SPEECH DAY ADDRESS, PORT SHEPSTONE HIGH SCHOOL, WEDNESDAY II NOVEMBER 1981

It has taken your headmaster considerable ingenuity and no little persistence to ensure that I would be present here today. He invited me on an Earlier occasion, but unfortunately other commitments prevented me from accepting. If you look at your maps you will see that a journey from Grahamstown to Port Shepstone is by no means a straightforward undertaking. Nonetheless I am very pleased and gratified to be able to share this occasion with you today, not least because Mr Rowe is an enthusiastic alumnus of Rhodes University. Furthermore some of your former pupils are students with us, and more, I understand, are likely to follow. Thirdly, I have a number of close relatives living here, and I have fond memories of many enjoyable

VISITS TO YOUR BEAUTIFUL AREA OVER THE YEARS. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE HENDERSON FAMILY OVER TWO GENERATIONS HAVE ATTENDED AND ARE ATTENDING YOUR SCHOOL. ALTHOUGH I CANNOT EXACTLY BOAST, LIKE THE ADMIRAL IN GILBERT AND SULLIVAN'S H M S PINAFORE ABOUT

"..... HIS SISTERS AND HIS COUSINS WHOM HE RECKONS UP BY DOZENS AND HIS AUNTS".

I CAN PROPERLY LAY CLAIM TO A STRONG FAMILY CONNECTION WITH PORT SHEPSTONE.

IT IS NOT OFTEN THAT TWO IMPORTANT DELIBERATIVE BODIES EITHER HAVE JUST DELIVERED OR ARE ON THE POINT OF DELIVERING THEIR REPORTS SO CLOSE TOGETHER. I AM REFERRING OF COURSE TO THE REPORT OF THE MAIN COMMITTEE OF THE HSRC INVESTIGATION INTO EDUCATION, ENTITLED "PROVISION OF EDUCATION IN THE RSA" (BETTER KNOWN AS THE DE LANGE REPORT AFTER ITS CHAIRMAN) AND TO THE BUTHELEZI COMMISSION. THE WORK OF THESE TWO DELIBERATIVE BODIES HAVE A GREAT DEAL IN COMMON: THEY ARE DEALING WITH TOPICS OF IMMENSE SIGNIFICANCE TO SOUTH AFRICA AS A WHOLE AND TO NATAL IN PARTICULAR; THEY HAVE MADE EVERY EFFORT TO BE DISPASSIONATE AND OBJECTIVE; THEY HAVE COMPLETED THEIR DELIBERATIONS IN THE EXTRAORDINARILY SHORT PERIOD OF JUST OVER A YEAR; AND THEIR CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE OF MUCH COMFORT TO THE GOVERNMENT.

THE MODEST 22I PAGES OF THE MAIN DE LANGE REPORT IS THE DISTILLATION OF OVER 40 000 PAGES OF SUB-COMMITTEE REPORTS AND OF THE COLLECTIVE WISDOM

OF SOME I 300 PEOPLE WHO EITHER PARTICIPATED IN THE DELIBERATIONS, GAVE EVIDENCE OR SUBMITTED MEMORANDA. THIS REPORT IS NOTEWORTHY FOR WHAT IT IS, BUT EQUALLY SIGNIFICANTLY, FOR WHAT IT IS NOT. IT IS NOT THE REPORT OF A GOVERNMENT COMMISSION, NOR IS IT PART OF THE PLATFORM OF A POLITICAL PARTY. IN SHORT IT IS <u>NOT</u> A POLITICAL DOCUMENT, BUT RATHER A TIMEOUS AND PRAISEWORTHY ATTEMPT BY A COMMITTEE OF TWENTY-FIVE MEN AND ONE WOMAN, DISTINGUISHED BY THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO OR INTEREST IN EDUCATION, TO ARRIVE AT OBJECTIVE PRINCIPLES AND RECOMMENDATIONS WHEREBY THE PROBLEMS BESETTING THE PROVISION OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA MAY BE ADDRESSED. BEARING IN MIND THE TIMESPAN OF A LITTLE OVER A YEAR ALLOTTED TO THE TASK, THE REPORT IS TRULY A REMARKABLE ONE. IT IS THE FIRST SERIOUS ATTEMPT IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND ONE OF FEW IN THE WORLD, TO EXAMINE EDUCATION IN A CALM, SCIENTIFIC AND DISPASSIONATE MANNER. THE VIEW HAS BEEN EXPRESSED THAT ANY QUALIFIED GROUP OF PEOPLE, EXAMINING THE EVIDENCE PRESENTED, WOULD HAVE COME TO THE SAME OR VERY SIMILAR CONCLUSIONS. THE VERY FACT THAT ALL AVAILABLE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, FROM SUCH DIFFERENT BACKGROUNDS AND EXPERIENCE, WERE ABLE TO SIGN THE DOCUMENT IS STRONG EVIDENCE FOR ITS NONPARTISAN NATURE. IT IS THEREFORE WITH A SENSE OF CONSIDERABLE DISAPPOINTMENT THAT ONE EXAMINES THE GOVERNMENT'S INITIAL RESPONSE TO THE REPORT, WHICH TAKES THE FORM OF AN INTERIM MEMORANDUM. IT IS TO BE DEVOUTLY HOPED THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S CONSIDERED REACTION, AFTER TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE VIEWS OF INTERESTED INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS, AS WELL AS THOSE OF ITS OWN WORKING PARTY, WILL BE MORE ENCOURAGING. BE THAT AS IT MAY, THERE CAN BE NO WISHING AWAY OF THE CONCLUSIONS OF SUCH A BLUE-RIBBON COMMITTEE, SO THOROUGHLY AND INDUSTRIOUSLY ARRIVED AT.

