'six month' speech.

This, coupled with the rapid changes in those countries surrounding us and the disorder that has frequently accompanied this change, has caused fear amongst especially the Whites in the Transvaal—the province closest to the changes.

When two of your leaders declare that your country is going to scrap discrimination; when your Government then acts upon this and opens up theatres, trains, hotels, job opportunities, etc.; when your Prime Minister states with regard to Mocambique that he is “not concerned with the colour of that Government as long as it is a stable one”, and when your Government moves its police out of Rhodesia, it takes a very courageous White person not to feel slightly uncomfortable.

In spite of the fact that the Government tries to ignore this right wing movement which has been established in opposition to its internal and external policies, it is still terribly sensitive and I believe over-sensitive to the prejudices of like-minded people who make up a considerable section of their own support. It is not that Mr Vorster cannot afford to lose their electoral support—he can easily afford to lose between 6 and 12 seats to them. The reason is, I believe, that he does not want to go down in history as the Prime Minister who broke the Afrikaner’s political unity twice during his term of office.

Because of this, the Government’s philosophy is to bring about as many changes as are possible and still to take their people with them. Mr Vorster is therefore going to play a see-saw game between the pressures of detente on the one side and the retarding influence from this right wing on the other side. The end product may, of course, be that he lands up high and dry in the air unable to move in any direction at all.

During the Middelburg by-election the H.N.P. newspaper, the Afrikaner, claimed that the Government had opened **all** hotels to all races. A terrified National Party reacted to this ‘smear’ (overseas they would probably spread this smear themselves) by publishing a full-page advertisement in Die Transvaler which said that only **some** hotels and definitely **not all** hotels were being opened to Blacks.

Pressed by White voters at a public meeting during this same by-election, the Minister of Labour, Mr Marais Viljoen, said that the jobs of Blacks would, during difficult times, be given back to Whites. So while the Government makes some bold moves into a more enlightened direction, it undoes a lot of this by pandering to the prejudice of its own followers. It puts a serious question mark behind the sincerity of the Government’s declared intention to move away from discrimination—permanently or only temporarily. It puts an even more serious question mark behind the Government’s ability to make the promised changes.

I believe very strongly that the Government will never be able to bring about the sort of radical change that is needed if it insists on keeping its verkrampte right wing in its midst.

If one talks for long enough with prominent Nationalists, they admit that this is true, but they also admit that they do not know what to do about this.

And, it is in the light of this pessimism, that talk about a so-called ‘compassionate dictatorship’ has started. As fear for the consequences if detente should fail and a belief that Mr Vorster’s own people will not allow him to move far and fast enough have made many prominent Nationalists admit to me, in all seriousness, that they wonder whether a compassionate dictatorship is not the only way out. “Then, Mr Vorster”, they say, “can make all the changes that have to be made without worrying about the results at the ballot box”.

Besides the fact that very few such dictatorships remain ‘compassionate’ for very long, and besides the fact that there is another far more honourable way out for Mr Vorster, i.e. to get rid of his right wing before he becomes-like Mr Ian Smith—their captive, most people in opposition and especially Black South Africans will see this move (justifiably) as merely the entrenchment of White Power and an effort to extend White ‘baasskap’, however compassionate it may be, for ever.

I believe that there is another way to make Mr Vorster do the “impossible” (scrapping his right wing) and that is to pose a more serious threat to him from the left. A determined enlightened opposition on Mr Vorster’s left can pose a very serious threat to him with regard to his more verligte supporters. The stronger this threat, the more Mr Vorster will be forced into a situation where he will just have to choose between losing his right wing, or his left wing—or otherwise resort to this so-called ‘compassionate’ dictatorship.

This is why a powerful opposition party on Mr Vorster’s left—a party such as the new Progressive Reform Party—is so crucial. The stronger it is, the stronger its support amongst all sections of South Africa’s people—White and Black, Afrikaans and English—the less Mr Vorster, or anyone else in his cabinet, will be tempted to resort to some sort of dictatorship.

Personally, I put my bet on Mr Vorster and his Government moving much faster left if pressed to do so, because he realises what the cost of declaring a dictatorship will be.

- \* the end of detente with Africa, not because Africa is necessarily opposed to one-party rule, but because it will also be seen as oppression of the Blacks;
- \* world-wide action against South Africa;
- \* internal resistance from liberally minded people—Black and White.

