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EDITORIALS

THE MESSAGE FROM RHODESIA

REALITY is a South African journal and does not normally deal editorially with the affairs of other countries. The present Rhodesian situation, however, is too important to be allowed to pass without comment. Besides, it is in fact an international matter, not a merely national one; and the whole story seems to us to have a moral of universal significance.

At the time of writing, the Pearce Commission has made no report on its findings, but it is difficult to see how it can avoid telling Sir Alec Douglas-Home that the overwhelming majority of Rhodesians do not accept the settlement proposals.

What are we to make of this fact? Do most of the Africans who have said or chanted or shouted "No" realize what they are rejecting? Do they prefer the 1969 Constitution to the proposals sponsored by the British Government? (This witty thought was offered to the world by Mr. Ian Smith during his justly notorious broadcast.) Have the dissenting Africans given very much thought to the implications of their rejection of the proposals? And have they worked out any sort of realistic plan of possible action for the future?

To most of these questions (we except of course Mr. Smith's sick quip) there is, we suspect, no simple answer. The more detailed and convincing of the newspaper reports suggest that, while many black Rhodesians are unwilling or unable to enlarge very much upon their blunt "No", a certain number — perhaps a rather larger number than many observers would have expected — are able to explain fully and articulately their reasons for thinking that the settlement, if accepted, would not be as advantageous to the underprivileged as all the men in power have been saying.

UNANIMITY

But if the terms of the proposals are understood in varying degrees by Rhodesian Africans, how are we to account for the large measure of unanimity which has been displayed? Well, it would be naive to leave out of account the vigorous activities of the African National Council, formed specifically for the purpose of combating the proposals: clearly "the word has gone round" in a way that it would have been unlikely to if the A.N.C. had not come into existence. But then one must remember that "the word" can only do the rounds quickly and efficiently when the relevant section of the population is from the first very well disposed towards it. And in reply to those supporters of Mr. Smith who have claimed that there has been widespread intimidation among Africans we can only record our impression that African expressions of disagreement, so far from seeming reluctant and constrained, have if anything tended to err on the side of animation, not to say exuberance.

It seems reasonable to deduce, then, that there are some underlying causes which are impelling almost all black Rhodesians, whatever their education, background or intelligence, to reject the settlement proposals. And it seems necessary to ask what these underlying causes are.

TWO REASONS

We believe that black Rhodesians dislike the settlement that has been proposed for two simple reasons : (a) they distrust Mr. Smith and his Rhodesian Front Government, which would of course have the task of carrying out the proposals if they were accepted; and (b), and more important, Africans played no part in drawing up the proposals.

As we are concerned in this article with the general rather than the local implications of what we take to be the thoughts and feelings of Rhodesian Africans, point (a) will be considered fairly briefly. One has to concede that the British Government has perhaps had considerably less room to manoeuvre in this affair than it would have liked; but still it is difficult to see how the British negotiators can have expected Africans to be enchanted by promises of a new deal from a Government that has in the last few years spent much of its energy in pushing the Rhodesian body politic in the direction of apartheid. For if the settlement were once accepted, and Rhodesia became independent, who is to say what "reasons of state security" Mr. Smith might invoke as an excuse for changing his tune — that somewhat strained new tune that the British Government and the force of circumstances would together have persuaded him to hum? Indeed the arbitrary imprisoning of Mr. Garfield Todd and several other important Rhodesians provides an all too vivid foretaste of the sort of future that Africans are anxious to avoid. Is it to be expected, then, that they should wish to utter the "Yes" that Mr. Smith needs in order to become respectable in the eyes of a large part of the world?

NOT INVITED TO SHARE

Intimately connected with their distrust of the Rhodesian Front, but in the long run probably more significant, is the annoyance that black Rhodesians feel at not being invited to share in the drafting of proposals. As more and more Rhodesian Africans seem to have been saying, "How, in the 1970's, can the future of Rhodesia be determined by a group of white men? "After all, most of the inhabitants of Africa, and indeed of the whole world, find themselves under governments which they either help to choose or

feel in some sense to be their own. Why should the Africans of Rhodesia be expected to approve of a constitution with which they can feel no vital connection at all? Why should they acquiesce in alien formulations and trust in a distinctly dubious white benevolence?

It should be stressed that Africans did not (on the whole) insist that the future of the country should be decided upon by blacks alone; they simply asked to play their part. REALITY believes that the feelings of black Rhodesians on this point (if our analysis has been correct) are both inevitable and wholly justifiable. It believes too that, if white Rhodesians wish to be generous, if they wish to recognize the pressures set up by valid human development, and indeed if they wish simply to continue to live in the land, they should modify their thinking and feeling as quickly as possible.

IMMENSE MEANING

And of course the message of Rhodesia (as we interpret it) has immense meaning for South Africa. The day of almost universal African acceptance, tolerance, endurance, "gratitude", silence, is surely past. Things are no longer quite what they used to be. Ovamboland is in a muffled turmoil; Chief Kaiser Matanzima is (at the time of writing) speaking to the Nationalist Government with surprising boldness and sharpness; Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, in his charming and ironical way, maintains the quietly forceful assertion that Africans know their situation and know their mind, and cannot be fooled by insincere turns of phrase.

The sooner the whites of Southern Africa recognize the essential equality of all human beings, the greater will be the chance of a general peace and growth. But it must be underlined that recognizing essential equality is not just a matter of opening the mind and heart. No one can live on sympathy alone. It is a question of discerning and actively responding to an essential equality of need.

A DERISIBLE DECISION

The Prime Minister's decision to investigate the activities of the Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute, NUSAS, and the University Christian Movement, is derisible. All these organisations have a common characteristic — they advocate the reform of our society.

That means — basically — that they condemn the race-caste system that places such a monstrous burden on South African life, on its industry and commerce, on its unrepresented peoples, on the freedom and aspirations of many.

The existence of these four organisations is a symptom of the illness that afflicts our society. It is typical of our Government that it aims at eliminating the symptoms rather than treating the illness. That the Prime Minister's threat will please some, we have no doubt. That others will find it laughable we have no doubt either. But what we hope is that more and more of the people in the middle will see his action for the evasion that it is.

REALITY joins itself with those who demand that the enquiry should be a public one before a judicial commission, not a private one before a parliamentary committee.

There is one encouraging lesson to be learnt from all this. No doubt all these four organisations wish they were more influential than they are. But obviously they are the guardians of ideas and principles, of truths and aspirations, of tremendous power. **These truths are immortal, because they are not concerned with the supremacy of a race, but with the freedom and dignity of all our people.**

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE QUEST FOR TRUE HUMANITY

by Steve Biko

It is perhaps fitting to start off by examining the real reasons which make it necessary for us to think collectively about a problem we never created. In doing so, I do not wish to appear to be unnecessarily concerning myself with the White people in this country, but I sincerely believe that in order to get to the right answer, we must ask the right questions; we have to find out what went wrong where and when; we have to find out whether our position is a deliberate creation by God or an artificial fabrication of the truth by power-hungry people whose motive is authority, security, wealth and comfort. In other words the "Black Consciousness" approach would be irrelevant in a colourless and non-exploitative egalitarian society. It is relevant here because we believe that the anomalous situation we find ourselves in is deliberately man-made for the reasons mentioned.

There is no doubt that the colour question in South African politics was originally introduced for economic motives. The leaders of the White community had to create some kind of barrier between Blacks and Whites such that the Whites could enjoy privilege at the expense of Blacks and still feel free to give a moral explanation for the obvious exploitation that pricked even the hardest of White consciences. However, tradition has it that whenever a group of people has tasted the lovely fruits of wealth, security and prestige they begin to find it more comfortable to believe in the obvious lie and to accept it as in fact quite normal that they alone are entitled to privilege. In order to believe this seriously, they need to convince themselves of all the arguments that support the lie. It is, therefore, not surprising that in South Africa, after generations of exploitation. White people on the whole have come to believe in the inferiority of the Black man, so much so that while originally the race problem was an offshoot of the economic greed exhibited by White people, it has now become a serious problem on its own. White people now despise Black people, not because they need to reinforce their attitude and therefore justify their position of privilege but simply because they actually believe that Black is inferior and bad. This is the basis upon which Whites are working in this country. This is what shows South Africa to be a racist society.

INSTITUTIONALISED

The racism we meet is not only on an individual basis; it is also institutionalised to make it look like the South African way of life. Although of late there is a feeble attempt to gloss over the overt racist elements in the system, it is still true that the system derives its nourishment from the existence of anti-Black attitudes in the society. To make the lie live even longer, Blacks have to be denied any chance of accidentally proving their equality to the White man.

It is for this reason that there is job reservation, lack of training in skilled work, and a tight orbit around professional possibilities for Blacks. Stupidly enough, the system turns back to say that Blacks are inferior because they have no economists, no engineers, etc. even in spite of the fact that they make it impossible for Blacks to acquire these skills.

To give some kind of authenticity to their lie and to show the righteousness of their claim, Whites have further worked out detailed schemes to 'solve' the racial situation in this country. Thus, a pseudo-parliament has been created for 'Coloureds' and several 'independent Bantu states' are in the process of being set up. So independent and 'lucky' are they that they do not have to spend a cent on their defence because they have nothing to fear from White South Africa who will always come to their assistance in times of need. One can of course see the arrogance of Whites and their contempt for Blacks even in their well-considered modern schemes for subjugation.

SWART GEVAAR

The overall success of the White power structure has been managing to bind the Whites together in defence of the status quo. By skilfully playing on that imaginary bogey — "swart gevaar" — they have managed to convince even the die-hard liberals that there is something to fear in the event of the Black man assuming his rightful place at the helm of the South African ship. Thus after years of silence we are able to hear the familiar voice of Dr. Alan Paton shouting from as far away as London — "perhaps apartheid is worth a try". 'At whose expense, Dr. Paton?', asks an intelligent Black journalist. Hence Whites in general reinforce each other even though they allow some moderate disagreements on the subjugation schemes.

DO NOT QUESTION

There is no doubt that they do not question the validity of White values. They see nothing anomalous in the fact that they alone are arguing about the future of 17 million Blacks — in a land which is the natural backyard of the Black people. All proposals for change emanating from the Black world are viewed with great indignation. Even the so-called Opposition has the cheek to tell the Coloured people that they are asking for too much. A journalist from a "liberal" newspaper like the "Sunday Times" describes a Black student — who is only speaking the truth — as a militant, impatient young man.

It is not enough for Whites to be on the offensive. So immersed are they in prejudice that they do not believe

that Blacks can formulate their thoughts without White guidance and trusteeship. Thus, even those Whites who see a lot wrong with the system make it their business to control the response of the Blacks to the provocation. No one is suggesting that it is not the business of Whites of liberal opinion to oppose what is wrong. However, to us it appears as too much of a coincidence that liberals — few as they are — should not only be determining the modus operandi of those Blacks who oppose the system but also leading it, in spite of their involvement in the system.

To us it looks as if, in fact, their role spells out the totality of the White power structure — the fact that though Whites are our problem it is still other Whites who want to tell us how to deal with that problem. They do so by creating all sorts of red herrings across our path. They tell us that the situation is a class struggle rather than a race one. Let them go to van Tonder in the Free State and tell him this. We believe we know what the problem is and will stick by our findings.

FALSE COALITION

I want to go a little bit deep in this discussion because I feel it is about time we killed this false political coalition between Blacks and Whites as long as it is set up on a wrong analysis of our situation. I want to kill it for another reason also — that it forms at present the greatest stumbling block to our unity. It dangles before freedom-hungry Blacks promises of a great future for which no one seems to be particularly working in these groups.



Shaka

The basic problem in South Africa has been analysed by liberal Whites to be apartheid. They argue that in order to oppose it we have to form non-racial groups. Between these two extremes, they claim, there lies the land of milk and honey for which we are working. The **thesis**, the **antithesis** and the **synthesis** have been mentioned by some great philosophers as the cardinal points around which any social revolution revolves. For the liberals, the **thesis** is apartheid, the **antithesis** is non-racialism and the **synthesis** very feebly defined.