THE HEART OF THE REPORT LIES IN ELEVEN BASIC PRINCIPLES WHOSE ANNUNCIATION OCCUPIES LESS THAN TWO PAGES. AS ONE STUDIES THESE

PRINCIPLES IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE SERIOUS AND INFORMED DISAGREEMENT WITH THEM. AS WITH ANY SET OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES, HOWEVER, THE VITAL QUESTION IS THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY ARE INTERPRETED AND IMPLEMENTED. FOR OUR PURPOSES THIS MORNING I WISH TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO ONLY THE FIRST TWO OF THEM, WHICH READ AS FOLLOWS:

"EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR EDUCATION, INCLUDING EQUAL STANDARDS IN EDUCATION, FOR EVERY INHABITANT, IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE, COLOUR, CREED OR SEX, SHALL BE THE PURPOSEFUL ENDEAVOUR OF THE STATE", AND

"EDUCATION SHALL AFFORD POSITIVE RECOGNITION OF WHAT IS COMMON AS WELL AS WHAT IS DEVERSE IN THE RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL WAY OF LIFE AND THE LANGUAGES OF THE INHABITANTS". IF THE FIRST PRINCIPLE IS TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY THE FINANCIAL CONSEQUENCES, WHICH ARE INDEED FAR-REACHING, HAVE TO BE FACED. THE REPORT ITSELF PROVIDES SOME STATISTICS THAT MAKE IT WORTHWHILE TO SPECULATE ON A BASIS ON WHICH AN EQUITABLE SHARING OF RESOURCES COULD BE CALCULATED. UNE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT STATISTICS IN ANY EDUCATION SYSTEM IS THE PUPIL:TEACHER RATIO. THE HSRC REPORT PROVIDES US WITH THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

POPULATION GROUP	TEACHER: PUPIL RATIO
WHITE	20,16
Asians	27,21
Coloureds	29,52
BLACKS	48,47