If Mr Vorster overcomes his fear of again splitting the Afrikaner politically, I believe he will move forward at a much faster pace, scrapping his right wing, realising the benefits of such a move:

- \* the success of detente on an impressive scale (this will open up the door for him to resign on the crest of a wave);
- \* world-wide growth in acceptance:

\* the retention of his powerful verligte supporters and the gaining of new support to his left, especially amongst English-speaking people.

There is no logic, although a lot of emotion, in the argument that because Mr Vorster has altered course, one should now support him. Being a pragmatist, Mr Vorster moves under pressure. The sports policy should illustrate this clearly enough. One wonders what sports policy we would have had today if there had not been someone called Peter Hain!

If all enlightened people should join Mr Vorster now, the strongest reason for him to move further and faster would

disappear and his right wing would again grow in importance.

If one therefore directs an appeal to all enlightened South Africans to help build up the Progressive Reform Party into a powerful verligte force, one is not in the first instance motivated by party-political reasons. One does it in the belief that only such a strong force on Mr Vorster's left can force him to scrap his right wing and move more boldly in an enlightened direction.

**And**, one does it in the belief that the pressure of such a Party will make anyone who is considering establishing a dictatorship, seriously think twice. □

# RELIGION AND PREJUDICE

A Review of "Religious Beliefs and White Prejudice" by Robert Buis  
Raven Press 1975 R2,40

by Colin Gardner

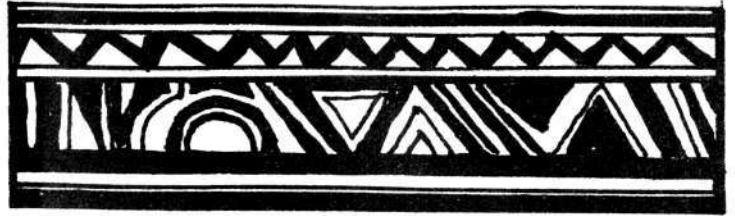
This is an interesting little book. It records a sociologist's attempt to demonstrate in an objective way his suspicion that the attitudes of white South African Christians are partly affected by the specific nature of their religious beliefs.

He proves his point conclusively. He takes samples of white members of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Presbyterian Church and the Roman Catholic Church, and, having conducted a survey, he finds that the former have a distinctly "less favourable attitude towards blacks" than the latter. The Presbyterians fall in the middle, but closer to the RCs than to the DRCs.

To a layman all this may sound fairly simple; but it isn't. The book is partly an account of the concerns, problems and techniques of a practising sociologist. Mr Buis discusses such fundamental questions as the differences between "attitudes" and "behaviour" and (Weber's distinction) between "ideas" and "interests". He then goes on to consider the exact nature of the beliefs of the three denominations in question, and his ways of determining

these beliefs, and methods of testing the religious committedness of the actual people that he is to interview. He talks also of the different ways of classifying and testing racial attitudes. Then he describes the drawing up of the survey itself, with all its complex checks and counter-checks. Finally there is an account of the carrying-out of the survey (this is fascinating, and at times amusing), and then the conclusion.

Mr Buis is giving us facts and—correctly—doesn't attempt to make large deductions from the facts. But the liberally-minded reader can't help doing so. He finds himself dismayed, once again, at the thought that the Christian denomination that is most powerful among South African whites regards racial separation as an important part of God's plan. But he is distressed, too, that even the "better" denominations—in this survey the Roman Catholics—don't on the whole set a particularly striking example. If Jesus Christ's call that people should love one another were taken **really** seriously by those who consider themselves his followers, racial prejudice—prejudices of every sort—would begin to evaporate like morning mist beneath the splendour of the sun. □



## EXTRACTS FROM THE OPENING ADDRESS DELIVERED TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL CULTURAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT (INKATHA)

by the Hon. M. G. Buthelezi (President)

We have tremendous problems which face us as Blacks. This machinery gives us a chance of coming face to face with these problems right from the grass-roots. In the past we have tended to hope that we can be helped by others to solve our problems. It is of course true to say that no people stand on their own in the present world. At the same time there are those problems in the history of a people, which only the people concerned can solve. We have tended to hanker far too much for foreign cultural patterns in the past, which in any case were kept by those who brought them for their own exclusive use. It is clear that hopes for only a change of heart, on their part, will not carry us far. This means therefore that this is the time for us to wrestle with our problems of development in our own way through our own indigenous cultural patterns. Western civilisation is impressive in its emphasis on the rights of the individual. On the other hand our culture stresses the rights of the individual as a member of the group. Clearly group survival is of paramount importance in our society, and the individual rights are important to preserve in order to promote the continued existence of the group, rather than just individuals. That is why our extended family-system which is a source of so much banter and sarcasm in Western Societies, is geared towards the survival of the entire group.

