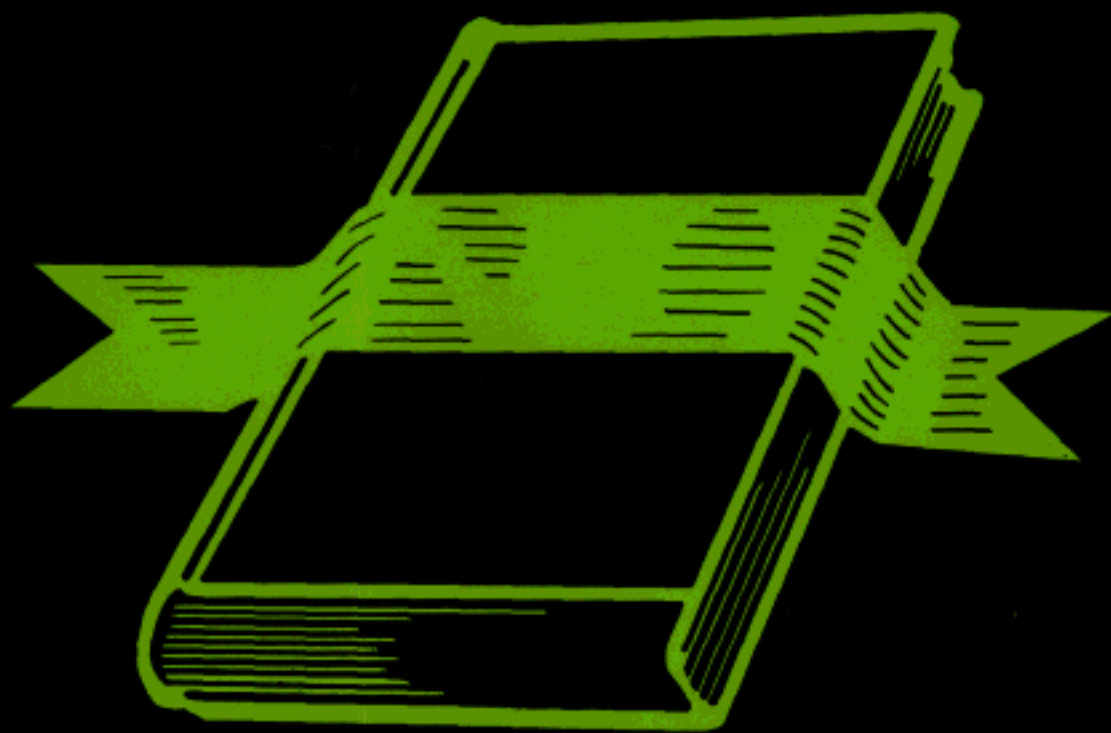


August 1981

SASH

* *The Rand
Daily Mail
Issue*

* **Soweto**



The Black Sash magazine

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TO LIVE IN SOUTH AFRICA and remain sane is to have one's tolerance level rise imperceptibly. Every now and then something happens to bring one up short and make one realise the sickening extent to which one has been desensitized.

A study of Mussolini's Italy, for example, made your editor realise just how Fascist, in the strict meaning of the word, South Africa has become.

A comparison of certain laws and attitudes will illustrate this contention.

In 1924 a decree-in-law on the Press made virtually any newspaper subject to seizure on the Government's decision. Do we not have a parallel here in the closure of **The World** and **Post**?

In 1925 a journalists' society was established, making it possible for the Government to rid itself of opponents. Certain South African journalists have been making representations to the Steyn Commission on the inadvisability of establishing such a society here, for they fear that the Government intends using it for its own purpose.

In 1926 the loss of Italian citizenship was sanctioned for opponents of Fascism. Here we do not always wait for people to become our opponents before we withdraw their citizenship. We simply remove it by law in order to divest ourselves of responsibility for them. And, of course, the removal of a passport is not uncommon. In fact, our Prime Minister has stated that a passport is not a right, but a favour bestowed by the State.

Mussolini exiled his opponents to the south of Italy. The South African Government seldom actually exiles people, unless it be to Brandfort, but it effectively exiles them by means of banning.

In Fascist ideology pronouncements created reality, just as omissions erased it. Proletarians and the unemployed did not exist, simply because they were no longer mentioned. Similarly, there is no discontent in South Africa. That is only the work of agitators. This was underscored by the interview a Sunday Express reporter had with Brigadier 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel, after talking to people in Johannesburg's 'Coloured' townships during the recent unrest. He asked the Brigadier about the people's allegations about the police. The Brigadier answered: 'You did not interview the correct people. The people you found walking about in the streets were intimidators.' When the reporter observed that he had held random interviews with families in their homes, the reply came: 'You were lucky — you found the intimidators at home.'