They want to tell the Blacks that the integration they see is the solution to the ideal society. Black Consciousness defines the situation differently. The **thesis** is in fact a strong White racism and therefore, ipso facto, the **antithesis** to this must be a strong solidarity amongst the Blacks on whom this racism seeks to prey. Out of these two situations we can therefore hope to reach some kind of balance — a true humanity where power politics will have no place. This analysis spells out the difference between the old and new approaches more than any more words can show. The failure of the liberals is in fact that their **antithesis** is already a watered-down version of the truth whose close proximity to the **thesis** will nullify the purported balance.

This is the failure of the SPROCAS commissions to make any real headway, for they are already looking for an 'alternative' that shall be acceptable to the White man. Everybody in the commissions knows what is right but all are looking for the most decent way of dodging the responsibility of saying what is right.

DELIBERATE ACT

It is much more important for us Blacks to see this difference than it is for Whites. We must learn to accept that no group, however benevolent, can ever hand power to the vanquished on a plate. We must accept that 'the limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress'. As long as we go to Whitey begging cap in hand for our own emancipation, we are giving him further sanction to continue with his racist and oppressive system. We must realise that our situation is not a mistake on the part of Whites but a deliberate act and that no amount of moral lectures will persuade the White man to "correct" the situation. The system concedes nothing without demand for it, formulates its very method of operation on the basis that the ignorant will learn to know, the child will grow into an adult and therefore demands will begin to be made. It gears itself to resist demands in whatever way it sees fit. When you refuse to make these demands and choose to come to a round table to beg for your deliverance, you are in fact calling for the contempt of those who have power over you.

This is why we must reject the beggar tactics that are being forced down our throat by those who wish to appease our cruel masters. This is where the SASO message and cry becomes very relevant — **BLACK MAN, YOU ARE ON YOUR OWN!** "

The concept of integration, whose virtues are often extolled in White liberal circles, is full of unquestioned assumptions that embrace Whites' values. It is a concept long defined by Whites and never examined by Blacks. It is based on the assumption that all is well with the system save for some degree of mismanagement at the top by irrational conservatives. Even the people who argue for

integration often forget to veil it in its supposedly beautiful cloth. They tell each other that, were it not for job reservation, there would be a beautiful market to exploit.

PEOPLE

They forget that they are talking about people. They see Blacks as extensions of brooms and additional leverages to some complicated industrial machine. This is White man's integration — an integration based on exploitative values in a society in which the Whites have already cut out their position somewhere at the top of the pyramid. It is an integration in which Black will compete with Black, using each other as stepping stones up a steep ladder leading them to white values. It is an integration in which the Black man will have to prove himself in terms of these values before meriting acceptance and ultimate assimilation.

It is an integration in which the poor will grow poorer and the rich richer in a country where the poor has always been Black. No one wants to be reminded that it is the indigenous people who are poor and exploited in the land of their birth. These are concepts which the Black consciousness approach wishes to eradicate from the Black man's mind before our society is driven to chaos by irresponsible people from Coca-cola and hamburger cultural backgrounds.

What is Black Consciousness? In essence this is an attitude of mind and a way of life. It is the most positive call to emanate from the Black world for a long time. Its unadulterated quintessence is the realisation by the Black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression — the blackness of their skin — and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It is based on a self-examination which has ultimately led them to believe that by seeking to run away from themselves and to emulate the White man they are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them Black.

GROUP PRIDE

The philosophy of Black consciousness, therefore expresses group pride and the determination by Blacks to rise and attain the envisaged self. Freedom is the ability to define one's self, possibilities and limitations held back, not by the power of other people over you, but by your relationship to God and to natural surroundings. On his own therefore the Black man wishes to explore his surroundings and to test his possibilities, in other words to make real his freedom by whatever means he deems fit. At the heart of this kind of thinking is the realisation by Blacks that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.

If one is free at heart, no human-made chains can bind one to servitude; but if one's mind is so effectively manipulated and controlled by the oppressor as to make the oppressed believe that he is a liability to the White man, then there will be nothing the oppressed can do to scare his powerful masters.

Hence thinking along lines of Black consciousness makes the Black man see himself as a being, entire in himself. It makes him less dependant and more free to express his manhood. At the end of it all, he cannot tolerate attempts by anybody to dwarf the significance of his manhood.

In order that Black consciousness can be used to advantage as a philosophy to apply to people in a position like ours, a number of points have to be observed. As people existing in a continuous struggle for truth, we have to examine and question old concepts, values and systems. Having found the right answers we shall then work for consciousness amongst all people to make it possible for us to proceed towards these answers. In the process towards the answers we have to evolve our own schemes, forms and strategies to suit the need and situation, all the time keeping in mind our fundamental beliefs and values.

BATTERED

In all aspects of Black-White relationship both in the past and at present we see a constant tendency by Whites to depict an inferior status to what is Black. Our culture, our history and in fact all aspects of the Black man's life have been battered nearly out of shape in the great collision between the indigenous values and the Anglo-Boer culture.

The first people to come and relate to Blacks in a human way in this country were the missionaries. These people were brought to the vanguard of the colonisation movement to "civilise and educate" the savages and to introduce to them the Christian message. The religion they brought was a highly suspicious religion quite foreign to the Black indigenous people. African religion, in its essence, was not radically different from Christianity. We believed in one God. We had our own community of saints through whom we related to our God. We did not find it compatible with our way of life to worship God in isolation from the various aspects of our lives. Hence worship was not a specialised function that found expression once a week in a secluded building.

Instead, it featured in our wars, in our beer-drinking, in our customs in general. Whenever Africans drank, they would first relate to God by giving a portion of their beer away in a token of thanks. When anything went wrong at home they would offer sacrifices to appease God and to atone for their sins. There was no hell in our religion. We believed in the inherent goodness of man — hence we took it for granted that all people on death joined the community of saints and therefore merited our respect.

MISSIONARIES

It was the missionaries who confused the people with their new religion. They scared our people with stories of hell. They painted their God as a demanding God who wanted worship "or else . . ." People had to discard their clothes and their customs in order to be accepted in this new religion. Knowing how religious the African people were, the missionaries stepped up their terrorist campaign on the emotions of the people with their detailed accounts of eternal burning, the gnashing of teeth and grinding of bone. By some strange and twisted logic, they argued that theirs was a scientific religion and ours a superstition — all this in spite of the biological discrepancy which is at the base of their religion.

This cold and cruel religion was strange to the indigenous people and caused frequent strife between the converted and the "pagans", for the former, having imbibed the false values from White society, were taught to ridicule and despise those who defended the truism of their indigenous religion. With the ultimate acceptance of the Western religion down went our cultural values!

While not wishing to question the basic truth at the heart of the Christian message, I wish to state that there is a very strong case for a re-examination of Christianity. Christianity has proved to be a very adaptable religion which does not seek to supplement existing orders but – like any universal truth – to find application within a particular situation. More than anybody else the missionaries knew that not all they did was essential to the spread of the message.

But the basic intention went much further than merely spreading the word. Their arrogance and their monopoly on truth, beauty and moral judgment taught them to despise native customs and traditions and to seek to infuse into these societies their own new values. This then sets out the case for Black theology. While not wishing to discuss Black Theology at length, let it suffice to say it seeks to relate God and Christ once more to the Black man and to his daily problems.

It wants to describe Christ as a fighting God and not a passive God who allows a lie to exist unchallenged. It grapples with existential problems and does not claim to be a theology of absolutes. It seeks to bring back God to the Black man and to the truth and reality of his situation. This is an important aspect of Black consciousness, for quite a large proportion of Black people in this country are Christians still swimming in the mire of confusion – the aftermath of the missionary approach. It is the duty therefore of all Black priests and ministers of religion to take upon themselves the task of saving Christianity, by adopting the Black Theology approach and thereby uniting once more the Black man to his God.

EDUCATION

Then too a long look should be taken at the educational system given to Blacks. The same tension situation was found as early ago as the arrival of the missionaries. Children were taught, under the pretext of hygiene, good manners, etiquette and other such vague concepts, to despise their mode of upbringing at home and to question values and customs prevalent in their society. The result was the expected one – children and parents saw life differently and the former lost respect for the latter.

Now in the African society it is a cardinal sin for a child to lose respect for his parent. Yet how can one prevent the loss of respect between child and parent when the child is taught by his know-all White tutors to disregard his family teachings? How can one resist losing respect for his tradition when in school his whole cultural background is summed up in one word – barbarism?

Thus we can immediately see the logic of bringing in the missionaries to the forefront of the colonisation process. Whenever one succeeds in making a group of people accept a foreign concept in which he is an expert, he creates out of them perpetual students whose progress in that particular field can only be evaluated by him and on whom the student shall constantly rely for guidance and promotion. In being forced to accept the Anglo-Boer culture, the Blacks have allowed themselves to be at the mercy of the White man and to have him as their eternal supervisor. Only he can tell us how good our performance is and instinctively all of us are at pains to please this powerful, know-all master. This is what Black Consciousness seeks to eradicate.



Hintsa

DISTORTS THE PAST

As one Black writer says, colonialism is never satisfied with having the native in its grip but, by some strange logic, it turns to his past and disfigures and distorts it. Hence, the history of the Black man in this country is the most disappointing history to read about. It is merely presented as a long lamentation of repeated defeats. The Xhosas were thieves who went to war for stolen property. The Boers never provoked the Xhosas but merely went on "punitive expeditions" to teach the thieves a lesson.

Heroes like Makana who were essentially revolutionaries are painted as superstitious trouble-makers who told the people lies about bullets turning into water. Great nation builders like Shaka are cruel tyrants who frequently attacked smaller tribes for no reason except for some sadistic purposes. Not only is there no objectivity in the history taught us but frequently there is an appalling misrepresentation of facts that is sickening even to the uninformed student.

Thus a lot of attention has to be paid to our history if we as Blacks want to aid each other in our coming into consciousness. We have to rewrite our history and produce in it the heroes that formed the core of our resistance to the White invaders. More has to be revealed and stress has to be laid on the successful nation-building attempts by people like Shaka, Moshoeshe, Hintsa. These are areas calling for intense research work to provide some desperately-needed missing link. It would be too naive of us to expect our conquerors to write unbiased histories about us anyway. We have to destroy the myth that our history starts in 1652.

Our culture must be defined in concrete terms. We must relate the past to the present and demonstrate a historical evolution of the modern Black man. There is a tendency for people to think of our culture as a static culture that was arrested in 1652 and has never developed since. The "return to the bush" concept seems to suggest that we have nothing to boast about except loins, sex and drink. We

are aware that when colonisation sets in, it devours the indigenous culture and leaves behind it a bastardised culture that may thrive at the pace and rate allowed it by the dominant culture. But nevertheless we also have to realise that the basic tenets of our culture have succeeded to a great extent in withstanding the process of bastardisation and that even at this moment we can still demonstrate that we enjoy Man for himself. Ours is a true Man-centred society whose sacred tradition is that of sharing.

HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

We must reject, as we have been doing, the individualistic cold approach to life that is the corner stone of the Anglo-Boer culture. We must seek to restore to the Black man in general the great stress we used to lay on human relationships, the high regard for people, their property and for life in general; to dwarf the triumph of technology over man and to reduce the materialistic element that is slowly creeping into our society.

These are essential features of our Black culture to which we must cling. The term Black culture above all implies the freedom by us to innovate without recourse to White values. This innovation is part of the natural development of any culture. A culture is essentially the society's composite answer to the varied problems of life. We are experiencing new problems by the day and whatever we do adds to the richness of our cultural heritage as long as it has Man as its centre. The adoption of Black Theatre and drama is one such important innovation which we need to encourage and to develop. Our love for music and rhythm must be made to assume some relevance even in this present day.