IF THE GOAL OF PARITY IN EDUCATIONAL QUALITY IS ACCEPTED THE REPORT CONCLUDES THAT BRINGING ALL SCHOOLS UP TO THE WHITE RATIO IMPLIES A VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE FINANCIAL BURDEN. INSTEAD, IT PROPOSES THAT THE PRESENT RATIO OF COLOUREDS OF APPROXIMATELY 30:I BE ACCEPTED AS AN ATTAINABLE NORM FOR ALL RACE GROUPS. THIS IS A BEAUTIFUL EXAMPLE OF THE GOLDEN MEAN IN THAT THE POSITION OF THE WHITES WILL BE ATTENUATED BY EXACTLY THE SAME RATIO (3:2) AS WHICH THAT OF THE BLACKS WILL BE IMPROVED. IN OTHER WORDS THE PRESENT RUNNING COSTS PER WHITE PUPIL PER ANNUM OF APPROXIMATELY RI 100 WILL REDUCE TO ABOUT R750. IN A SCHOOL SUCH AS YOURS THIS WOULD IMPLY THAT THE SALARIES OF ONLY ABOUT TWO-THIRDS OF YOUR PRESENT STAFF WOULD CONTINUE TO BE MET FROM THE PUBLIC EXCHEQUER. IF YOUR PARENTS WISH TO CONTINUE TO INSIST ON A FREE EDUCATION THE COMMUNITY WOULD HAVE TO ACCUSTOM ITSELF TO LOWER LEVELS OF EDUCATION, THE MOST OBVIOUS MANIFESTATION OF WHICH WOULD BE CLASSES ABOUT FIFTY PER CENT LARGER THAN THEY ARE NOW. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THE SCHOOL WERE TO CONTINUE TO BE STAFFED AS IT IS NOW THIS WOULD IMPLY FEES OF THE ORDER OF R400 P.A. AT I98I PRICES, TO BE LEVIED BY YOUR GOVERNING BODY. LEST THIS APPEAR TO BE AN ENTIRELY REVOLUTIONARY CONCEPT IT IS AS WELL TO NOTE THAT THAT EMINENTLY REASONABLE PROVINCE, THE ORANGE FREE STATE, HAS ALREADY PUT THIS PRINCIPLE INTO PRACTICE IN THE CASE OF SEVERAL PRIVATE SCHOOLS TAKEN OVER BY THE PROVINCIAL AUTHORITIES. THESE SCHOOLS HAVE BEEN BY STAFFED BY THE PROVINCE AT THE SAME LEVEL AS ALL THE OTHER SCHOOLS UNDER ITS CONTROL, BUT THE OPTION HAS BEEN ALLOWED FOR FEES TO BE LEVIED FOR EXTRA STAFF TO BE PROVIDED ACCORDING TO THE WISHES OF THE PARENTS. THESE FEES ARE OF APPROXIMATELY THE MAGNITUDE I HAVE ALREADY INDICATED. BY ALL ACCOUNTS THE SYSTEM IS WORKING TO THE COMPLETE SATISFACTION OF ALL PARTIES.

A good analogy for this type of arrangement can be drawn in the case of the provision of medical services. As with education the cost of medical treatment has risen beyond the ability of all but a small minority to meet in full. To our great good fortune we have avoided the bureaucratic rigidities of a National Health Service of the type enshrined in Britain. Instead, most of us belong to one type or other of medical aid scheme whose costs are met partially by ourselves, partially by employers and partially (and indirectly) by the State through various tax concessions. Eighty percent of the costs of treatment, according to a fixed schedule, are reimbursed to us. If we wish to enjoy more expensive treatment than the tariff allows we are free to do so by patronising private doctors and private hospitals which have "opted out" of the official tariffs. The de Lange Report in effect is advocating that the provision of education should be along the same general financial lines as that of health care.

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The first principle thus provides for equal standards of education, and we have seen that this proviso, if taken seriously, has certain uncomfortable implications for White South Africans such as ourselves. The second principle concerning the recognition of both commonality and diversity of religious, cultural and language traditions gives reasonable grounds for the expectation that what we value most in our own traditions may continue to be preserved. This is indeed a comforting and positive proposal, but we must not be lulled into complaceny that nothing very much need change to disturb our exalted traditional way of life, except that perhaps we may have to dip a little more deeply into our pockets.

A CURSORY GLANCE AT THE MAP OF NATAL SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO INOCULATE US AGAINST ILLUSIONS ON THAT SCORE. FORMER HOMELANDS, SUCH AS TRANSKEI

OR CISKEI, THAT EITHER HAVE ACCEPTED OR ARE ABOUT TO ACCEPT INDEPENDENCE OF A CERTAIN TYPE, AT LEAST HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF BEING APPROXIMATELY IN ONE CONTIGUOUS PIECE. NATAL AND KWAZULU, HOWEVER, ARE AS INEXTRICABLY INTERWOVEN AS THE BLACK AND WHITE SQUARES ON A CHESS BOARD, ALTHOUGH OF COURSE IN YOUR CASE THE INDIVIDUAL PIECES HAVE RATHER STRANGER SHAPES, SOMETHING PERHAPS MORE AKIN TO THE AMOEBAE THAT BIOLOGISTS PEER AT THROUGH THEIR MICROSCOPES.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF NATAL AND KWAZULU HAVE PROVIDED FERTILE MATERIAL FOR THE SPECULATIONS OF POLITICAL SCIENTISTS AND OTHER THEORETICIANS. AS FAR BACK AS 1974 PAUL N MALHERBE PUBLISHED A BOOK ENTITLED "MULTISTAN: A WAY OUT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DILEMMA", THE KERNEL OF HIS THESIS BEING DESCRIBED ON THE DUST JACKET AS FOLLOWS:

"MULTISTAN, IN ESSENCE, MEANS SETTING ASIDE A PORTION OF THE COUNTRY IN WHICH RACIAL LAWS ARE REPEALED, THUS GIVING SOUTH AFRICA A REGION WITHIN ITS OWN BORDERS WHICH RESEMBLES OTHER MULTIRACIAL SOCIETIES. AN IMMEDIATE CANDIDATE FOR A TRIAL AREA WOULD BE ZULULAND AND THE PATCHWORK HOMELAND OF KWAZULU."