Mussolini ran the only official party in existence, and this is one of several radical differences between his Government and ours. However, the ultimate effect was akin, for his party was 'so capillary and widespread that it interfered with the daily habits of millions of people from dawn to dusk and even later at night.' This will sound very familiar to millions of Blacks.

Mussolini decided the contents of all published materials, radio programmes and films. Our Censorship Board is a comparatively benign variation on that theme, but a variation nonetheless.

A characteristic of any Fascist régime is a lack of a sense of humour, due to intolerance of any criticism. I submit that a disproportionate humourlessness is evident in the recent law proposed on the penalties for defacing the South African flag. Like the Duce many of our politicians adopt the pose of men of unbending will — particularly when they are declaiming about Total Onslaught.

Of course the South African situation is not exactly analagous to the Italian one. However, there are enough similarities to make one apprehensive. Two are particularly pertinent to the White situation.

Luigi Barzini writes: 'The gap between . . . the ceremonies, the fiery speeches and the plain and ugly facts widened dangerously. After twenty years of dictatorship people did not know (Mussolini) was not really solving any problems. People were drugged by propaganda . . . Most of them had lost or forgotten the capacity to judge things independently.'

Ciano, Mussolini's once beloved brother-in-law, was executed at his command. The writer Max Gallo remarks: 'When violence is the mainspring of a system, who can hope to escape its reach? Not even those who used violence on behalf of that system.'

Will we **never** learn from history?

Statement of Concern

THE SUMMARY DISMISSAL of Mr Allister Sparks as editor of the Rand Daily Mail is a matter of deep concern to the organisations and individuals here represented.

The Rand Daily Mail has always been a beacon for liberal-minded people who want to see the achievement of a just society for all in our country by peaceful means. It has beamed in on discrimination, on injustice, on the laws which govern this land, on conditions which these laws have produced, and in so doing it has enlightened the reading public. Its editorial comment has fearlessly observed and examined and probed, often offering creative suggestions arrived at as a result of well-informed, responsible thinking.

For readers of the Rand Daily Mail, Mr Sparks has personified all that the Mail stands for. He has written highly intelligent, thought-provoking articles and editorials, making a most constructive contribution towards the solution of our country's problems.

Obviously not all people have agreed with his viewpoint, and the Government has certainly not done so for he has been, and is, an arch opponent of Government policy and racial discrimination. Herein lies much of the unease presently being experienced by his readers.

We have no inside information. We can judge only by what we have read in the Rand Daily Mail

— statements made on behalf of the Board of Management of SAAN, by reporters and organisations, and by Mr Sparks himself.

These statements, which give reasons we find unsatisfactory, combined with the Government's prolonged campaign of hate and smear against the Rand Daily Mail and its many covert and overt threats to Press freedom in general, lead us to fear that the removal of Mr Sparks could be a direct result of Government pressure. If true, this would imply even more self-censorship than has occurred to date, and would be a further nail in the coffin of freedom of speech, of freedom of the Press, and of an informed public that is consequently able to exercise its democratic rights in a responsible fashion.

These fears may prove to be unfounded. The Rand Daily Mail may continue to fulfil its role as a pathfinder of liberal ideals and an exposé of the ills besetting our society, but in the absence of any information to the contrary, and on behalf of all those who share our misgivings, we wish to express our deep disquiet at a turn of events which appears to invite yet a further insidious inroad into our fast-diminishing human rights.

The seemingly impersonal and uncaring manner of Mr Sparks' dismissal does nothing to allay our fears.

JOYCE HARRIS

This statement was drawn up at a public meeting called by the Black Sash on 18th June 1981.

Is a Flag an Icon?

The underlying dilemma concerning the desecration question was the extent to which a free society may compel respect or veneration for its flag.

In a free society no person should be compelled to make ritualistic obeisance to a trapping of the State, whether being ordered to salute it or by being ordered to observe a series of taboos concerning its display.

The effect of either form of compulsion is to raise a State trapping to the status of a religious icon.

The American flag is the emblem of a society of free men, and must paradoxically symbolise the right of free men to deal with it as their consciences dictated.

Those who figure that paradox, inherent in the very nature of freedom, are the true, if inadvertent, defacers of the national symbol.

— US Supreme Court

SASH letter to SAAN . . .

The Chairman,
Board of Management,
South African Associated Newspapers,
C/o Rand Daily Mail, P.O. Box 1138, Johannesburg 2000.
Dear Sir,

18th June 1981.