In a society such as that of South Africa in which we live, where we are excluded from most of the fruits of our labours and from other privileges, as a racial group, it is quite clear to me that our cultural pattern of reacting to this as a group, is the only answer we have. This is not a situation where our efforts should be geared towards what each individual rakes off for himself. The system which puts us as a racial group beyond the pale of Life's Bounty is a vicious one. It cannot be tackled successfully by individuals or cliques but we have to mobilise each and every individual in our society, be it male or female, be it young or old, if we can hope for any success in the foreseeable future.

Let me emphasise that our efforts are geared towards self-upliftment on all fronts and at every level of our society. They are geared towards correlating our efforts with those of our brothers in the whole of Southern Africa.

It is not good enough to condemn what others do unto us, if we have not learnt not to do the same things to our people in all matters where we have any latitude.

Lest people should think I am talking through my hat, let me illustrate what I mean here by our cultural pattern geared

towards group survival. I will mention simple things such as weeding parties, AMALIMO in which neighbours come together to assist each other in the planting of crops, in the weeding of crops and in harvesting. I can also refer to simple things such as the SISA custom, where a man with more cattle than his neighbour loans some of his cows to a neighbour so that he can also have milk. I can go on talking about these cultural patterns for a long time. The stockfelling parties, although very much crude manifestations of these indigenous cultural patterns, are a modern example of these cultural patterns, and also UKUHOLISANA, where individuals share salaries by giving each others' salaries, or part thereof, on certain month-ends.

It is clear that in our Community-Development unless we join hands we can never hope to survive. It should not be difficult to develop modern co-operative societies, in our communities as these fall in line with our own cultural patterns.

It seems to me that one day we will be faced with the problem of deciding to what extent the people must have a stake in the control of the means of production, and in sharing the fruits of that production. In my budget speech in the Assembly last year it will be recalled that I stated that I believed in free enterprise. At the same time I do believe that in our areas of influence the people must without stifling private enterprise, have a stake. I believe in these things because I am convinced that we have suffered so much injustice and deprivation, that it would be tragic, if we strive for freedom only in order to replace white exploitation, with black exploitation. There are instances where black exploitation exists, where this is the case we must seek to eliminate it. If our efforts are not geared towards them we might as well forget about waging any battle towards the elimination of poverty, disease and ignorance which are hall-marks of our present state of oppression.

I think I need to say these things at the very outset, because I believe it will be a terrible mistake if we emphasised our political problems, to the exclusion of those other problems which keep us in a state of deprivation, about which we can do something even now, to liberate ourselves.

I consider it a pity, that some supposed liberals in mass-media have tried to confuse issues by emphasising the political thrust, in our struggle to the exclusion of the educational, social and economic fronts of the struggle. Whilst

it is the KwaZulu Legislature that has set us up, we would be fools to concern ourselves only with KwaZulu politics, as much as it would be foolish to ignore KwaZulu politics. A fine balance is needed here and this machinery, Inkatha, does provide us with solutions if we use its machinery in a constructive way.

We realise that like 'throwing a net into the sea, a National Movement of this nature, will draw out all kinds of 'creatures'. They will be some amongst others, who will be thinking of self-promotion and self-gain. I believe that this form of our African people's participatory democracy will eliminate such characters sooner or later.

Inkatha provides the machinery within which the people as a whole have a right to participate in National decision-making at all levels. It provides a forum for african democracy based on consensus. We Zulus have a lovely expression, which sums up this thought very well, when we say, INJOBQ ENHLE NGETHUNGELWA EBANDLA, one Zulu-English dictionary translates this saying in the words—the umutsha is sown in the company of others from whom you may receive 'tips' and advice. In other words only those things thrashed out with others can produce meaningful solutions. This is what we are here to do.