COLONISED

Being part of an exploitative society in which very often we are direct objects of exploitation, we need to evolve strategy to our economic situation. We are aware of the fact that the Blacks are still colonised even within the borders of South Africa. Their cheap labour has helped to make South Africa what it is today. Our money from the townships takes a one-way street to White shops and White banks and all we do in our lives is to pay to the White man.

Capitalist exploitation tendencies coupled with the overt arrogance of White racism have conspired against us. Thus now in South Africa it is very expensive to be poor. It is the poor people who stay furthest from town and therefore have to spend more money on transport to come and work for White people; it is the poor people who use uneconomic and inconvenient fuel like paraffin and coal because of refusal of the White man to instal electricity in Black areas; it is the poor people who are governed by many ill-defined restrictive laws and therefore have to spend money on fines for "technical" offences; it is the poor people who have no hospitals and are therefore exposed to the exorbitant charges from private doctors; it is the poor people who use untarred roads and therefore experience the greatest wear and tear on commodities like shoes; it is the poor people who have to pay for their children's books while Whites get them free. Of course it is the Black people who are poor.

Needless to say therefore we need to take another look at how best to use our economic power, little as it seems. We must seriously examine the possibilities of establishing business co-operatives whose interests shall be ploughed

back into community development programmes. We should examine more closely such lines as the "buy Black" campaign once suggested in Johannesburg and to establish our own banks for the benefit of the community. Organisational development amongst Blacks has only been low because we allowed it. Now that we are aware we are on our own, it is more than a duty for us to fulfill these needs.

INVOLVEMENT

The last step in Black Consciousness is to broaden the base of our operation. One of the basic tenets of Black Consciousness is totality of involvement. By this we mean that all Blacks must sit as one big unit and no fragmentation and distraction from the main stream of events must be allowed. Hence we must resist the attempts by the protagonists of "separate development" to fragment our approach. We are oppressed not as individuals, not as Zulus, Xhosas, Vendas or Indians. We are oppressed because we are Black. We must use that very concept to unite ourselves and to respond as a cohesive group. We must cling to each other with a tenacity that must shock the perpetrators of evil.

Our preparedness to take upon ourselves the cudgels of the struggle will see us through. We must completely remove from our vocabulary the concept of fear. Truth must triumph ultimately over evil. The White man has always nourished his greed on this basic fear that manifests itself in the Black community. Special branch agents will not turn the lie into truth and one must ignore them. In a real bid for change we have to take off our coats, be prepared to lose our comfort and security, our jobs, and our positions of prestige, our families; for just as it is true that "leadership and security are basically incompatible", it may well be true that a struggle without casualties is not worth its salt. We must ultimately accept that prophetic cry by Black students "Black man, you are on your own!"

Some will charge that we are racist but let us not take heed, for these people are using exactly the values we reject. We do not have the power to subjugate anyone. We are merely responding to provocation in the most realistic way. Racism not only implies exclusion of one race by another — it always presupposes that the exclusion is for the purposes of subjugation. Blacks have had enough experience as objects of racism not to wish to reverse the tables. While it may be relevant now to talk about Black in relation to White, we must not make this our pre-occupation for it can be a negative exercise. As we proceed more towards the achievement of our goals let us talk more about ourselves and our struggle and less about Whites.

We have set out on a quest for true humanity and somewhere in the distant horizon we can see the glittering prize. Let us march forth with courage and determination, drawing strength from our common plight and our brotherhood. In time we shall be in a position to bestow upon South Africa the greatest gift possible — a more human face.

(This article is reprinted from the SASO Newsletter)

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

by Alan Paton.

In this issue we reprint with permission the text of an address given by Mr. Steve Biko, the 1969-70 President of the South African Students Organisation, to a Black Theology seminar in Pietermaritzburg. I hope to examine this address analytically, but wish first to state my own attitude to black consciousness.

Black consciousness is the direct creation of white arrogance. Pride in having a white skin I find an inexcusable vulgarity. I am unable to say the same about pride in having a black skin. I understand the spiritual and psychological necessity for black people to be proud of black skin, even though I regret the reasons for it. Pride in white skin and pride in black skin are for me both vulgarities, but while the first is inexcusable, the second is not, and contains elements not vulgar at all.

Black consciousness is, or certainly appears to be, anxious not to get mixed up with black power. How long can this pretence be kept up? Black consciousness obviously wants to change the order of things, and rightly so. But you can't change the order of things without power. How long will the young zealots be satisfied with a mush of culture, mysticism, lyricism, and going round saying *haven't I a lovely skin?*

DIRECTED AT WHITE LIBERALS

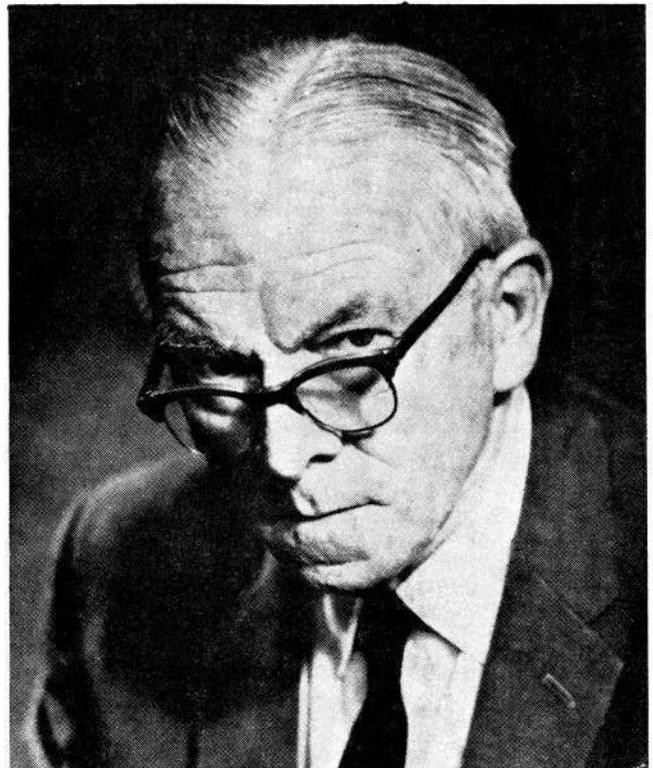
It is not surprising that SASO and the Black Consciousness Symposium held in Durban in December of last year, have so far directed their specific fire at white liberals. If they were to direct their fire at the Government and Boss and the Security Police they would not find it so easy to hold conferences. It does not require courage to direct one's fire against the politically unarmed. I am not suggesting that SASO lacks courage, but I don't think highly of its preliminary sallies.

Indeed, as I asked Miss Masekela of the December symposium, who said that white liberals are a major stumbling block in the way of black liberation, what should white liberals do? Should they leave the country? Should they keep silent for ever more? Should they go north to be trained as guerilla fighters? Or should they just lie down and die?

An intelligent young woman like Miss Masekela should understand that there are some people who call themselves liberals who do not wish to leave their country, who would think it a crime to be silent, who are not by belief and temperament fitted to become revolutionaries, and who do not wish to die. They are there. They are just as real as Miss Masekela. Some of them — perhaps all of them — are just as honest as she. Some of them have paid a high price for their beliefs. Miss Masekela must do her thing. They must do theirs. It is as simple as that. They have just as much right as she to speak, write and work for their country, which is hers too.

DILEMMA

Now while I write about the dilemma of SASO — whether to be Black Power or Black Consciousness — and though I write with some severity, I do not laugh at it. There are portions of Mr. Biko's address which are brave and honest. That is why I find the following statement unworthy of him, that "blacks have had enough experience as objects of racism not to wish to reverse the tables." Does Mr. Biko believe that black people in power would have a Nobility that white people in power do not? The problem of the future is much more complex than that, and nothing is to be gained by oversimplifying it. I fully realise that Mr. Biko is not concerned with the needs of white people in South Africa, but I am. White South Africans — unless they are going to be driven out of Africa altogether — need to be confronted with the realities of Black Power and Black consciousness — and by the realities of their demands — not by the kind of idealistic platitudes that were once supposed to be the monopoly of liberals.



Alan Paton

I am also strongly critical of Mr. Biko's use of *thesis*, *anti-thesis*, and *synthesis*. He says that for liberals, the *thesis* is apartheid, the *anti-thesis* is non racialism, and "the *synthesis* very feebly defined." But for Black Consciousness, the *thesis* is a strong white racism, the *anti-thesis* is black solidarity, and the *synthesis* is a "true humanity where politics will have no place". Really, Mr. Biko, this is too much. The *synthesis* is just as likely to be war.

PERSONAL NOTE

I am going to close this article on a personal note. Mr. Biko says – I am using his language – that I "shouted" from London "perhaps apartheid is worth a try". Either Mr. Biko is deceived or he is deceiving. I have never said a word in favour of apartheid in my life. I have fought it, not only in the life of my country, but in my own life too.

I was not speaking about apartheid at all. I was speaking of those instruments of power which the Government has created, namely the territorial authorities. I was urging that they should be used to the full. Mr. Biko regards them all as contemptible, and thinks they should not be used at all, because white people created them "to give some kind of authenticity to their lie." This is moralistically very grand, but one cannot lay it down as a principle that one must not use one's opponent's moves in order to checkmate him, simply because his desire is to subjugate. That would be the end of all sport, political or otherwise.

Long before I "shouted" from London, I wrote from Botha's Hill in REALITY of March 1971, this paragraph.

"REALITY, and the Liberal Party before it, are and were totally opposed to the policy of separate development, on both moral and practical grounds. The goal is – as it was always – one common society whose rights and obligations are shared by all, free of all racial discrimination, and upholding fundamental rights and the rule of law. But where the Government in its pursuit of separate development creates instruments of power that can be used, however imperfectly, for the achievement of progress towards those ends, then the proposition that one should use them is one fully to be considered."

It is possible that Mr. Biko would think, *or would feel obliged to think*, that I wrote this paragraph to give some kind of authenticity to the white man's lie, and that in secret I rejoice in this clever way of perpetuating subjugation. I suppose that he is entitled – though it would have to be in some contorted way – to such an opinion. And I fear that is what Black Consciousness might become, a refusal to believe – on principle – that any white person can speak the truth. Unless it can overcome this, I predict that it will never have the noble future which Mr. Biko dreams for it, and will become the twin of White Nationalism.

And what, Mr. Biko, would be the *synthesis* of that?

WHEN THE OVAMBO WENT HOME

by Dudley Horner

On the northern border of Namibia (South West-Africa) in a region consisting of a fairly well-developed type of woodland and dry forest vegetation, which thins out and passes into dry steppe country to the north and west of the Etosha Pan, live some 340 000 Ovambo who constitute nearly 46 per cent of the entire population of the mandated territory. The South African Government's colonial policy, with its basis of so-called separate development, contains the greater majority of these people within a "homeland" which constitutes roughly one-twentieth of the total area of Namibia. This land is called Owambo or Ovamboland, the people are Ovambo. Some 40 000 Ovambo (mostly male) are obliged by various circumstances to seek employment in the southern sector of the territory which has been known for some time, and very aptly, as the Police Zone.

The Ovambo have been in the past, and to a large extent still are today, primarily cultivators subsisting on crops of millet, kaffircorn, beans, pumpkins, watermelons, groundnuts and gourds, all of which are cultivated with particular success during years of ample rainfall. They are, to a lesser extent, also herdsmen keeping cattle of little commercial value and small stock (mainly goats.) Owambo depends for its crops and livestock on local rainfall and the floodwaters from Southern Angola. The territorial Water Affairs Department has devised a water conservation

scheme culminating in the construction of a weir across the Kunene River near Eriksson's Drift which, together with the construction of the Okatana canals, is expected to remove the spectre of famine in years of drought. The question of rainfall is obviously of prime importance and food-supply is a crucial factor in the local economy. In some 82 years between 1883 and 1966 the northern sector of Namibia has suffered 34 years of drought and during the famine of 1961 2 000 tons of maize a month had to be delivered to Owambo.