At a public meeting called by the Black Sash on Monday, 8th June, a resolution was passed calling on the meeting to appoint a deputation to convey to the members of the Board of Management of SAAN and to the members of the Advowson Trust the concern felt by those attending the meeting regarding the dismissal of Mr Allister Sparks as editor of the Rand Daily Mail and the future policy of that crusading newspaper.

The deputation will consist of a representative of the Progressive Federal Party, the Institute of Race Relations, the Staff of the University of the Witwatersrand, the SACC the Black Sash and possibly two or three others. We realise that it will be difficult to find a date and time that will be convenient for all concerned, but would be very glad if you would name them preferably at some time between the 8th and 24th July.

It would be much appreciated if you would provide an opportunity for discussion, to enable us to indicate to you some of the misgivings we share with large sections of the general public.

I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours Sincerely,
JOYCE HARRIS,
National President.

. . . SAAN replies . . .

Mrs Joyce Harris,
National President,
The Black Sash,
Khotso House 42 De Villiers Street, Johannesburg 2001.
Dear Mrs Harris,

I must apologise for not writing to you before but I have only recently returned from an overseas trip.

You say that at a meeting called by the Black Sash, concern was felt at the dismissal of Mr Sparks and the future policy of the Rand Daily Mail.

Firstly, the dismissal of Mr Sparks is no concern of your movement, or any of the others who attended your meeting. It is purely a domestic matter and the appointment or dismissal of an editor or any other senior member of the staff is at the discretion of the Board of Directors.

The second point you are concerned about is the future policy of the Rand Daily Mail. You can rest assured that the dismissal of Mr Sparks will not stop the Rand Daily Mail giving reliable news on the current situation and the proud and long record it has as a guardian of civil liberties and fair play will continue.

I trust that your fears have been set at rest and you will agree with me that there is no point in my meeting your deputation.

Yours faithfully,
I. G. MacPHERSON,
Chairman.

. . . SASH answers . . .

REF. IGM/CVW.
The Chairman,
South African Associated Newspapers Limited,
P.O. Box 1138, Johannesburg 2000.
Dear Mr MacPherson,

23rd July 1981.

Thank you for your letter of 13th July.

I regret that you see no point in meeting our deputation, for I cannot agree either that the dismissal of Mr Sparks is of no concern to readers of the Rand Daily Mail, or that the present form and direction of that newspaper should be expected to set our fears at rest. Your letter has only served to confirm the unease which prompted me to approach you in the first place on behalf of my own and other organisations.

There are inaccuracies in the Rand Daily Mail, and it is our experience that it no longer exhibits the same scrupulous attention to the verification of its facts as we have been accustomed to in the past.

Although some of its editorials continue 'the proud and long record it has as a guardian of civil liberties and fair play' the quality of the paper has changed. It is no longer the crusader that it was, and the in-depth, researched, informative articles which were so much a feature have been considerably reduced. This is despite public assurances given by Mr Myburgh when he took office that there would be no change.

Those of us who are still working for peaceful change in our country had come to rely on the Rand Daily Mail to take up thorny issues and to act as one of the few remaining bridges between black and white, one which still retained an integrity recognised by all. We believe that this is being sacrificed in the interests of business and profit-making, and that this is something the country as a whole can ill-afford.

With regard to the dismissal of Mr. Sparks, I maintain that a newspaper cannot be equated with an ordinary business enterprise, though if you do so you should be prepared to listen to the views of your 'customers'.

However, a newspaper can and does exercise immense influence over the attitudes, and thus eventually over the actual shape of the society in which we live. For this reason members of the public are fully entitled to be concerned about the editorial policy of a newspaper and about the person of its editor.

When an editor of the recognised ability and calibre of Mr Sparks is summarily dismissed, for publicly stated reasons which do not appear to us to be either satisfactory or adequate, and having regard to the particular vulnerability of the Rand Daily Mail to Government pressure because of the nature of its informed opposition to Government policy, then the matter becomes of very real concern to my movement and that of others who requested a meeting with your Board.

Yours faithfully,
JOYCE HARRIS,
National President.

Requiem for a Newspaper

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

WHAT has happened to Allister Sparks is a personal tragedy. Beeld, I think it was, pointed out that he had been cut off in his prime. How sadly ironic, yet I believe disquietingly significant, that he should have been struck down not by the Government which so profoundly resents his newspaper and all it has stood for, but by his own board. One can almost hear him saying as the blow fell: 'Et tu, Brute?'

The Mail an institution

However, I do not wish to dwell on that aspect of it. What is at stake is not the fate of a single editor, but the future of an institution, the Rand Daily Mail, a paper which since 1957, when Laurence Gandar took over, has played a uniquely important role in this country. That it has played it with honour and distinction is a fact that has been widely recognised internationally and put it in the very front rank of the world's great newspapers.