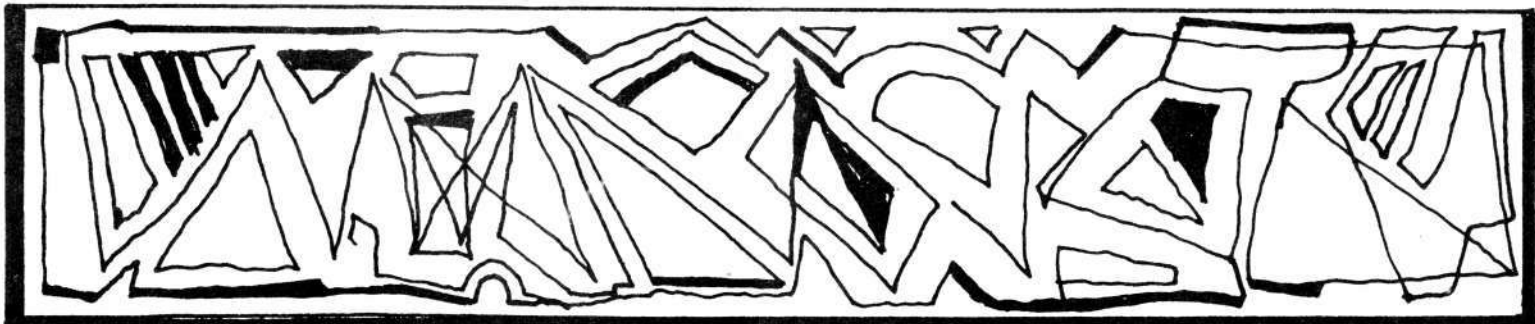
On the political scene I have stated at various meetings of the National Movement, that the system of self-rule worked out for us has run into problems which many of us anticipated. In the first place those who have set us up, as a KwaZulu Government, have done so without being prepared to give us a country where such governing can take place. After the so-called final consolidation plans, we still end up as pieces of separate uncontiguous territory scattered all over our province, which in its entirety was our Zululand. This raises a number of issues. This being the case it has been considered necessary for us to revive the National Cultural Movement in order to enable our entire people to participate with us in thinking through these imponderables. A view has been expressed that we need to walk this 'Separate Development' thing through and through, by demanding independence. The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has already expressed its view clearly on this issue. They have applauded the honesty of the Nationalist Government in carrying out a promise which was made to Black people in 1936 by the Hertzog Government, to deliver certain hectares of land to black people to increase the sizes of these reserves, now called 'Homelands'. The Reserves were considered even then to be inadequate for the african language groups of South Africa.

A view has been expressed in this connection that we should seek independence. To me and my government, it seems a

farce to ask for independence of separate pieces of inadequate territory for the largest ethnic group in South Africa. This puts to great doubt the sincerity of the government. Although we as the Legislative Assembly have rejected the idea of independence under these circumstances, it is important to know exactly how the people as a whole feel about this issue. The National Cultural Liberation Movement gives us this opportunity of knowing where people as a whole stand on this issue.

We have further suggested a federal formula, as a compromise solution for South Africa, and this has also been rejected out of hand by the government. There are some voices, which want to present me and my Assembly, as not representing the true wishes of the Zulu people on this issue. A spurious comparison is made with the Transkei, when such a comparison does not apply at all. The Transkei is today one geographic block of territory, not as a result of any act of benevolence on the part of the present government. It is such a block by a sheer accident of history. In spite of this, it is still a 64 000 dollar question whether it can be a viable Country, able to stand on its own amongst other nations. It is true that there are many nations that are not economically viable that have got flags, National Anthems and are represented at the United Nations. For us in South Africa the problem is made complex by the fact that we Blacks have contributed towards the growth of the South African economy. Our decision in KwaZulu and elsewhere, must be whether we decide to sign away our claim to this economy, we have helped to develop, in exchange for a flag, a National Anthem and representation at the United Nations, and even a unit of the army which in terms of modern warfare, may be nothing more than a posset of a Police Force. I admit that even we in KwaZulu, need such a defence force. The hub of the problem is whether these things are worth the signing away of what many of us see, as our birth-right? We do not want to appear to be forcing our qualms of conscience on these issues down anybody's throat. This National Movement provides the forum for the expression of our National consensus on these crucial issues.