Before the effective settlement of Namibia by whites the Ovambo enjoyed the respect of the other indigenous peoples who treated them as a people apart, living in splendid isolation. At the request of the pioneer missionary Hahn, the Finnish Lutheran Church started among the Ovambo, a mission which enjoyed considerable success over the years. The efforts of early missionaries resulted in the establishment of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church (ELOK) which today rejoices in a membership of some 200 000 people, largely concentrated among the Ovambo.¹ ELOK has acted as a cohesive force; and the Anglicans have also been very active in the area.

Although the boundaries of the German Protectorate of S.W.A. were officially recognised in June 1890,² Owambo never actually came under German rule.³ Thus the German depredations of the land of the indigenous people, who had launched various unsuccessful attempts to secure a measure of independence between 1904-1906 left Owambo untouched⁴ and her people in possession of their inheritance.

- 1) Bruckner de Villiers. *The Present State of the Church in South West Africa.*
- 2) J.H. Wellington. *South West Africa and its Human Issues* P.172
- 3) S. Hayes *A brief look at S.W.A. in. Reality*, July 1971
- 4) Wellington. *Op. Cit. p. 214*

Ovambo Kraal

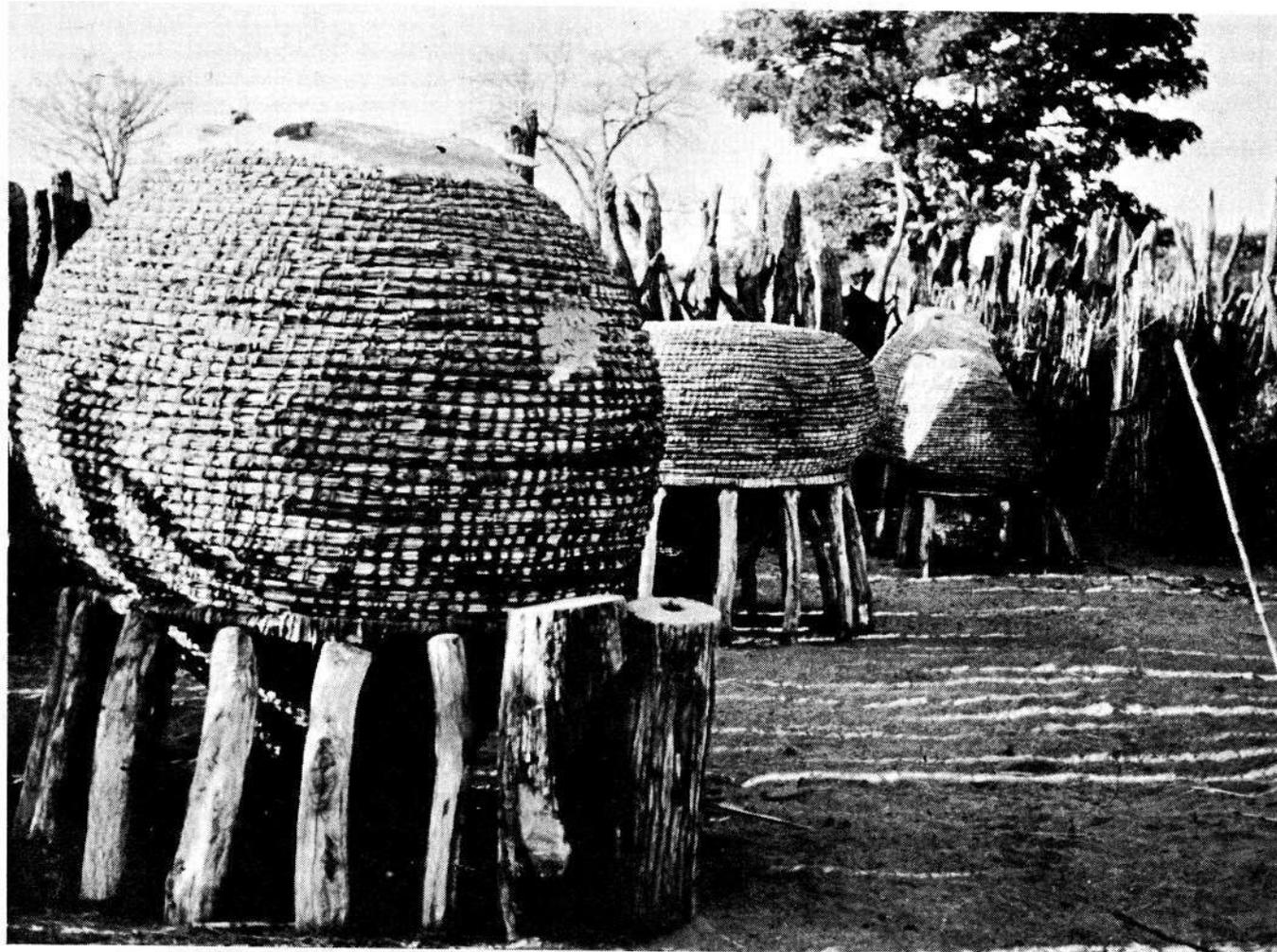
THE MANDATE

In 1915 South African forces conquered and occupied Namibia (then German South West Africa). In 1917 a joint attack by South African and Portuguese forces during which Mandume, the last uKwanyama king, was killed, resulted in the division of Ovambo territory, thus effectively establishing the modern boundary between Namibia and Angola.⁵ South Africa was entrusted with the administration of the territory after the Paris peace talks in 1918.

With the South African government in effective control of the former German Protectorate, it is useful to consider Article 22 (1), of the Covenant of the League of Nations which reads:-

“To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that *the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization* and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant”.
(my italics)

- 5) Hayes. *Op. Cit.*
- 6) Wellington *Op. Cit. p. 445*



It is important in any assessment of the recent Ovambo strike to bear in mind certain provisions of the Mandate for German South West Africa to which the South African Government of the day agreed:⁷

- "The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the *material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory subject to the present Mandate. (My italics)*
- The Mandatory shall see that the slave trade is prohibited, and that no forced labour is permitted, except for essential public works and services, and then only for adequate remuneration. *(My italics)*
- Subject to the provisions of any local law for the maintenance of public order and public morals, the Mandatory shall ensure in the territory freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, and shall allow all missionaries, nationals, of any State Member of the League of Nations, to enter into, travel and reside in the territory for the purpose of prosecuting their calling".

This Mandate was made at Geneva on 17 December 1920. In the light of practical experience who could blame any Ovambo for regarding the provisions enunciated above as so much high-falutin' verbiage?

It is necessary to examine events in Namibia as a whole, particularly in the southern two-thirds of the territory. The economy of Namibia rests on three key industries: Mining, Agriculture and Fishing which contribute roughly 47 per cent, 17 per cent and 3 per cent respectively to the actual value of the Gross Domestic Product at factor cost. The diamond mines in the South and the base mineral mines in the North have been described as the sheet-anchor of the territory's economy.

PASS SYSTEM

The white settlers in Namibia evolved a "pass law" system closely resembling the sophisticated measures of influx control which have reduced black South Africans to that state of helotry which some regard as the essential prerequisite for the maintenance of white domination. There is nevertheless one important difference: the Bantu Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act which applies in South Africa does not apply in Namibia. This Act prohibits strikes by or lock-outs of African employees, the instigation or incitement of such strikes or lock-outs, and sympathetic strikes or lock-outs. The maximum penalties on conviction for a contravention of these provisions are a fine of R1 000 or three years' imprisonment without the option of a fine, or both fine and imprisonment. The fact that this Act is not applicable to Namibia could well explain the initial caution exercised by the authorities in their handling of the strike, although international attention would also have been a contributory factor.

The pass laws apply only in "white" areas of the southern sector. Thus, an African who remains in the northern sector, or in a Reserve of the southern sector, does not need to possess any "pass" or identification document.⁸

7) Wellington *Op. Cit.* p. 447-448.

8) The description of the control of black labour in Namibia has been taken from Muriel Horrell's *South West Africa*.

With certain exceptions, African men over 18 years of age who wish to move from one magisterial district to another require travelling passes.

Those granted permission to leave the northern sector are provided with an identification pass (commonly known as an I.P.), on which brief information relating to the holder, and his thumb-print, are recorded. This serves as a travelling pass. No African women except the wives of evangelists and ministers of the church, and of Government employees, are allowed to leave in order to reside in the southern sector, and even those who are exempt from this provision require the chief's consent.

Before an African man is issued with a railway ticket he is, by law, required to produce a travelling pass. Although women are not required by law to have travelling passes, many who wish to move from one district to another do apply for such documents, and officials are not discouraging this practice.

WHITE AREAS

Adult males in "white" areas of the southern sector are required to be in employment unless they are temporary visitors or have been granted certificates of exemption from labour. Such certificates may be issued to those who are unfitted for work because of old age or infirmity, or, in the discretion of officials, to any other applicant who is of good character and has private means of support.

If an African man who does not possess a certificate of exemption is found wandering about in a "white" area and cannot prove that he has adequate means of support, or if he is found trespassing on a farm or loitering near a dwelling-house or enclosed property, he may be deemed by a court of law to be idle or disorderly. On a first conviction he may be assigned as a labourer to public works, a municipality, or a private person. On a subsequent conviction for trespass or "loitering" a fine of up to R100 may be imposed. In default of payment, or if convicted for a second or subsequent time of being "idle", he may be sentenced to up to twelve month's imprisonment, with or without spare diet and solitary confinement for the first three months.

Men who want to enter employment may apply to a magistrate, Bantu Affairs Commissioner, or officer in charge of a police post for a permit to seek work.

URBAN AREAS

Provided that a Bantu Affairs Commissioner or municipality grants permission, an African may visit an urban area for up to 72 hours without requiring a permit other than a travelling pass. Certain categories of visitors may stay for more than 72 hours without permission, for example chiefs and headmen, minister of religion, teachers, policemen, prison warders, and court interpreters. No African may enter an urban African township, however, unless he is registered as a resident of it, or unless he has obtained a permit from the municipal or other authority in charge.

Africans may remain in an urban area if they were born there, or have worked there uninterruptedly for one employer for ten years, or have been there lawfully and

uninterruptedly for fifteen years, and have not, in the meanwhile, been convicted of any serious offence. Those who qualify to remain (men and women) are registered with the municipality: they need no other documentary proof. They may seek their own employment. A man or woman who is the registered tenant of a municipal house and who qualifies to remain in the area may retain the tenancy for as long as he or she can continue to pay the rental.

A permit to seek work in a town is not issued to an African who does not qualify to remain there, however, unless there is considered to be a shortage of labour. Every urban local authority is required to submit to the Administration, whenever required, a return showing, inter alia, the number and sexes of Africans who are needed for the different categories of work, or who are deemed to be redundant. The Administrator may order Africans who are considered to be redundant, and who do not qualify to remain to leave the urban area concerned. If an African is allowed to enter an urban area to seek work, the type of employment which he is authorized to accept may be specified on his permit. If an "unqualified" man loses his job and no suitable vacancies exist he may be ordered out of the town. Employers who are permitted to introduce African workers into urban areas must guarantee to return them to their homes or last place of residence on the termination of the contract of service.

An African man in employment is required to possess a copy of his service contract, which contains particulars relating to the holder, his employer, the rate of wages, and the duration of the contract. These contracts must be completed before a duly authorized official, who is required to ensure that the conditions of service are equitable. A breach of an employment contract by either party to it is a criminal offence

RECRUITMENT OF LABOUR

All African workers required from the northern sector and from Angola until very recently were recruited by the South-West African Native Labour Association (Pty) Ltd. (SWANLA) – a semi-government body with headquarters at Grootfontein and depots at Ondangua in Ovamboland and Runtu in Okavangoland. This was how the system worked: *

All employers in the southern sector who required labour with the exception only of farmers, had to obtain a permit from the magistrate.