I think it was Mr Justice Oscar Galgut, chairman of the Press Council, who once said: 'Press freedom doesn't belong to journalists, it belongs to the public.' I understood him to mean by that, that what is at stake is not simply the right of newspapers to publish free of restriction, but the right of the people to obtain as wide a range of news and opinion about their society as possible. To my mind, this is an essential part of the democratic process in any country, and a particularly important part in a country like ours, where democratic rights are available to only a minority of the population, and even then have been drastically curtailed over the years by ever-increasing restrictions on freedom of speech and association.

I wonder how well this point is really appreciated; the intellectual integrity, the political clear-sightedness, the spiritual courage, and the heavy and lonely emotional burden that is involved in running a newspaper so fundamentally at odds with some of the most basic official norms and values of the society in which it operates? I lived in England for three years, and still regularly read a range of British newspapers, but I have yet to come across a single major British paper that so consistently challenges the very nature of its political and social milieu. Let us take an example from the history of one of the world's great papers, The Times, and the rôle it played in the British policy of appeasement in the 1930s, one of the great issues of that era. The Times failed on two counts. On the intellectual level it failed to see what kind of people the Nazis were. Secondly, on

the level of political courage, it failed to challenge the disastrous appeasement policies of the Chamberlain Government.

Contrast that ignoble chapter in the history of The Times with the unblemished record of the Mail under three editors that I have known, and I think one can begin to appreciate the uniquely honourable part that it has played and the enormous courage that it has taken for it to stay on course ever since Gandar took the great symbolic decision to stop calling Africans 'Natives'!

I think one can cite another, more recent, example to illustrate the supreme quality of the Mail. The Washington Post, deservedly, won international acclaim for its expose of the Watergate scandal. The Mail, of course, passed its 'Watergate' test with flying colours in exposing a scandal in our own society every bit as great. But to expose corruption in high places is one thing, however great the courage it takes to do so. How much greater the bravery involved in seeking consistently, as the Mail has done, to fight for and uphold democratic values in a society rapidly losing faith in them. It is much, much more difficult to uphold these values in a society like South Africa, whose ruling minority does not believe in them, than in democratic countries like the United States. To fight this battle requires a maturity of inner conviction and an integrity of purpose that few men achieve, and it is these kinds of qualities that I have in mind when I say I believe the Mail has been one of the really great newspapers in the world.

Newspapers, of course, belong in a strict legal and technical sense to their shareholders and newspaper boards of directors have to look after the interests of their shareholders. In that sense they are part of what is now called 'the system.' But in another sense, newspapers also belong to the community — and none more so than the Rand Daily Mail. The rôle they play in the community is not easily identifiable beyond the purveying of news, opinion, and advertisements, but it is nevertheless unmistakable. To the extent that there is any kind of democratic process in South Africa, the Mail has been it — for one single reason: it brought Black people into it. Not formally via the franchise, of course, but through the next best thing: ensuring on a consistent basis that their opinions and aspirations were brought into White homes and businesses, and also into the White Parliament, and therefore into the currency of political thought and political debate. I do not, of course, mean in a paternalistic sense, but in providing a vital forum

in which Blacks could themselves speak, a forum which became steadily more important as Black political parties like the ANC and PAC were banned. This rôle was not diminished when vigorous Black newspapers came into existence in more recent years, for the simple reason that the Mail has still been the only paper, through which Blacks have been able to speak to significant numbers of Whites.

I am less concerned here with what the Mail might say in its editorial column than with possible shifts in the balance of news coverage. Less attention to forced population removals, for instance, or less comprehensive coverage of the iniquities of influx control or developments in the labour field, would, in my view, be a serious dilution of the role that the paper has played until now. To the extent that a desire to win back White readers might mean printing fewer news stories about the effects of apartheid likely to cause them disquiet or anger, Blacks might begin to lose faith in the single most important channel through which they can express grievances or demands to Whites. One implication of this could be increasing racial polarisation.

As Mr Sparks himself said, it has been a unique bridge between the racial ghettos into which our society is fragmented.