If we can not reach any meaningful fulfillment through the instruments of Separate Development, what is the next step? A view is expressed by some people that one must have nothing to do with the system. This implies choice. I am not convinced that such choices are open to black people of this land. To pretend that we have open choices, to me amounts to giving the powers-that-be more credit than they deserve. The pressures brought to bear on us to make us conform need no cataloguing by me here, as they are by now too well-known to the whole world. Many questions come to mind for example, after the Republican government has created machinery whereby various taxes paid by blacks



are channelled to the coffers of these Reserves' governments, what does one do? Do we refuse to take the responsibility to work out, as we do now, some kind of budget for the departments assigned to us? This is not an ideal situation even with the additional cash given to us as budgetary subsidies. Do we then miss the opportunity of doing our best out of this whole mess in order to be able to say that we are ideologically clean? Does this eliminate the danger of certain elements assuming authority in our name and presenting Apartheid, to the World as acceptable to us? These are but a few questions that need to be faced in wrestling with these matters. For example for those of us who are hereditary Chiefs, if one wants to "get out of the system", as some people are urging, what does this mean? Does one abandon one's people to the wiles of anyone who may be imposed on them? Or does one suffer and struggle with them in the misery in which fate has placed them at this age and hour?

We need a body like this National Movement where we can come face to face, with these questions and think them through as a National group. If this means action, then we can only take collective action, if we are properly organised. The time for short-lived dramas or traumas is over. Careful thought should precede collective action. If the decision is non-action, we also need to think this one through-and through together.

If we are operating within the system, as we are, what strategies do we adopt, for our people to get optimum benefits, that will enable them to struggle further for their liberation? The National Movement will be an instrument in our hands to put our theories on these matters into action.

It is now accepted that our people will have to help themselves. Where do we find them? Right where they are, I suppose, in these reserves, and in the ghettos called townships and locations. We have not created the reserves or these ghettos, and the fact that the system is abhorrent to us, does not sound a plausible excuse to me for keeping out of the people's struggles, just to be able to say we have not contaminated ourselves with the system. Ideological cleanliness may be a virtue, but to strive for it whatever the cost to one's people may cheapen it to nothing more nor less than a cheap and arrogant vice.

Many divisions have been created between us by many things which are enumerated in our preamble. The National Movement gives us the opportunity to tackle these questions jointly. The black struggle is not something that can simplistically be reduced to a struggle between patricians and plebeians, or between urbanites and peasants or between intellectuals and hoi-polloi. We have no such segmentations in our society except in theory, our colour levels us all up, in a country where racism has been institutionalised almost to perfection. We have one struggle whether we are chiefs or commoners. We have a tryst with destiny to resolve these problems together as people suffering under the same oppression.

As far as our education is concerned, we have set up a Committee to go into the problems. We feel that too much stress on formal education was made in the past. A lot of

damage was also done by some of the Arch-Apostles of Bantu Education when they made remarks such as a statement by Mr J. N. le Roux in April 1945 in Parliament:

"We should not give the natives an academic education, as some people are too prone to do. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and Non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country? . . . I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country".

This further jaundiced our people against blue-collar jobs which are vital if any country is going to develop. There is great dignity in labour, and Blacks need technical training in order to participate in the industrial growth of the Country. Job reservation is not the only barrier stopping us from doing certain jobs. We have no artisans worthy of that name. A new re-think on our whole system of education is called for by these circumstances.



Although only 30 per cent of KwaZulu is arable we need to step up the training of our youth in Agriculture. It is not sufficient to assist farmers through our Extension Officers, we need a more thorough training in Agriculture from form I right up to University. At the same time the Churches have through the Health and Welfare Association gone into Rural Community Development. This is overdue and highly appreciated. We need a complete orientation to face up to this kind of thorough training in rural Community Development. Some people use the excuse that we need not be given more land, because we cannot even use what we have. While this is too oversimplistic a view, it is still true that we can do much better than we are doing at present to produce enough to feed ourselves. These are basic issues, which are the very first things, if one talks about development.

The pilot project in Rural Development should not be something seen as a thing only of local interest. We should all set our eyes on it, as it should set the pattern of our development.

We, think our Womens' Brigade and our Youth Brigade should be seen as segments of the National movement that should spear-head our development at grass-roots, if our Community Development projects are to get off the ground.