If a permit was granted, the applicant forwarded it to SWANLA. The period of the contract and the wages offered had to be stated. The wages offered could not be less than the minimum laid down for each class of employee – these minimum wages are described later.

The maximum initial contract period was 309 shifts (working days) for mining or industrial work, and twelve months for domestic service in urban areas. Farm labourers were given the choice of signing a contract for twelve or for eighteen months.

A man in the northern sector who wanted work went to the nearest recruiting depot, where he was medically examined. If his state of health was adequate he was given the choice of available vacancies.

* This system was in operation until recent Ovambo Strike when new terms for labour were negotiated.

When a worker's contract of service was completed he had to return home for at least a month, and might then reapply. By mutual agreement, he could return to his previous employer.

The minimum fixed wages laid down for farm labourers recruited by SWANLA from the northern sector varied according to the age and experience of the worker, and his state of health. An "A" class worker was completely fit; a "B" class worker less so; while a "C" class person was either a juvenile (under 16 years of age) or an adult who, although capable of work, has some injury or deformity. The minimum cash wages per month were:

	House Servants and general Workers		Shepherds	
	12 month contract	18 month contract	12 month contract	18 month contract
CLASS C. JUVENILE				
inexperienced	R3.75	R4.50	R5.25	R5.25 for first 12 months and R6.00 thereafter
experienced	R5.25	R6.00	R6.75	R7.50
ADULT				
Worker returning to his previous employers	R6.00	R6.75	R7.50	R8.25
CLASS B.				
Inexperienced or experienced	R6.00	R6.75	R7.50	R8.25
Experienced worker returning to his previous employer	R7.50	R8.25	R9.00	R9.75
CLASS A.				
Inexperienced	R7.50	R8.25	R9.00	R9.75
Experienced worker returning to his previous employer	R8.25	R9.00	R9.75	R10.50

(It is true that payment-in-kind would considerably increase the value of the appallingly low cash wages mentioned above. However, estimates of the value of payment-in-kind are invariably unreliable).

STRIKE

It was against the background of this system of "tied" labour that reports of a threatened strike at Walvis Bay were issued in early December. Police reinforcements were flown into Namibia, the entire police force in the territory was placed on stand-by, and armed reinforcements moved into Walvis Bay. The General Manager of the Tsumeb Corporation was reported to have said: "I don't expect anything is going to happen here. I don't know more than the man in the street." Subsequent events were to prove his first statement inaccurate but his second correct.

In Windhoek between 5 000 and 6 000 Ovambo held mass meetings in Katutura township, rejecting employers offers and destroying their rations. During the next day or two Katutura was effectively sealed off by a detachment of police and the Security Police were reported to be active.

Employers in Namibia were reported to be outraged by the "unreasonable" demands of the workers. White students and schoolboys on vacation were employed in various capacities, particularly on the railways at a basic rate of R109 a month — an interesting contrast with minimum contract rates mentioned earlier in this article.

Over the next few days 5 200 Ovambo at Windhoek, 3 780 at Tsumeb, 640 at Klein Aub, 450 at Walvis Bay, 900 at Berg Aukan, 300 at Uis tin mine, 240 at Rosh Pinah tin mine, 72 at Swakopmund, 65 at Karabib, 80 at Oamites Copper mine, 80 at Husab, 59 at J.G. Strydom Airport plus a number of railway maintenance men and loaders and porters at the airport came out on strike. The 4 000 Ovambo at the important Consolidated Diamond Mines remained at work but declared their complete solidarity with the strikers (some 300 struck early in January). In all, nearly 13 000 Ovambo had come out, and had been transported back to Owambo on special trains.

NEW ARRANGEMENTS

On 30 December the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that details of new labour arrangements would be announced by the end of January. It was reported that the Owambo Legislative Council would take over the running of the contract labour system on a more flexible basis. Consolidated Diamond Mines announced a 10 per cent wage increase for all workers, (their then overall average wage being R43,42 per month), the seasonal summer rains started falling heavily in Namibia and 600 workers on a canal project in Owambo also downed tools.⁹

At a meeting of returned workers at Ondangua in Owambo Mr. Nangutuala was elected chairman and dissatisfaction with the proposed meeting between the Owambo Legislative Council and the authorities scheduled to take place at Grootfontein was expressed. The meeting agreed to reject both the contract labour system and any agreement reached if the strikers themselves are not consulted and if they do not support the agreement.¹⁰

DEMANDS

On 12 January the *Star* reported that an undisclosed number of policemen had been flown from South Africa to Ondangua in Owambo. Reports indicated that the situation in Owambo was tense but quiet. The strikers' demands contained in a pamphlet circulating among the 13 000 strikers in Owambo were:¹¹

- Improvement of employment agreements to include liberty for Ovambo to do work they wanted to and of which they had experience and knowledge; freedom to change jobs without "fear of landing in jail";
- Freedom to have their families with them.
- The rate for the job irrespective of colour, and equal treatment for all.
- Employment bureaux in all tribal regions and towns.

9) *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 December *Sunday Express*, 2 January.

10) *Sunday Times*, 9 January.

14) *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 January.

- Mutual respect between employer and employee.
- Sufficient pay for workers to buy their own food and provide for transport needs.
- An identification card instead of a "pass".
- The removal of the "barricade" — the police post at the Owambo border.

On 14 January the Owambo Legislative Council elected Chief Philemon Elifas Chief Counsellor in place of the late Chief Shiimi who had supported the South African Government's policy of separate development.¹² During its debate on the strike the Legislative Council unanimously condemned the contract labour system, were particularly bitter in their criticism of the South West African Native Labour Association (SWANLA), and called for higher wages for Owambo workers.¹³ At that time, fewer than 1 000 workers had been recruited to replace the 13 000 striking Ovambo.

SOME AMELIORATION

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced, after his discussions with employers and the Owambo Legislative Council, at Grootfontein that a completely new system of black labour regulation would come into operation. It seems that the much-despised SWANLA has been killed and that the Owambo Government will control labour employment offices, not only within Owambo, but at certain points in the southern sector. Individual contracts will be negotiated by employer and employee and these will set out in some detail the conditions of service. It is clear that there will be some amelioration of the monstrous system of labour regulation which has obtained in the past.

The degree will depend very largely on the Owambo Government who do not bargain from a position of strength. It is equally clear that the contract labour system has *not* been abolished.

While reports indicate that Ovambo workers are starting to register for employment other reports indicate that white settlers are mustering their forces to resist what they term "unreasonable" demands. Rumour is rife on the question of the extent of unrest in Owambo itself. Police reinforcements in the territory have been augmented by units of the South African Defence Force. There are reports of wide-spread disturbances and indications that serious discontent has arisen among a people who have been subjected to a form of exploitation which is a national disgrace, and, since Namibia relies so heavily on foreign investment, an international scandal.

There will be many who will agree with J.H. Wellington's judgement.

"(We white South Africans) given by Humanity a sacred trust to foster and further the interests of the indigenous people of South West Africa . . . have put our own interests first and foremost."

12) *Star*, 14 January.

13) *Rand Daily Mail*, and *Star*, 15 January.

14) *Sunday Times*, 16 January.

15) *P Press statement* 14/72 (P), 20 January.

LIBERALISM AND THE CHANGING SCENE

by Edgar Brookes

The scene in South Africa is changing rapidly, and sometimes unpredictably. On Monday one reads of really enlightened views being propounded at Stellenbosch or in the Cape Provincial Council. On Tuesday comes the news of night raids by the Security Police on law-abiding and respected Bishops and ministers of religion. It is not always easy to know where we stand. But there are two consistently maintained points which conscientious men of liberal views are driven to consider with special care. They are the increasing strength of the black power movement and the strident voices, especially in overseas countries, of those who appeal to force. These are points which men of liberal ideas have to consider.

(1) We must keep our heads about the black power movement, despite the contemptuous and wounding references made by its upholders to "white liberals." We have more important things to do than to feel hurt or to defend ourselves. And one of these important duties is to *understand the black power movement*. It arises out of long-continued disappointment, at our own ineffectiveness which while sometimes inevitable in our circumstances is sometimes due to our own weakness and insensitiveness, and at the apathy of the country at large. The essence of black power is the black man's determination to "do it ourselves", to demand instead of to wheedle, to win acceptance not *although* he is a black man but *because* he is a black man, to refuse those concessions which merely make him an "honorary European." Mistakes and inconsistencies there may be in the intellectual presentation of the "black power" doctrine, but it is easily intelligible to the open and generous heart.

(2) It is our duty to be willing to work with the upholders of "black power" on matters held in common in so far as they will let us. The decision of Nusas to keep in touch with Saso is statesmanlike and wholly admirable.

(3) It would however, be, less than honest, less than prudent, not to see the practical dangers of the "black power" movement. At times it plays right into the hands of those who uphold apartheid, as, for example, the writer heard black students in Los Angeles pleading for separate hostels for black students. It is not without significance that, while Nusas has long been banned from Fort Hare, Saso has been made welcome there. Racism always has its dangers and can never be unequivocally accepted by liberals, whether it be white racism or black racism, racism inspired by offensive superiority or by defensive revolt. Moreover it is easy to divide but difficult to reunite. As Virgil put it :

*"Facilis descensus averno;
Noctes atque dies stat atri ianua Ditis,
Sed revocare gradus, supersaque evaders ad auras,
Hic est labor, hoc opus."*

("Easy is the descent into hell, Night and day the gates of gloomy Dis stand open. But to retrace one's steps and to emerge into the outer air, this is the task, this the toil.")

It is easier to inculcate dislike than to recapture affection. In 1912 (the parallel is very close) General Hertzog in his "two-stream" policy wanted to preserve the Afrikaner from anglicisation, not in order that he might remain separate, but that he might reunite with the English-speaking South African not as an inferior but on equal terms. He succeeded in dividing, but when he tried to reunite his own Free State National Party drove him out. History may well repeat itself.

(4) One thing that is undoubtedly right, whatever may be wrong, is to *keep up our friendships across the colour line*. Friendship is never wrong. We need not meet expressly to discuss "black power", but meet we must, even if it is only to discuss photography or the July Handicap. A network of personal friendships may in the long run be the salvation of South Africa.

FORCE

(1) When we come to the question of the use of force, the first point to be maintained is the *right to discuss it*. The Government and the Security Police often seem to consider that to discuss force is to advocate it, that to warn of impending disaster is to desire it. The prophet Jeremiah had just this experience. It is the work of a man to face problems openly and bravely, the attitude of a timid paranoiac to hide away from them.

(2) *We must consider well before we say that the use of force is immoral*, for this must be a consistent view. A Quaker may consistently condemn "freedom fighters" since he condemns *all* war, and even tends to look askance at policemen. We who are not pacifists must remember that our present regime is based on the use of constant force by the minority to maintain its supremacy over the majority. "Freedom fighters" use force to impose the rule of the majority over the

minority. We must either support both views or reject both views if we are to be consistent. Most liberals will reject both.

(3) *We must abstain from force.* When there was a Liberal Party this was its express view, and the impatient members who broke their Party rule were expelled from the Party. We cannot make the best of both worlds. If we wish to convince by argument we cannot threaten force. It is against the interests of our cause to do so. We may indeed understand and respect those who feel otherwise, who are often brave men even if mistaken ones; but we must be firm on this attitude of non-violence ourselves.

(4) *We must not advise force.* I cannot myself admire those who remaining in safety themselves, encourage others to use the dangerous methods of force. Here as throughout we must have clear and honest minds and not be led away by any adolescent desires to be above all in the avante-

garde. Liberals, like the Whigs of the Cambridge poet's epigram,

"Admit no force but argument."