Mentor to a generation

The Mail has also played a vital part in shaping the intellectual, moral and political development of an entire generation of South Africans — my own generation. We have never known any rule other than that of the Nationalists and we were too young to be particularly aware of the ideals and activities of organisations like those in the Congress movement in the 1950s and early 1960s. Without the Mail, I wonder what kind of people I and my contemporaries would have become. I remember how proud I was that Laurence Gandar's son was at the same school as I. I remember how nauseated I was when I read Benjamin Pogrand's articles on prison conditions in June or July 1965. I remember, too, how Sparks' articles about Nigeria and other parts of Africa in the middle and late 1960s gave me a basis on which to question some of the horror stories about decolonisation that were so prevalent in this country at that time, and to wonder whether the conventional wisdom about Africa that all the other newspapers were purveying was the whole truth. Like most others of my generation, I grew up in my comfortable White ghetto, but through the Mail I learnt that other ghettos existed and I was able also to learn something about what was happening to the people in them.

I believe that the Mail ensured for a whole generation of people like myself the political, moral and intellectual impossibility of thinking about the future of this country except in the context of getting rid of apartheid and constructing a non-racial democracy founded on due process of law, guaranteed civil liberties, and social and economic justice.

In that sense, the Mail has been one of the few institutions in this country and certainly the only one among newspapers, that belonged to both Black and White, in the same way that the Congress movement and the old Liberal Party did.

Consistency

What is vitally important in this context is **consistency**. It is not enough for a newspaper in a society like this to be a peripatetic gadfly, or to make an occasional sortie and afflict the comforted, as the saying goes. Most of our newspapers do that from time to time. The uniqueness of the Mail has been, firstly, that it has been a daring pacesetter and pioneer but, secondly, that it has done so with **consistency**. Under Gandar, Raymond Louw, Sparks and the many loyal and courageous members of their editorial teams, the Mail has not merely sallied forth with the occasional exposé of injustice or maladministration or whatever. Other papers do that too. But what they lack is the consistency of the Mail's crusading spirit, its consistent adherence to certain ideals, its consistent challenge to complacency, and its consistent voice of warning.

It is the fear that this consistency might be lost that in my view is the biggest cause for grave disquiet at the change of editorial régime recently. Hence I think it is entirely legitimate to ask whether we have not perhaps come to the end of an era, and to wonder whether perhaps the Mail as we have known it, is not finished.

Pertinent questions

Mr Sparks himself said that he was told the reason for his dismissal was the Mail's trading loss and the company's hopes that a change of editorial leadership would improve the situation. But that really is not good enough. If the trading loss is associated in the minds of management with the paper's political thrust, why does the board say that no change of policy is contemplated? If on the other hand the trading loss is **not** associated with politics, why make a scapegoat of the editor rather than the people whose job it is to rake in advertisements or sell subscriptions? Is the Mail's adverse trading position a fault of the editor or of management itself?

Another question arises: was the Advowson Trust consulted about the change of editor? If so, what did they have to say about it? The Trust, you will recall, was set up after Louis Luyt tried to buy up SAAN, and when it was set up many of us got the impression that one of its purposes was to protect the SAAN group in general and its crusading flagship in particular from right-wing takeovers?

But probably the most vital question of all, especially in the light of the SAAN management statement that a change of policy is not contemplated is: why didn't Mr Sparks's job go to either Pogrand or Rex Gibson? Both of them are men in the Gandar/Louw/Sparks tradition, and if either had been appointed, Mail staff would no doubt have been happy to accept the assurances about no changes in policy. Mr Gibson himself is a former

No 2 at the Mail and, as someone who already holds a SAAN editorial chair, he would have been the obvious — and incidentally, a highly popular — choice. But instead of appointing either of these men, two people who are known to be highly accomplished journalists, but who are nevertheless not part of the Mail tradition, have been brought in.

The ultimate threat

I find it difficult to avoid the suspicion that the company's intention in effecting this editorial change is to make a clean breast of the Gandar/Louw/Sparks tradition and bring about a profound change in the character and thrust of the Rand Daily Mail. It is a classic case of the Press 'getting its own house in order,' and that there is jubilation in Pretoria about it I have little doubt. That it should have occurred at a time when racial polarisation in this country is increasing rapidly, as the ludicrous Republic Day 'festivities' demonstrated all too clearly, is little short of tragic. The loss of

the Mail as we have known it is likely to diminish the chances of survival of liberal thought — and I mean liberalism in the widest political sense, not the kind of selfish individualism that masquerades as 'free enterprise.' The Mail has been the keystone of an arch bridging Allister Sparks's 'racial ghettos,' bringing together those people who believe in a truly common society. I do not believe for a second that the SAAN board intends to increase polarisation, but I fear that that may well be the effect. In seeking, as I believe it is seeking, to align the Mail more closely with the conservative White milieu, the board to my mind is showing its own diminishing faith in a common society.

The dismissal of Mr Allister Sparks is the most serious blow that has been dealt against the Press for many years, outweighing even the banning by the Government of Black newspapers and the seemingly never-ending spate of detentions and bannings of Black journalists.