As far as this question of education is concerned it is to me, the only issue, apart from the question of land, on which the whole question of government sincerity revolves. I have



reported to many thousands of Africans on how at our meetings with the Prime Minister and the Minister of Bantu Administration, and his Deputies, we as the KwaZulu Executive Council appealed to them in 1973 for our people in urban areas to have their children educated with the same medium of instruction as KwaZulu Legislature has decided should be used in KwaZulu. I have reported at various meetings when I reported back to thousands of Africans in Soweto, in Welkom, KwaMashu and Umlazi, on our meetings with the Prime Minister with other Black leaders. I reported that in March 1974 and January 1975 we jointly raised this issue of medium of instruction in the Urban Areas expressing our wish that it falls in line with the medium of instruction decree by the Reserves governments, that Pretoria has created. At the March 1974 conference attended by all black leaders, the Prime Minister asked the Minister of Bantu Administration, the Hon. M. C. Botha to prepare more information on the issue, for our discussion with them at our next meeting. When we met in January this year, the Hon. Minister of Bantu Administration and Development again spoke of carrying out certain investigations when we raised this question of medium of instruction.



When I asked for the time schedule, in these investigations, as to whether it would take six months or a year to carry them out, the Minister told me that the issue could not be rushed or steam-rollered. We also raised the imposition of a 50-50 medium of instruction in Afrikaans and English by Pretoria, on our children in the urban areas. We were given the same vague promise that the matter would be investigated. In less than two months after these meetings, the Minister has announced that he is going ahead with the Pretoria imposed medium of instruction on our children in the Urban Areas. They did not even have the decency to inform the black leaders that the issue had been decided once and for all by them unilaterally. Just like most of you we read about it in Hansard and in the Newspapers. So much for dialogue and detente within South Africa!

The attitude of the government as displayed through the Minister of Bantu Education, is a direct contravention of article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in that he arrogates to himself, a right which according to this Declaration, is a prerogative of the African parents, to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Apart from the fact that the conduct of Pretoria on this issue is a contravention of the Declaration of Human Rights, it makes Pretoria vulnerable on the question of sincerity. Education is such a basic issue on which we have no self-determination that it is most difficult not to believe that

the whole policy smacks of fraud when one realises that blacks cannot even decide, on the language of instruction for their children. In addition the Government imposes burdens on our children which White children do not bear in South Africa. No white child is educated through the medium of two languages on a 50-50 basis. If this is not evidence of White oppression of black people, then I do not know what the word oppression means.

There are issues such as that of machinery for negotiation and labour relations for our people. We feel that our people should have trade unions, if the trade unions for Whites and other racial groups are regarded as effective machinery for negotiations, as we understand them to be. Trade Unions are not machinery for staging strikes, but for negotiation in order to avoid strikes. A lot is being said about Works Committees. These are not effective in most cases, and the appeal made recently by the Federated Chambers of Industry for Black Trade Unions echoed what is in our hearts on this issue.

In South Africa there is one doctor for every 44 400 Africans. This reveals the extent to which our health needs are not met. We realise that Missionary hospitals attempted to meet these needs in the past. There is now an impressive health scheme with emphasis on preventive medicine, which the Health Department, is implementing. We are impressed with it, but the take-over of Mission hospitals in KwaZulu seems to be a fly in the ointment, at the moment. We have no Health Department at present and have been told when we recently asked for one that we are not ready for it. Our wish was that the take-over of the mission hospitals be postponed until we have a Health Department. We are afraid that we may lose some doctors, if the take over is implemented immediately, which would aggravate a delicate situation in terms of our medical needs. The Health and Welfare Association Community Development project includes a clinic. We in KwaZulu intend seconding some of our nurses and Extension officers as part and parcel of this project.

We are in the process of setting a Red-Cross operation going in KwaZulu. An investigation of how this may be woven with the Brigades, is going to be carried out.

In all these things we need your advice and guidance. We feel that a forum is provided by the National Movement to express these openly, so that our thinking can be one on all these vital issues. (1)





A PROJECT OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN THE GREATER DURBAN AREA

DIAKONIA is a new joint project funded by eight Christian Churches in the greater Durban area. Its purpose is to help the Churches in this area to be more effective in responding to social situations that cause widespread suffering. It is due to come into operation in January 1976 and will have offices at St. Andrew's Centre, St. Andrew's Street, Durban.