THE FORCE OF ARGUMENT

But everything which leads us to oppose physical force combines to place on our shoulders the inescapable duty to *speak out courageously*, and protest against the regime maintained by force in our own country. This is not treason, it is the highest patriotism. That the actions of the Government and the Security Police make it dangerous is undoubtedly true. *We are called, as South Africans who love their country, to face those dangers. Non-violence does not mean apathy, dumb acquiescence or fear. Let us remember and apply the words of the old hymn:*

"Where duty calls or danger, Be never wanting there."

SOUTH AFRICA'S EXPANSION POLICY

by Robert Molteno

(The last in a series of three articles)

The danger to the developing countries of close trade ties with South Africa only becomes fully manifest when it is realised that South Africa's goal is not just trade, but the creation of a huge free trade area and Customs Union in Central and East Africa.

In recent years her balance of payments has been dramatically deteriorating. In the first half of the 1960's — 1960 to 1964, the average annual trade gap was R242 million.¹ In the second half of the 1960's — 1965 to 1969, this gap widened to an annual average of R535 million. Figures for the early months of 1970 indicate a further deterioration. The average monthly adverse trade balance rose from R31.3 million in 1968 to R51.1 million in 1969 and to R92.2 million in January 1970. The only factor which saved her from crisis was the huge and growing export of gold. In 1960, gold valued at R530 million was exported. This figure rose to R811 million in 1969. But gold production has reached its peak. 1969 output was only 0.5% greater than 1968. In the face of rising costs and the absence of any major new ore-bodies, it is expected that gold production will begin to fall from the mid 1970's² The consequences for South Africa's balance of payments are likely to be



Four international boundaries meet at one point. South Africa claimed that a point did not constitute an area, and that Botswana could not establish a road and ferry link through to.

serious. Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, leading mineowner and industrialist, stated in November 1969 that the replacement of gold as a generator of foreign exchange was the main economic problem facing the country.³ And the 1968 — 1973 Economic Development Plan has called for a 41% increase in merchandise exports.⁴ Yet agricultural exports cannot possibly compensate for the gap caused by falling gold production. Indeed agriculture has failed to maintain its share either of the Gross National Product or of exports.

This means that the increasing balance of payments deficit can only be remedied by a huge increase in exports of manufactured goods. But this South Africa has found very hard to achieve. Distance, higher unit costs and technological lag have all prevented her manufactured goods from penetrating the major markets of Europe and North America. In the first six months of 1969, only

4% of South African exports to Britain were manufactured goods – excluding unprocessed copper and diamond exports.⁵ This contrasts starkly with the fact that, in 1967, 87.5% of South African exports to Zambia were manufactured goods.⁶ South Africa's natural market is Africa. But even here, for political and economic reasons, she is often unable to compete successfully with other industrialised nations. The solution for her would be to include a large number of African states in a protected market – i.e. a Free Trade area dominated by herself.

ADVANTAGE TO SOUTH AFRICA

The advantages to South Africa of a Free Trade area are easily demonstrated. In the existing Customs Union area of South Africa, South West Africa, Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland – South Africa in 1964 supplied 89% of their imports and had a favourable balance of trade with them of R67 million.⁷ With the former states of the Central African Federation, (Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi), which are not linked to South Africa in a free trade area – South Africa only supplied 23% of their import requirements; and in the same year only 8% of Mozambique and Angola's imports. If these states were included in her free trade zone and she were able to dominate their market to the same extent that she dominates her present "partners", she would, on 1964 figures, increase her exports by R476 million a year – or almost the size of the average annual trade deficit she was running in the second half of the 1960's.

Both Government and businessmen are aware of the huge advantages to South Africa of a wider free trade area. The result has been a growing clamour for the South African Government to initiate a Common Market of Southern Africa – to include countries as far afield as Zambia and even Congo (Kinshasa). Dr. Verwoerd was the first minister to enunciate the idea as early as 1963. He has been followed by the Minister of Economic Affairs, Jan Haak, who in 1965 opened a Conference on "A Common Market in Africa – a marketing concept." He advocated that links, similar to those existing between South Africa and her Reserves and the High Commission Territories, be extended to other African states i.e. "a customs union, and almost free flow of capital, a monetary unit, and a substantial flow of labour."⁸

Since then, a senior diplomat, Eschel Rhoadie, has written a book, "The Third Africa" (1967), elaborating the idea. In 1969, the University of Pretoria commissioned a special study on the feasibility of the project.⁹ And in May 1970, a conference was held at Victoria Falls in Rhodesia to explore the possibilities more fully.

PERPETUATES BACKWARDNESS

While the benefits to South Africa would be enormous, the results for African states would be disastrous. It is an axiom of economic theory that a free trade area perpetuates the backwardness of the underdeveloped regions included in it. Even the pro-Government journal, *Newscheck* (30/5/1969) admitted: "A customs union is economically justifiable only among states whose productive patterns are fairly competitive before union and which have the possibility of becoming more complementary after integration.

"Also a precondition of the success of a common market is that its members should be at roughly the same level of economic development. Neither of these crucial pre-conditions exists in Southern Africa. In fact, almost the exact opposite prevails." Underdeveloped areas are unable to industrialise because they lack the markets, infrastructure, and ancillary services which would attract industry. And South Africa, in her relations with her existing Customs Union partners, has not taken any measures to correct this tendency whereby they are lagging further and further behind her economically. In these circumstances, for an African state, which is underdeveloped, to join South Africa's projected Common Market would spell perpetual poverty. It is noteworthy that both Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies have shown a marked lack of enthusiasm for the idea.

It is for this reason that South Africa's goal of a huge Free Trade area is quite consistent with her other goal of keeping Africa's manufactured exports out of her home market. For the creation of a Common Market in the Southern third of the Continent would halt any further industrialisation of states outside South Africa, but in the Market. South African industries would therefore not be threatened significantly with undercutting from lower cost producers in the Market since few would already exist, and fewer still would come into existence in the future. The main result would merely be South African industries gaining easier access to a larger market.

History also has shown the danger of free trade areas to underdeveloped nations. The United States and the old Dominions were only able to industrialise once they ended free trade with Britain and erected protective tariff barriers. South Africa's own economic development policy has for decades been based on the same technique.

Even the internal economic history of South Africa shows the tendency of industry to locate itself only in developed areas. Most of her industry is in the Southern Transvaal where the goldmines originally created favourable conditions. The coastal industrial areas of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth are finding their growth rates much lower than the Southern Transvaal. As for the rural areas – white as well as black – they are devoid of industry. Only stringent government measures – financial carrots as well as administrative sticks – have forced a few reluctant industrialists to locate their factories in the Border areas on the fringes of African "Reserves" – i.e. away from existing concentrations of industry.

DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES

The disastrous consequences of Free Trade for weaker partners (and any African state joining would be a weaker partner) is most conclusively shown by the economic history of Southern Africa as a whole. The High Commission Territories have been bound to South Africa by a common Customs Union for sixty years. And the result has been the complete absence of any factories in Lesotho, Botswana and even Swaziland. Botswana is well aware of further unfavourable consequences to herself of the Customs Union. In 1966, President Khama pointed out that his country was not represented on the South African Reserve Bank and could not therefore influence monetary policy which affected it. The revenue from the Customs Union was not related to Botswana's economic growth. The cost of living in Botswana was inflated without any compensating

advantages by the high duties South Africa imposes on imports to protect her industry.¹⁰

Another instance of the adverse consequences of free trade is Southern Rhodesia which only began to industrialise after the Second World War when the formation of the Central African Federation gave her both an external tariff wall against South Africa and protected access to the large markets of Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi). Zambia herself, situated for ten years in the free trade area of the C.A.F., suffered a total lack of industrialisation until she broke out of the C.A.F., in 1964. Since then her manufacturing sector has grown at the very high annual rate of 30%.¹¹

EXPLOITIVE INTENTIONS

The exploitive intentions behind South Africa's Free Trade plans have been most crudely sketched by the pro-Government journal, *Africa South* (February 1968 – page 4); "Our economic and political objectives in Southern Africa are to harness all natural and human resources from the Table Mountain (in Cape Town) to the border of the Congo River . . . Countries like Rhodesia, Malawi, Portuguese East Africa, will be amicably persuaded (sic) to adopt the Rand as their currency . . . There is already a Resources Planning Council for Southern Africa which has to investigate and advise all countries in Southern Africa to avoid duplication of certain industries, which duplication could lead to extravagance and unnecessary competition between countries. (A euphemism for hurting South African industrialists' profits). Member countries of the Common Market could complement one another. For example, the Republic of South Africa could manufacture machinery, chemicals, and electrical appliances – while the Transkei could produce jute, Swaziland sugar, Botswana beef, and Lesotho water."

THE POLITICAL PRICE

We have examined in detail the pros and cons of African states becoming involved in various kinds of economic relationship with South Africa. Leaving aside the moral and ideological costs involved, our analysis has shown that it is by no means self-evident that it is economically to the advantage of African states to enter these relationships. All sorts of costs are involved more or less obvious, short run and long run.

But there remains one more question to be asked. What are the consequences for the independence and full freedom of action of those African states who enter into close and dependent relations with South Africa?

South Africa is thrusting out into Africa for a number of reasons. She needs markets for her manufactured goods. She wants to export capital. She requires buffer zones on her borders which will deny transit to guerillas. How extensive South Africa wishes these buffer zones to be was made clear by the Minister of Police in October 1968 when he argued that she must win the good will of Black states *to the South of the Equator* so that they could act as buffers against pressure from the North.¹² She needs diplomatic ties and other manifestations of friendship by African states to show the West that it too can afford politically to relax its pressure on South Africa. The blatantly opportunistic and self-interested nature of South Africa's "outward-looking" policy in

Africa was revealed by Foreign Minister Dr. Hilgard Muller, in 1968. "As the West becomes aware of our fruitful co-operation with other African states, their attitude towards us improves. I believe that it will happen to an increasing degree because we must simply accept that our relations with the rest of the world are largely determined by our relations with the African states."¹³

AMENABLE

Her strategy of expansion is based on building and perpetuating a series of links which will make African states dependent on her and so amenable to her will. These mechanisms of dependence should be noted. She has openly proclaimed, utilised, and intensified the geographical dependence of the three former High Commission Territories. Thus President's Nixon's decision early in 1970 to aid them in reducing their dependence on the Republic was greeted with dismay by Nationalist Party commentators. "It is an illusion that sees Botswana's and even Lesotho's love for South Africa as anything more than cupboard love". The new American Policy "could be interpreted by these states as a green light to lessen . . . their ties with South Africa." "It will raise them to a position where they too will be able to join Africa's militancy against us."¹⁴ It followed that, when a little later Botswana tried to end this dependence by using American aid to build a road and improved ferry link with Zambia, South Africa suddenly claimed that Botswana and Zambia did not have a common border.¹⁵ The political intentions behind South Africa's trade thrust into Africa were made clear by *Newscheck* (28/2/1969) – "To longstanding business activity has come official benediction and a political parallel in the form of the Government's outward policy. That South African business should become more active in neighbouring black-states; and not only in Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies, is an implicit part of the policy". The tourist trade is another device to create dependence.

More sinister methods of creating client states in the continent include her military support for the eventually abortive Katanga Secession in 1960/61 and the Biafran Secession in 1969.¹⁶ South Africa has also sought – under the guise of technical aid – to second White Civil Servants to key administrative positions in African states. This process has gone furthest in Lesotho where the Chief Justice, Chief Electoral Officer, head of the radio, chief Legal Adviser, Manager of the Lesotho National Development Corporation, and several advisers are all White South Africans. The process is being repeated elsewhere. The chairman of the Swaziland Public Service Commission is now a South African Civil Servant, as is the head of Malawi's Information Services.