It is not enough for a newspaper in a society like this to be a peripatetic gadfly, or to make an occasional sortie and afflict the comforted.

'People want rights — freedom, in order that they may perform duties. The hardship of the wage-earner is not simply that he has insufficient food and housing, but that he is deprived of the means of performing certain primary duties, care of home, wife and family, direction of the industry by which he lives, a share in the public life. Hence the way of freedom is also the way of duty.'

— R H Towner's *Commonplace Book*, ed J M Winter and D M Jostin (CUP 1972) pp 56-7.

'Injustice is not exclusive to South Africa. It is common in all human societies. But injustice in South Africa has its own special nature and intensity and it is our concern and our responsibility.'

— Archbishop Hurley.

On the arrested 'Coloured' pupils he said: *'I have two grandsons and I very much enjoy being with them. I have arrested people of all ages in a long career with the police.'*

— Brigadier Swanepoel (quoted in the *Sunday Express*, 14/6/81).

African housing environments are not created for living, that is for family and communal life, but as spatial units where one may have a nightmare during the periodic break between work in the city and sleep in the 'location.'

It may well be that the dignity of work is violated by the ecological pattern which surrounds it.

— N Chabani Manganyi

'The present facilities at the gallows make provision for the simultaneous hanging of up to seven condemned prisoners.'

— Prisons Department,
quoted in *The Star*, 27/7/81.

Soweto

A BRIEF HISTORY

PAULINE MORRIS

Phase I — 1886 - 1922

FOLLOWING THE DISCOVERY of gold in 1886, large numbers of people streamed into Johannesburg, at the time little more than a mining camp.

The vast majority of Blacks were temporary contract workers employed on the mines and housed in compounds, but with the growth of the town, Blacks were finding alternative employment in the small industrial and service sector. The vast majority of Blacks were left to find their own accommodation in areas near to their place of work. Multiracial communities emerged in areas like **Vrededorp**, the **Malay** and **Kaffir** locations and the **Burghersdorp** brickfields. Freehold was available in areas like **Sophiatown** and **Alexandra**.

These areas were extremely unsanitary and in 1904 plague broke out in an area known as 'Coolietown.' It was razed to the ground and residents were moved to an area 15 km to the south-west of Johannesburg, known as Klipspruit.

After the establishment of Klipspruit, little attempt was made by the Council to deal with Black housing. It was only after the outbreak of a serious 'flu epidemic in 1918 that the Council was stimulated into establishing Western Native Township. Between 1918 and 1921, 207 houses were established there.

In 1922, the principle of the impermanence of the urban Black was established by the Stallard Commission which reported that 'the Native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas when he is willing to enter and to administer to the needs of the White man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister.'

Phase II — 1923 - 1939

In 1923, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was passed. Earlier drafts had provided for freehold tenure, but largely on the basis of recommendations by a Select Parliamentary Commission, these were withdrawn. The Act also placed the responsibility of housing and administration of Black townships on the local authority, and provided powers for bringing about the residential segregation of Whites and Blacks.

In 1927, a municipal Department of Native Affairs was established and substantial extensions were made to Klipspruit, Western Native Township and Eastern Native Township. In 1930 the Council purchased 1 300 morgen of land to the south-west of Johannesburg, on which part of present-day Soweto is situated. The township of **Orlando East**

was established and by 1935, 3 000 dwellings had been built.

Phase III — 1939 - 1948

There was a massive inflow of Blacks into Johannesburg during the war years and influx control was officially relaxed during this phase. With the vast increase in population and the virtual stop to all building as a result of a shortage of materials and manpower, the housing position became critical.

Initially, those seeking housing were accommodated as lodgers in the existing townships. In March 1944, a group comprised largely of these sub-tenants led by James Sofasonke Mpanza set up a squatter settlement, consisting of 250 shelters, on a site adjacent to Orlando East. In response, the Council erected about 4 000 temporary breeze block rooms. This did not alleviate the problem for long and further squatter movements took place. In 1947, it was estimated that 90 000 persons were accommodated in these settlements.

Joint discussions were held between the Council and the Central Government and, as an emergency measure, the Moroka Emergency Camp was established, consisting of 11 200 20ft x 20ft sites. Elementary services were provided and the squatters in the existing camps transferred to the new camp.

Phase IV — 1948 - 1960

In 1948, a new Government, the Nationalist Party, came into power. Its election manifesto reaffirmed and elaborated on the principles put forward by the Stallard Commission in 1922. Influx control was progressively more strictly enforced and segregation and removals in terms of the Group Areas Act implemented.