The following personnel will be required:

1. SENIOR EXECUTIVE OFFICER:  
Black, and fluent in Zulu and English
2. SENIOR EXECUTIVE OFFICER:  
White
3. SECRETARY-TYPIST  
Fluent in Zulu and English

Detailed applications giving full personal particulars (including full names, place and date of birth etc.), qualifications, experience and names and addresses of three referees, should be submitted before 30th November 1975 to:

The Acting Secretary,  
DIAKONIA,  
P.O. Box 217,  
DURBAN.  
4000.

Further details of the project, including the job description for Senior Executive Officers, can be obtained from the above address.

The Steering Committee reserves the right to make no appointment or to appoint by invitation.

TEA FOR THE JOBURG LADY VISITING PLET.

by Chris Mann

When at last Lucinda came  
the melktert on the doily  
lay like the irritation of her aunts  
in bits and crumbs

"At last! " they said, "how nice you look,"  
and the hessian bag and batik dress  
sputtering with orange suns  
took their place among the printed frocks.

"Well", chirped one, "the Golden City,  
do the financial rockets  
still patter down like sticks  
or has it all changed  
has it all changed? "

Beside her head, below the lawn  
stood tiny surfers on the wrinkled sea.

I sometimes wonder why it is  
the white and wealthy  
line the edge of the land to die.  
Brighton, Florida, and Plettenberg Bay  
teem with tinted wigs.  
It must be the warmth for quirky joints  
windiness for wet lungs,  
or even perhaps the unrecognised wish  
to adapt  
to a stupendous, heaving blank.  
The devout in particular  
are never certain of paradise.

Chatter in sunlight, chuckles  
and the clink of a cup  
orchestrate a sharp despair.  
No-one at all expects  
to survive  
in the shapes of those who loved them.  
Presence, the frill  
and coolness of a china handle  
is all in all for them.

Lucinda sips a rim and a tip.

I remember her jeans  
and an angry student placard,  
her wedding at St. Martins-in-the-Veld  
and then her kitchen  
bulging with servants who smiled  
like co-conspirators in the plot of the rich.

"or has it all changed  
has it all changed? "

Neither Lucinda  
nor her dew-lapped aunts can see  
the brows of the well-loved dead  
which rise  
at that unchangeable dread.

# THE MOFOLO-PLOMER PRIZE

A new literary prize will be available to Southern African writers as from this year. Nadine Gordimer has initiated the prize for 1975–76. It is envisaged that the prize will become an annual event, with the prize money in future being contributed by Miss Gordimer and a group of Johannesburg publishers, Bateleur Press, Ad. Donker and Ravan Press.

The prize is named in honour of two South African writers, Thomas Mofolo and William Plomer, whose work was significant to the beginning of contemporary fiction in South Africa.

THOMAS MOFOLO (1877–1948) is the author of **Chaka**, a novel of far-reaching psychological and historical implications based on fact and legend in the life of Chaka. It was written in Sesotho about the turn of the century but published in English only in 1931.

WILLIAM PLOMER (1903–1973) is the author of **Turbott Wolfe**. It was his first novel (he was a poet, short story writer, novelist and critic) and marked the opening of a new era of daring and enquiry in the spirit of imaginative fiction in South Africa. It was published in 1925.

Both novels have been reprinted recently, and are of continuing interest and importance to the development of the tradition of fiction writing in this country.

The initial R500 prize will be awarded to a Southern African writer, resident here or abroad, aged under 36, for a novel or collection of short stories in English. The work must be unpublished as an entity, although sections of any novel, or individual stories from any collection may have been published previously. A novel is understood to be a work of not less than 35 000 words. A short story collection is understood to be a work consisting of a total of not less than 30 000 words, or a work consisting of not less than 15 stories.

The three judges for the founding year will be Chinua Achebe, Nigerian novelist and short story writer. Alan Paton, novelist and short story writer, and Adam Small, poet and playwright. The judges shall have the right to split the prize, giving it jointly to the authors of two different works, if they see fit to do so. The decision of the judges will be final.

Entries must be typewritten in double spacing. Two copies of each entry must be submitted.

The age restriction is understood to mean that the writer who submits a manuscript will be under the age of 36 on the day that entries close: 31 May 1976.

Queries and entries should be addressed to the Mofolo-Plomer Prize Committee, c/o Ravan Press, P.O. Box 31134, Braamfontein, Transvaal 2017.

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