KEY QUESTION

The key question which every African state must answer is how South Africa will utilise this dependence to limit their freedom of action when it is in her interests to do so? Although the policy is only just beginning, there are already some answers to this question. In 1963 South Africa pressured the former High Commission Territories into delaying opening their radio stations until they had guaranteed not to broadcast material hostile to South Africa nor to beam broadcasts towards her.¹⁷ She has since 1963 forced aeroplanes flying from one of these states (inevitably across her territory) to land in South Africa and submit to search.¹⁸

She dictates to Lesotho which Basuto citizens may leave their country to visit the outside world and which may return home.¹⁹ She has refused to allow several Basuto students to return. She has successfully demanded that Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland prevent South African refugees from engaging in any political activity against South Africa.

Botswana has even been pressured into using her own police to capture (and gao!) freedom fighters found traversing her territory. This has happened on several occasions since 1967. All these states and Malawi have had to fashion their foreign policies according to South African wishes. They have all condemned the liberation movements. Malawi, for example, refused in 1969 to vote for increasing either moral or material support for the liberation movements.²⁰ They are not even able to vote against South Africa at the United Nations. They either abstain or absent themselves. Dr. Banda has often condemned the West's decision not to sell arms to South Africa, and stated that neither force, threats, sanctions nor condemnation were of any use. He personally preferred to look at the positive action taken by the white minorities²¹ Malawi in 1970 was forced to cede South Africa rights for the South African Air Force to use the new international airport at Lilongwe as a military base.²²

INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

South Africa has tried to interfere in domestic affairs of African states as well. As early as 1965, she set up a R½ Million fund to support sympathetic elements in other states. The use to which these funds, voted annually, are put has never been disclosed. Her attempt in 1969 to put paid to any hopes of industrialisation in the former High Commission Territories is another example of interference. So is her assistance – financial and the transport – to Chief Jonathan's Police Mobile Unit in suppressing popular opposition to his coup after he had lost a General Election early in 1970. As Dr. Verwoerd had stated, "it is in our interest to see that the people in these three territories have a sober outlook . . . It is important that we give our friendship to such parties in these territories, especially when, as now, they are also the ruling parties."²³ Also in 1970, South Africa sought to pressure Botswana into abandoning her intention of breaking out of her dependence on the White South by building a road and ferry link with Zambia.

Finally, South Africa has repeatedly shown herself ready to violate the sovereignty of African States. South African military planes have over-flown Zambia and Tanzania.²⁴ A South African helicopter had landed in Zambia near Sesheke. Another subsequently hovered over President Kaunda as he officially opened the new Sesheke hospital and drowned his speech. South African Police have crossed into Zambia. And in 1969, the S.A.P. followed a suspected stockthief into Lesotho and shot him dead. Indeed, in April 1970, Minister of Defence, P.W. Botha, stated that South African troops would disregard the sovereignty of Black states if it was in her military interests to do so. And the chairman of the Nationalist Party's Foreign Affairs caucus in Parliament, Dr. Paul Van der Merwe, stated in March 1970 that South Africa was considering Israeli-type raids into Zambia to destroy alleged guerilla camps.²⁵ The rationale behind such threats was clearly spelled out by the South African monthly, Africa South: "Surely, it would be very unwise to wait until the Communist terrorists are in the

Transvaal before beginning to counter-attack. So boosting the regimes of Malawi, Zambia, Angola, and Mozambique is a wise counter-offensive if we are to carry the battle into enemy territory."²⁶

RUTHLESS

These examples show that South Africa is quite ruthless in encroaching on the sovereignty of African states. She is prepared to exploit their dependence on her in a variety of ways when it is in her interests to do so. Her frequent reiterations that she believes in the principles of equality, mutual respect, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states are flatly contradicted by her actions. Mr. Vorster himself has outlined South Africa's ambitions: "We are of Africa, we understand Africa, and nothing is going to prevent us from becoming the leaders of Africa in every field."²⁷

It is this situation which provides the most important argument against African states being beguiled by apparent short run gains into entering economic or other relationships with South Africa. Because of the disparity in size and power between them and the Republic, such relationships inevitably mean dependence. And dependence in turn spells incalculable and adverse consequences for the African states involved.

CONCLUSION

Economic disengagement from South Africa is not only a moral policy. Not only does it hold some hope of changing South Africa through pressure. Above all, it is the only policy which is in the interests of the African states themselves. The alleged advantages of economic links are outweighed by a host of corresponding economic and other costs.

Finally, Black Africa can never be secure so long as the Southern part of the Continent – embracing nearly 40 million people and nearly one and three quarter million square miles – is in the thrall of White Supremacist regimes. For the foundation principles of these states are a contradiction of the African Revolution: racism versus nonracism; the inferiority of Africans versus the equality of all men; White minority rule versus Black majority rule. Geographically adjacent states, built on mutually exclusive principles, always clash – as Cuba and the U.S.A., West Berlin and East Germany, North and South Vietnam have shown. Each system, to protect itself, must seek to extend its principles to the neighbouring system. This is one reason why Africa wants to liberate Southern Africa. It is also why South Africa is so vigorously launching a counter-offensive to extend its power over neighbouring Black-ruled parts of the Continent. The dangers of this counter-offensive by "White Power" to Africa are incalculable. They provide the most cogent reason why African states cannot rest peacefully until White minority rule is ended. And this necessity in turn points up why it is dangerous for African states to enter any relations with South Africa which the latter can then exploit to her advantage, but to Africa's cost.

FOOTNOTES :

1. Computed from *H. Houghton* – The South African Economy (O.U.P. Cape Town – 1967).

2. This is based on the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines 1966 forecast (*The Economist* – 29/6/1968). Since then, the introduction of a fluctuating free market gold price and rising industrial demand for gold, have led to the possibility that South Africa's gold earnings may not fall

significantly in the 1970's. (Newscheck – 20/3/1970). There is no evidence yet to indicate which prediction is likely to be the most accurate.

3. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa – 1969 – page 88.

4. South African Financial Gazette – 21/2/1969.

5. Overseas Trade Accounts of the U.K. – June 1969 (HMSO-June 1969).

6. Annual Statement of External Trade 1967 (C.S.O. Lusaka 1968).

7. Data from Dr. G. Leistner's "Table of Interarea Trade for 1964". in Tegnikon – March 1967 – page 22. This is the most recent data available.

8. Africa Diary 1965 – page 2295.

9. "The concept of Economic co-operation in Southern Africa". (University of Pretoria 1969).

10. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa – 1966 – page 120.

11. This is at current prices 1964 to 1967. Calculated from the Economic Report – 1969 (Government Printer – Lusaka – 1970) page 160.

12. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa – 1968 – page 64.

13. March 1970.

14. Die Beeld – 5/4/1970.

15. The Observer – 12/4/1970.

16. Sunday Telegraph (London) – 30/11/1969.

17. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa – 1963 – page 281.

18. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1963 – page 61.

19. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa – 1965 – page 78.

20. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1969 – page 78 ff.

21. Africa Research Bulletin – Political Social and Cultural Series – 100 c – 1968.

22. Die Beeld 29/3/1970.

23. The Star (Johannesburg) – 1/10/1965.

24. Africa Confidential – 15/3/1968.

25. Die Beeld 29/3/1970. This is only a reiteration of previous statements by the Minister of Defence, P.W. Botha, – for example in April 1968 – The Star – 6/4/1968.

26. Africa South – November 1968.

27. Newscheck – 8/11/1968.

CHURCHES AND CHANGE

by Jeremy Hurley.

The churches in South Africa have great potential as agents for change but at the moment they show little signs of realising this potential. I am going to discuss ways in which I think the Churches may be got off their backsides and actually become the force for good that they were intended to be, and what will happen if they don't. I will talk about the English churches mainly, and more particularly the Catholic Church.

The Catholic Church is run by the hierarchy of bishops, archbishops and a cardinal. Official policy is determined by them, and they speak on behalf of all Catholics in South Africa (by a God given, and not a democratic right). The hierarchy (with one or two exceptions) is white, male and intellectual. Yet it "represents" a people that is 80% Black, over 50% female and largely uneducated. The hierarchy is without exception well enough off to live in large houses in often select suburbs. Yet it represents a people that is largely living below the poverty datum line. The hierarchy have one and all condemned the grant given by the WCC to the Freedom Fighters in Africa for their humanitarian needs, because, they say, a Christian cannot support violence. Yet this same hierarchy has never once urged those of its people liable for Military Service to be Conscientious Objectors, in the name of the same Christ.

CONTRASTS

I want to enlarge on these contrasts, and the hypocrisies implicit in them, and also to include in them the majority of us Whites who profess to be Christians.

1) The Church hierarchy reflects the racialistic beliefs of its people in the make up of the hierarchy, as I have already said. It is however, the peoples' racialism that I am going to focus on. This racialism is found in Church-goers, where the Blacks are expected to sit at the back of the church and receive Communion after their White

'madams'. It is found in everyday life when Blacks are called every name under the sun by church-goers, if they happen to offend the Whites. It is found when a Black servant is not allowed to have visitors to her room (if she is living in), because "we don't want any skelms around scaring the children". It is found when a woman is not allowed to have her family living with her in the town, and when she can go home on holiday only once a year. It is found when men are transported from the Homelands to the cities to work, because there is not nearly enough work in the Transkei or Zululand, and yet are not allowed to take their families and buy land to live on. All these things are allowed by White Christians and not only allowed but actually supported by them as well.

Many Christians vote for the Nationalist Party and subsequently support the policy of 80% of the people being squashed into less than 20% of the land. More English speaking Christians vote United Party, and support a policy that has entrenched in it the idea of the inferiority of the Blacks en masse – "not capable of being Members of Parliament, and will only have representatives". A few Christians vote Progressive Party and support a system in which Christ would not have the vote, because he did not have the required high standard of our Western education, and was not interested in making more money than he needed to live on. Do we never remember, and why are we so

seldom reminded by the preachers, that Christ said "Whatever you do to one of my brothers you do to me" and that the most important Commandment in the Bible is said to be "Love God and your neighbour as yourself".? How can this type of racialism be condoned, let alone supported by Christians?

INFERIOR

The Churches treat women as inferior to men. They cannot become priests. Nunneries suit only certain types of women. Very few people like living with one type of person all their life (especially with a group of purely-women or purely-men); and vowing obedience to a superior who you may think is an absolute idiot is a terrifying thought for anyone brought up to be responsible for her own actions.

Not allowing women to become priests is not where this discrimination ends, however. In the Anglican Cathedral, Johannesburg, the male used to (and now, a year later, probably still does) process down the aisle at evensong, while the unworthy women scuttled into their pew from a back door.

These lay women are kept busy by their priests. They are pushed into knitting circles, women's leagues, 'Bantu sewing groups', and other (to me) equally horrifying organizations, and there they accept passively the status of "useful for a street collection" (let alone any other position). Some women enjoy this, as no doubt some men would if they were honest enough to admit it. But the idea horrifies many women as much as it horrifies me. They drop out because sewing isn't their particular thing, and where else can they fit into the present Church structures? (No, teaching Sunday schools does *not* answer this problem.)

A certain standard of learning is demanded before a man is allowed to become a priest. This includes usually a six year (at least) course in philosophy, theology and rhubarb, rhubarb. Who set these standards? Christ? Christ chose ignorant peasants to set up his Church. Even considered on a purely practical level, who best gets the message across to illiterates on a mission? This intellectual, or someone closer to their understanding?

A RICH MAN

2) "If you wish to be perfect, go and sell what you own and give the money to the poor, and you will have pleasure in Heaven" (Matt 19:24)

"It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than a rich man to enter the Kingdom of heaven"

The Church hierarchy and its members profess a belief in these two quotations. The Church hierarchy its members deal in stocks and shares, own houses, motor cars, swimming pools, jewels, art treasures, chandeliers and wall to wall carpets. We possess these things while half of the people in this country, White as well as Black, live below the scientifically determined poverty datum line. We spend R9,000-00 in Pietermaritzburg on mending a Church organ when local welfare organisations can't come out on the money they get. How on earth do we justify these actions? I am not as guilty as many people are in these respects, because so far I just don't have that sort of money. But what will I be like in a few years time when

I am earning my privileged wage? God only knows, but the Catholic Church certainly won't try and stop me from being exactly the same.