Sixty thousand persons were removed from areas like Sophiatown, despite strong opposition from residents, the Council and many other organisations, they were resettled in the townships of **Meadowlands** and **Diepkloof**, which were under the control of the Bantu Resettlement Board specially set up for this purpose.

In 1948, it was estimated that 50 000 Black families in and around Johannesburg required housing. A vast housing programme was initiated.

Phase V — 1960 - 1974

During this phase there was a further tightening up of influx control and the Government concentrated on the development of the 'Homelands.'

The Bantu Affairs Administration Act of 1971 provided for Administration Boards to take over the administrative functions of Black areas from the local authorities. The Witwatersrand was divided up into two areas: the East and West Rand Board Areas.

In 1973, the control of Soweto was handed over to the West Rand Board. Under the Act, Boards were required to be financially self-sufficient, which meant that substantial subsidies from Johannesburg fell away.

After 1960, the Council experienced difficulty in obtaining Government housing loans and the rate of house building dropped off. Between 1965 and 1968 only about 770 houses were built per year. It was official policy that no family housing was to be provided in the urban areas, although loans were available for hostels.

In 1968, leasehold rights were withdrawn and commercial development restricted. A Departmental circular in 1967 made it clear that non-productive Blacks (eg the elderly and handicapped) would have to be resettled in the Homelands.

Phase VI — 1975 to the present

During this phase there was some easing of legislation relating to Urban Blacks and leasehold rights were reintroduced.

In June 1976, riots broke out in Soweto and spread to other parts of the country. According to police records, about 300 Blacks were killed and over 11 000 injured. Much property (particularly beer halls and Board offices) was destroyed.

Since 1976, a 99-year leasehold scheme has been introduced, a Planning Council under Mr Louis Rive has been established, and a scheme initiated to electrify Soweto. Expectations have been raised, but as yet little concrete action has taken place. In 1980 no houses were built by the Board in Soweto.

THE METROPOLITAN SETTING

The work-areas on the Witwatersrand stretch along the original gold reef and focus on the central area of Johannesburg.

The White residential areas lie mainly to the north of the mining belt. They are characterised by a wide range of densities; decreasing with distance from the centre. For Whites a wide choice exists, both in terms of location and quality of house.

Black residential areas consist of large outlying regional townships. At least 96 percent of those residing in Soweto work outside it, and approximately 350 000 to 400 000 persons commute to and from Johannesburg each day (61 percent by train and 22 percent by bus).

These Black residential areas contrast strongly with the White residential areas. Residential densities are uniform and far higher than average White densities. Their development is tightly constrained

since little land has been made available for expansion. The vast majority of houses are supplied by the public sector and little choice exists.

This pattern of outlying low-income areas is the reverse of that found in a typical city, where higher-income families who can afford the higher transport costs prefer to live in outlying lower-density suburbs, and lower-income families being unable to afford these costs, live closer to places of work in the older, less expensive suburbs.

Soweto itself differs structurally from a typical city. It has no town centre and apart from a proposed industrial site in Orlando West, has no industrial or service areas. A large number of small scattered shops exists, but there is no hierarchy of centres and no central area. Apart from nine hostels, the densities are uniform and most houses are of a standard design and size. Very few of the areas zoned for community facilities or recreation are developed and most open spaces remain derelict, are unsafe and have become negative aspects in the total environment.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

- Blacks comprise approximately 52 percent of the total population of the Witwatersrand.
- The 1980 census of Soweto gives a population of approximately 860 000. It is generally accepted that this is an under-enumeration and that at least one-third of the population is illegal. Estimates of up to 1,5 million have been suggested, although I believe that a realistic figure is about 1,1 million.
- The age and sex structure of the population is relatively balanced in terms of males and females, and it has a greater proportion of younger persons than White Johannesburg.
- The average family size is 5,3, the average household size nearly 6. The number of occupants per house is estimated to be about 10. Nearly 20 percent of households are living below the household subsistence level, and this proportion is increasing with spiralling food costs, rent increases and so on.
- In 1978, only 15 percent of the population (15-year-olds and older) had a post matric education and only 12,8 percent a JC.
- Soweto has a high incidence of violence. A survey in 1975 showed that 1 in 4 households had at least one victim of robbery, assault, rape or theft within a 10-month period. The Pass Laws are a source of great anger and frustration.
- Compared with other large Black residential areas, Soweto is ethnically highly mixed, the main groups being Zulu (33 percent), Tswana (16,3 percent) and Sesuto (13,7 percent).