Somewhat later we had the Lombard Plan for Natal, devised by Professor Lombard of Pretoria, which was a variation on the same basic theme. At this very moment we await with bated breath the publication of the Buthelezi Commission report, initiated by the Kwazulu government, on another set of proposals for the political future of Natal. Although the exact details of the report are not yet known, already published inspired speculation indicates very clearly that some of the key recommendations will include a Bill of Rights protecting individual

LIBERTIES, THE STIPULATIONS OF WHICH WILL ENABLE LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS TO BE TESTED BY AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, PROVISION FOR THE REPRESENTATION OF ALL RACE GROUPS IN ALL GOVERNMENT BRANCHES, AND A PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION FRANCHISE WHICH WILL PREVENT A WINNER-TAKE-ALL WESTMINSTER-TYPE VOTING PATTERN. I ONCE BRIEFLY MET THE AUTHOR OF ONE OF THESE SCHEMES AS WE BOARDED AN AIRPLANE AND HE COMMENTED THAT SOME DISPENSATION OF THIS KIND, INITIALLY FOR NATAL AS A KIND OF LABORATORY, AND ULTIMATELY FOR SOUTH AFRICANS, FOLLOWED AS INEVITABLY AS ONE OF THOSE EUCLID THEOREMS OVER WHICH I AM SURE MOST OF YOU HAVE LABOURED SO MIGHTILY IN YOUR GEOMETRY LESSONS. UNFORTUNATELY, HE ADDED, WE SHALL PROBABLY HAVE TO SHED A LOT OF BLOOD BEFORE WE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCES OF OUR SITUATION.

NATAL HAS OFTEN BEEN DERIDED BY THE REST OF SOUTH AFRICA, QUITE UNJUSTIFIABLY SO IN MY VIEW, AS THE NEVER-NEVER DREAMLAND OF POLITICAL IDIOSYNCRACY AND LOST CAUSES. IN OUR PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES THERE IS A VERY REAL POSSIBILITY THAT OUT OF NATAL MAY WELL EMERGE A VIABLE ROADMAP FOR A WAY OUT OF OUR POLITICAL IMPASSE. WHATEVER THE ULTIMATE DETAILS, THE CHANGES REQUIRED WILL NOT BE EASY FOR WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS TO ACCEPT. THERE ARE ALWAYS DANGERS IN ANY PROPOSED POLICY OF REFORM, BUT AS A PROMINENT SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESSMAN, MR GAVIN RELLY OF ANGLO AMERICAN, RECENTLY INFORMED A BRITISH AUDIENCE, THE DANGERS OF STUBBORNLY CLEAVING TO THE STATUS QUO ARE LIKELY TO BE INFINITELY GREATER. IN FACT WHITE SOUTH AFRICA'S PRESENT POLITICAL ATTITUDES REMIND ME OF THAT VAST ETRUSCAN ARMY, FRUSTRATED BY THE BRAVE DEFENCE OF THE BRIDGE ACROSS THE RIVER TIBER BY THOSE THREE IMMORTAL HEROES OF MACANLAY'S LAYS OF ANCIENT ROME, HORATIO, HERMINIUS AND LARTIUS:

"WAS NONE WHO WOULD BE FOREMOST TO LEAD SUCH DIRE ATTACK; BUT THOSE BEHIND CRIED 'FORWARD!' AND THOSE BEFORE CRIED 'BACK!'"

No matter that the initial Government reaction to the de Lange Report has been disappointingly negative, and that its reaction to the Buthelezi Commission recommendations can safely be predicted to be one of virtually total rejection, nonetheless not even Governments as powerful as ours can ignore quasi-geometrical certainties for ever. One is reminded of the quixotic enactment of the Legislature of the State of Alabama in the I880's, whose members found it singularly inconvenient that Pi, the ratio of the circumference to the diameter of a circle, should have the ridiculous value of 3,I4I59 They

DECREED THAT IN ALABAMA, IN ORDER TO SIMPLIFY MATTERS FOR ITS CITIZENS, PI SHOULD HENCEFORTH HAVE THE VALUE 3.0. THEY MUST HAVE MANUFACTURED SOME VERY BUMPY WHEELS BEFORE THE ACT BECAME A DEAD LETTER.