KILL

3) "Thou shalt not kill"

The Church has never believed in this commandment. The Pope blessed troops going to both World Wars, the Churches all (with the very notable exception of the Jehovahs Witnesses) implicitly support the S.A. Defence Force by appointing chaplains to it who have never yet urged trainees to refuse to be taught how to kill.

The Churches cannot therefore be called Pacifists, or believers in that Commandment. Certain members may, but the Churches as organisations cannot. How then is it that every single prominent Church man in this country that I have heard of, has condemned the action of the World Council of Churches? On Christian grounds? The WCC earmarked a few thousands of rands for the humanitarian needs of the Freedom Fighters in Africa, who are fighting against what they believe is an oppressive political system. The Churches in South Africa condemned them because they say that Christ taught us Peace. Surely this is gross hypocrisy when we take into account the actions of the Churches in South Africa, or rather inactions as regards our compulsory military service?

So if the Churches are not pacifist they must believe in the 'Just War' theory. For instance, I can accept it when they said in the Second World War: "The Germans were evil, oppressing the Allies, and we fought to protect our freedom". But take this in the South African context. "The Blacks are evil, oppressing the Whites, and we have to protect our freedom" Ho-Ho-Ho-Ho.

This is another case of the Churches hypocrisy. — the hypocrisy of the hierarchy and the hypocrisy of especially the White people.

ACTION

It is for these reasons mainly, and because the Church hierarchy shows, as a whole, absolutely no inclination to budge even an inch itself, or to cause its members to even think of budging, that action is necessary.

Priests are dissatisfied with the Church, along with thousands of young people who see very little relevance in it at all. Almost all of these people, of all ages and races, are concerned with society and the Church as the way of life in which they were brought up. They would like to see the Church serving a much more useful role in society, as a relevant, concrete path towards a new society. As far as I can see they have three ways open to them. They can stay in the Church and behave like the three monkeys. They can plunge into the Church and wallow in as many organizations as possible, or they can form their own groups still inside the Church structure.

I would like to discuss the last two possibilities further — the first one being unworthy of comment. The Catholic Church (as do other Churches) has lay bodies that have a small amount of influence — usually only on the Parish Priest, but sometimes on the hierarchy. The amount of influence depends almost totally on the sympathies of the local Bishop (Archbishop Hurley being in my biased

view among the most open and alive to new ideas). This is a long and frustrating process, and I think it needless to add that not being allowed any voting rights on important matters is enough to put any red-blooded person under thirty (I'll even give the under forties the benefit of the doubt) off for good. Another fact to be taken into consideration is that Committees in general have little sympathy for long-hair-and-sandals, because these Committees are already part of the structure. This long-hair-and-sandals-type can have an extremely loud and effective influence when its action is channeled along the final way that I suggested – of constantly confronting Church structures.

RADICAL

The groups that these people would form would without doubt have to be radical to hold any sort of hope redirecting present structures. (Once hope disappears, even radical groups such as this become useless – as I will mention later.) The presence of a radical group is important to the present Church society, for three reasons. (They do however need an important qualifying question: Can a society – be it Church or political – be changed through a structure put there by that society, when the change needed is so vast and complete?)

The first reason is that a radical group such as this would have very clear ideas on what it thinks is Christian, and would try to act out this basic love-message. It would be held up as an ideal situation by fairly similar thinking people, in much the same way that the Liberal Party seems to have been held up as a Utopia for liberal thinking people who thought it wiser to work along more conservative lines. It could however become a conscience-salve for more conservative people, and this would be bad.

The second reason for the importance of a radical element in any society is because it makes a less way-out group appear respectable in the eyes of our incredibly conservative, pig-headed society. This happens in much the same way as the Progressive Party is gaining a little bit of respectability (for good or bad) by the exodus from its ranks of many students and other young people. This means that a movement towards a more fluid situation is more or less guaranteed.

The third and possibly main reason for a radical group like this to exist is for it, by its actions, to pressurise the main body of the Church, through confrontation. Confrontation – leading on to dialogue – can be very valuable. In this case actions like forcibly taking over the microphone during a Church service and putting your views across, handing out pamphlets during the service, daubing the church with slogans, shouting out comments during a particularly irrelevant sermon, kidnapping the bishop and holding him to a ransom of so many rands worth of equipment for a local mission hospital, all have the effect of making the people concerned take sides. Once sides are taken fruitful dialogue almost always takes place.

SHORTCOMING

In the South African situation, particularly, a shortcoming of confrontation can be seen in relation to the very conservative Churches (the Afrikaans especially, though not exclusively). Here the gap between the radical and conservative philosophies is too great to narrow by any sort of dialogue.

Student Perspectives on South Africa

edited by

Hendrik W. van der Merwe & David Welsh
with a preface by Seymour Martin Lipset
(Professor of Government and Sociology
at Harvard University) who writes:

“This book . . . may be of more importance than the myriad literature about the French ‘events’ of May 1968, or the activities of the American student movement in the 1960s. . . .”

At a unique occasion in January 1971, the leaders of diametrically opposed student organizations met for a week in the first research workshop of the Abe Bailey Institute of Interracial Studies at U C T.

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If none of these ideas achieves anything, the Catholic Church, and some of the others, won't have very long to live. Either it has to be pushed into a 'revolution' by the radical groups — and soon, (in which case the old people will leave — and this is highly, highly, highly unlikely) — or the people interested in being part of a new society will drop out completely. The latter is already happening and the present self-satisfied situation

will probably shortly bring about groups of people wanting to create a new, meaningful interpretation of the liberation that Christianity brings — outside of any Church.

They will be able, by their example, and not by rules and threats of hell-fire-and-damnation, to spread their love-message to the rest of the people who want it.

MORE NEWS FROM S.W.A.

(Newsletter from the Diocese of Damaraland, Windhoek. 2 February, 1972.)

The permit issued to the Bishop of Damaraland, the Right Reverend Colin O'Brien Winter, by the Department of Bantu Affairs in Windhoek 28th January was withdrawn by the Magistrate in Ondangua, Mr. van Niekerk, on Monday morning 31st January in Ondangua. In an interview with Mr. Pieterse the newly appointed Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for South West Africa, Bishop Winter was informed that this action was taken on instructions from Pretoria. The Bishop was further told that he may apply again for a permit to enter Ovamboland, but that the application, in his opinion, was not likely to be granted.

Bishop Winter, whose permit was valid until the end of 1972, went to Ovamboland to consult with and minister to the African clergy and the white staff at St. Mary's Mission Odibo. This is in the area where the incidents between the South African Police and the Ovambo have taken place. While he was at the Mission, where the morale of the staff was high, it was reported to him that four people had been killed in a clash with the police, and that reprisals were being taken by the Ovambos on those suspected of summoning the police, and that one sub-headman had been wounded and his wife hacked to death.

INCREASING VIOLENCE

The Bishop then went to Ondangua to see the leader of the strikers, Mr. Johannes Nangutuuala. He told Mr. Nangutuuala that he backed his demands for the abolition of contract labour and for better conditions and wages for the workers. He added however that he abhorred the increasing violence on both sides. Mr. Nangutuuala agreed and asked that the church leaders in Ovamboland issue a statement calling for a peaceful settlement.

The Bishop also met with the mother of a prisoner on Robben Island and was told that the Ondangua Magistrate had refused her permission to visit her son. He was later told that the Magistrate had also refused the nephew of another detainee permission to see his uncle. He was informed that Robben Island authorities had raised no objection to the trips.

On Monday 31st January the Bishop went to see Mr. van Niekerk, the magistrate to ascertain the truth of these allegations. Mr. van Niekerk was surprised to see the Bishop and immediately demanded to see his permit. After inspection he handed it back to him. Asked whether he had refused permission for the two Robben Island visits, Mr. van Niekerk replied, "It may be". The Bishop said that he had told the two persons to apply once again, and that he would pay all expenses involved.

The Bishop further added that if, as he believed, this was in accordance with current South African law, he would regard a further refusal by the magistrate in a serious light and would then force action by bringing the matter to the notice of Parliament and the United Nations.

BISHOP'S STATEMENT

Bishop Winter later issued a statement which reads as follows:

"This action on the part of the South African authorities is the culmination of what I consider to be a deliberate attempt to curb and weaken the ministry of the Anglican Church. Since I became Bishop seventeen (17) permits have so far been refused by the South African authorities. The present action is a deliberate one in cutting me off from the pastoral care of fifty thousand black Anglicans and those missionaries and other church leaders who serve them. The reasons for this are obvious.

"I have refused to accept the ideology of apartheid and have been outspoken about the suffering it is causing to the thousands in this land who are daily afflicted by it. I have chosen to act as the spokesman of those who are denied basic human rights and this the government will neither tolerate nor allow.

"I believe the present situation in Ovamboland is critical and deteriorating daily. The government blames the missionaries for the present unrest and refuses to see that the Africans themselves are rejecting the contract labour system. The Church has a vital part to play in finding a solution. I have called for a dialogue between the government and the Church and the government and strike leaders. None has been forthcoming.

"There is a break down in human relations in Ovamboland which is critical and the government reports that things in Ovamboland are calm are false.

"The strikers hold a meeting. The police arrive in force to smash it. There is shooting – people are hurt or killed. The Africans retaliate by burning down the kraal or killing the person they think has informed on them," is how one African described it to me.

GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO MEET STRIKE LEADERS

"Here obviously is a case for the government to initiate talks with the strike leaders. So far they refuse to meet

FROM THE RAND DAILY MAIL

OVAMBOS' LOT: EMPLOYERS WERE 'NOT INTERESTED'

WINDHOEK.—The trial of 12 men on charges arising from last year's Ovambo workers' strike, resumed in the Windhoek Regional Court yesterday.

The 12 are charged with using threats to incite other workers to break their contracts, inciting other workers to break their contracts, and breaking their own service contracts.

Employers of the accused gave evidence. The defence advocate, Mr. Brian O'Linn, asked each of the witnesses if they had taken any interest in the personal circumstances, previous experience, or education of their employees.

They replied that they had not taken any interest.

Mr. Gideon Kotze, a paymaster of E. Lofrenz and Co., said that one of the accused, Mr. Wilho Vulika, had been employed by his company.

His wages were R8 a fortnight, but if he came for a second contract period he would have been paid R15 a fortnight.

with them, but how else can a peaceful settlement be arrived at. The result is bitterness and rising dissatisfaction.

"South Africa is unable to contemplate a change in the system of apartheid and its concomitant laws which the Africans reject. Its only answer so far is the dismissal of missionaries and violence to those who oppose it. For my own part I shall continue to speak out whenever conscience, compassion or truth demand it."

Mr. O'Linn asked if Mr. Kotze was aware that the accused had passed Std. 5 and that he had previously earned R37 a month when employed by the blood transfusion service.

Mr. Kotze was not aware of it.

Mr. Vulika had been fired for asking for an increase in wages.

GASP

Another witness was employed by Mr. Frans Voigts of M. Pupkewitz and Co. He knew another accused, Mr. Laserus Shikongo who had been employed as a general labourer.

There was a gasp in the courtroom when it was revealed that his wages were R1,54 per week. This was the minimum wage of 26½c a shift allowed by the contract.

Mr. Voigts said he had also taken no interest in the personal circumstances, previous experience or education of the Ovambo employees.

A number of other employers gave evidence. A detective then gave evidence of a meeting held in Katutura on December 12, the day before the strike.

(Feb. 15, 1972)

(After REALITY went to print, Bishop Winter, Mr. David de Beer and Father Stephen Hayes were served with orders declaring them prohibited persons from the whole territory of S.W.A. (Namibia). They have been ordered to leave by March 4, 1972).

- N.B.**
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