

his political thinking. He is pledged by his own sense of freedom to respect and defend the freedoms of others. He will practise his freedom of thought, speech, action, and, at the same time, discipline himself in order that his freedom shall not cut across the rights and claims of other people. He will reject, alike, totalitarianism, the deification of the party-group, the tyranny of the abstract state. He will recognise himself with perfect assurance, a citizen among citizens, and equally, he will regard as a challenge to his creed the arbitrary denial of citizenship to any of his fellows.

These, briefly, are the traditions we are pledged to uphold, and the principles we bind ourselves to implement, when we name ourselves Liberals. They are no artificial imitation of an old-time outlook : we hold to them not because they were the pride of freemen of an older day but because they are *ours* : they represent the way we think, the way we feel, about the sanctity of human freedom.

It is for us to maintain them during the coming years of party political routine, as surely as we hold them now before we have been "tried."

THE BUDGET AND THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN

by THELMA PHILIP

Mr Havenga's plan for the financing of what he and his colleagues call Bantu Education should be studied together with the Bantu Education Act, for they are not separable ; they are integral parts of a "Development Plan" conceived by the Eiselen Commission on Native Education. Before discussing this plan as a whole, however, I should like to examine Mr. Havenga's section of it.

The Minister proposes that in future the amount voted for Bantu Education from General revenue be pegged at six and a half million pounds, and that £2 million be added from Native revenue (leaving £500,000 for the Native Trust Fund). Any extra money required will have to be found 'by the Bantu taxpayers themselves.' I shall consider these items in turn.

Mr. Havenga states that his reason for wanting to limit the amount voted from general revenue is that "expenditure on Bantu Education has increased three-fold in the last ten years." It has ; but the public ought to know, too, that though State expenditure on most services has been rising at an increasing rate, the annual increase on this particular service has been dropping ever since Mr. Havenga's Government came into power. In 1947, the increase over the amount voted for the previous year was £1,054,938 ; in 1953 notwithstanding the decline in the value of the pound, it was a mere £325,000.

Readers who may share Mr. Havenga's feeling that £6½ million is a lot of money to spend on the education of African children may be interested in the following comparative figures. In 1951/52, there were just under 500,000 European children at school, (roughly 98 per cent. of the school-age group). State expenditure on their education was nearly £22 million, or approximately £44 per pupil. In the same year, there were 803,537 African children at school (a third of those who should have been there). State expenditure on the education of these children was a bare £5½ million, or £7 per pupil. The fact is, of course, that for European children (and for Coloured children in the Cape Province), education is compulsory. This means that the State has to provide schools, and to train and pay teachers to staff them. No questions are ever asked as to what the children's parents contribute to the national income.

This brings me to my second point. Mr. Havenga calculates that this year Africans will contribute only £2½ million in taxes. This is perhaps an under-estimate and correct or not, it leaves out of account altogether the African's indirect contributions to the national revenue. For one thing, it ignores the indirect levy paid by all consumers of dutiable imported

goods ; for another, the indirect taxation involved in the State system of subsidies for protected domestic products. Above all, it says nothing of the African's largest contribution to our economy : the labour without which we could hardly produce any goods at all, either for the home market or for export. This source of national wealth has never been computed, since, as 'economists and others' told the Eiselen Commission, it is 'impossible to calculate the respective contributions of the several population groups.' (*Report*, para. 156). Though no one can estimate the actual figure, this contribution is very real, and a reality of such consequence as to make nonsense of the conclusions Mr. Havenga drew from the figures he quoted.

The question which naturally arises here is : why should Africans alone as a group have to pay directly for their children's education (or for any other service normally provided by the state) ? The answer will emerge from a consideration of Mr. Havenga's apparently innocuous remark that this plan of his will constitute a change. In actual fact, it will not mean much of a change for the individual European taxpayer ; for the African, it represents merely a cynical and callous decision to perpetuate an injustice.

In estimating that Africans will contribute only £2 million to their 'own' education, Mr. Havenga must be deliberately glossing over the truth that the vast majority of their schools are either mission schools (many of which charge various fees) or community schools supported entirely by Africans, and that Africans actually provide the bulk of the buildings even for the departmental schools. The Minister certainly knows that they have always had a direct share in the financing of their education—for his present proposals are part of a plan which was based on the discovery of that very fact.

Let us observe how this plan matured in the collective mind of the Eiselen Commission : "It is impossible to generalise, but it is certain that the Bantu have given generously in many areas for the erection of schools. It is a serious defect of the present system that this interest and willingness to contribute are not acknowledged and encouraged officially as a recognised part of the organisation of education" (*ibid* para. 612). This is delicate ; the Commission's later thoughts are not : "At present, many Bantu communities make considerable contributions but these are not enlisted as a regular and recognised part of the system of finance It is not feasible to introduce graduated taxation until the whole or a very large percentage of a community is at least literate Educational expenditure must be correlated with development plans, and attention must be given to the problem of using education in order to improve the economic situation." (*ibid* para. 1027—9.)

Here then, in so far as it affects education, is the plan called, ironically, the Development Plan : Africans are to become literate so that they can be more heavily taxed, and the rest of their schooling is to be geared to the needs of the labour market. Mr. Havenga will be responsible for the first part of this programme, the Minister of Native Affairs for the second. That Dr. Verwoerd is the right man for the job is clear from the remarks with which he defended the Bantu Education Bill in the House of Assembly : "What is the use of subjecting a Native child to a curriculum which in the first instance is traditionally European ? What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice ? This is quite absurd Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live." (*Hansard*. No. 10, 14—15, Sept., 1953, Col. 3583.)

This is a disgraceful plan. Moreover it is self-stultifying : on the one hand it requires Africans to contribute more to their own education, while, on the other, it proposes to give them an education so imperfect as to make it almost impossible for them to advance economically. For the country as a whole, too, this deliberate and artificial stunting of the African's capacity to contribute to its well-being means economic disaster.