Ever since the dawn of recorded history each older generation has been tempted to consider that the world is going from bad to worse, and that the younger generation are an undisciplined and irresponsible rabble. On the other hand the younger generation has been inclined to respond that the world they have inherited is a sorry mess, and that it is their challenge to put it to rights. As one who admits to being over thirty, and can therefore not lay claim to membership of the younger generation, and yet who does not yet regard himself as irrevocably old, I find myself subscribing to the view that the world I inherited was in a chaotic condition, and that, alas, in spite of the heroic efforts of

MY GENERATION IT IS STILL VERY FAR FROM PERFECT. THERE CAN BE NO ARGUMENT THAT WE HAVE LEFT OVER FOR YOU OF THE YOUNGER GENERATON A GREAT DEAL OF UNFINISHED BUSINESS. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT YOU ARE HEALTHIER, BETTER EDUCATED AND LESS PRONE TO COMFORTABLE ILLUSIONS THAN WE WERE. IN SHORT, THE WORLD IN GENERAL, AND SOUTH AFRICA IN PARTICULAR, WITH ALL ITS UNAVOIDABLE TRAVAIL AND FOREBODING OF IMPENDING DISRUPTION, IS WITH INELUCTABLE RAPIDITY, BECOMING YOUR RESPONSIBILITY.

This prospect does not perturb me greatly as I look about myself this morning. You young people, I am convinced, have the potential to face the future unflinchingly, and accept the uncomfortable consequences to be drawn from such forums as the de Lange Report and the Buthelezi Commission, and from them develop some positive and practical

SOLUTIONS. Two RECENT STRAWS IN THE WIND INDICATE THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS MUCH READIER FOR CHANGE THAN IS GENERALLY SUPPOSED. I REFER OF COURSE TO THE CONSTANTIA REFERENDUM IN WHICH OVER 80% OF THE PROPERTY HOLDERS OF A CAPE TOWN SUBURB INDICATED THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROSPECT OF COLOURED NEIGHBOURS, AND TO THE EXTREMELY LOW POLL FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL, INDICATING THAT THIS IMPORTANT POPULATION GROUP IS NO LONGER PREPARED TO PUT UP WITH THE MERE SHADOW OF PARTICIPATORY POLITICS.

Tomorrow morning the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, will be holding a much publicised meeting with a select audience of some 600 business and professional leaders. Let us hope some positive results will flow from that encounter. Perhaps he would learn even more if he were to address a select audience of two or three leaders drawn from every high school

IN THE COUNTRY. I VENTURE TO SUGGEST THAT SUCH A GATHERING WOULD ENABLE HIM TO GAUGE THE ATTITUDES THAT REALLY MATTER, THOSE OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO ARE GOING TO INHERIT THE SOUTH AFRICA CREATED BY HIS GOVERNMENT'S ACTION, OR PARALYTIC INACTION. IF HE WERE TO DO SO, I BELIEVE HE WOULD BE BOTH SURPRISED AND ENCOURAGED.

IT REMAINS FOR ME NOW, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, TO CONGRATULATE THOSE WHOSE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SCHOOL OVER THE PAST YEAR HAVE RECEIVED DUE PUBLIC RECOGNITION, TO OFFER ENCOURAGEMENT TO THOSE WHO WILL TAKE OVER POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY NEXT YEAR, TO WISH EVERY SUCCESS TO THOSE ABOUT TO EMBARK ON THE ARDUOUS BUSINESS OF WRITING PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS, AND TO SAY GODSPEED TO ALL WHO WILL SHORTLY BE ENTERING THE NEXT PHASE OF THEIR CAREERS. IT HAS BEEN A GREAT PLEASURE AND A PRIVILEGE FOR ME TO HAVE BEEN YOUR GUEST THIS MORNING. AS I WING MY WAY BACK TO A

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CERTAIN COUNTRY TOWN IN THE EASTERN CAPE, VIA CAPE TOWN, WHERE I SHALL BE ABLE TO JUDGE FOR MYSELF WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAS TO SAY, I SHALL TAKE WITH ME SOME PLEASANT MEMORIES AND FINE IMPRESSIONS.

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