In terms of intra-urban mobility, Soweto represents an extraordinarily stable urban community. The reasons for this include the fact that residents

are aware that they may lose their rights to return, few Blacks from outside enter Soweto, and an increasing proportion of the population will have been born and lived all their lives in Soweto. Because of the increasing degree of modernisation and intermarriage between ethnic groups, and because family ties with relatives in the Homelands will become more and more distant, Sowetans will relate less and less to the Homelands.

In 1954, a policy was introduced to allocate houses on an ethnic basis. Reasons given for the policy were to simplify the provision of schooling and to promote tribal discipline and multi-nationalism. The population distribution thus shows a high concentration according to ethnicity, particularly in the suburbs developed since 1954. The policy is no longer being enforced.

The expression of economic status in geographical terms in Soweto is very weak for, apart from a few elite areas, the overriding characteristic is a random distribution of income groups.

ADMINISTRATION

Soweto, as mentioned, is administered by the West Rand Board. Particularly since 1976, when many beerhalls were destroyed, it has been ex-

In September 1979, a Soweto Civic Association was formed and branches set up throughout Soweto. The intention of the Association is to deal with local matters affecting residents, and it has as its aim full municipal autonomy, freehold title and substantial Central Government financing.

THE FINANCIAL BASE

In most urban areas property rates account for a significant proportion of total revenue (Johannesburg 51 percent). Other sources of revenue include charges for services, licence fees and levies and rent on municipal land.

With increasing participation in the industrial and commercial sectors of the metropolitan economy and the increasing consumption of goods and services Sowetans are contributing to an increasing extent to the economic development of the region and the country. Thus, although almost all income generated in Soweto is 'leaking back' into the White economic system, very little metropolitan (or National) income is being returned to Soweto.

It has been estimated that R216,3 million is required to upgrade and extend the existing services in Soweto and that R7,5 million is required

In 1980 no houses were built by Wrab in Soweto.

periencing severe financial problems. In 1978, it had to appropriate at least R5 million from various capital accounts such as Black Services Levy Fund and the Beer Account to meet current expenditure and cover losses caused by the 1976 riots.

In terms of the Community Councils Act, three Community Councils have been established in Soweto: the Dobsonville Council, the Diep-Meadow Council and the Soweto Council.

The first Soweto Council elections were held in February 1978, but only two wards were contested since nine candidates were unopposed and 19 disqualified. By-elections were held in April of that year and the percentage poll was 6 percent. In 1978 certain powers were delegates to these Councils, including the allocation of sites, matters relating to housing, and the establishment of a Community Guard. In 1979 regulations were gazetted giving the Councils the power to draw up budgets and establish a treasury.

By mid-1979, approximately 600 staff from the Board had been seconded to Soweto Council. In November 1979, a chief executive officer was seconded from the Board.

The low percentage polls illustrate the low credibility of these Councils. Continued support is being given to leaders and groups, such as the Committee of 10, which have emerged outside the formal representative framework.

per year to maintain services. Taking the conservative estimate of a shortage of 32 000 houses in Soweto, the capital required to provide these houses (R6 000 per house) is R198 million.

The 1979/80 budget for Soweto estimated an income of R72 million and expenditure of R82 million.

Excluding appropriations for capital expenditure, beer and liquor revenue accounts for 20 percent of income and rent for about 40 percent. Revenue from liquor is an unpopular and unreliable source of revenue. Public sector involvement in this field also denies local entrepreneurs an opportunity to develop business and leads to continual friction between police and illegal operators.

The current sources of finance for Soweto are clearly totally inadequate and the Central Government allocation of resources to Soweto in relation to their contribution in terms of productivity, taxes and revenue to the economy is unrealistic. It is essential that far greater resources be allocated to Soweto.

It must be stressed, too, that Soweto is part of the economic system of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Region and should be included in its financing system. Soweto should increase its economic base through the establishment of commercial and industrial activities and through the development of a property market and real land values.

TRANSPORT

External transport

Of the 350 000 - 400 000 persons in Soweto who commute into Johannesburg each day, approximately 60 percent use the trains, 22 percent buses, 3 percent taxis and nearly 10 percent private cars. At peak periods trains are extremely overcrowded. Stations within Johannesburg are located on the outskirts of the city; there is no internal bus distribution service, and passengers often have to walk long distances to their destinations.

The bus service is provided by Putco Limited and caters primarily for areas like Diepkloof, which are not adequately served by railways. Putco also provides a feeder service to stations in Soweto.

Para-transport includes transport which is neither subsidised public transport nor privately-owned

In 1979, only 20 percent of houses in Soweto were electrified. A major scheme has been initiated to electrify the whole of Soweto.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN SOWETO

Blacks are entirely integrated into the metropolitan economy. Approximately 50 percent of the total number of persons employed in Johannesburg are Black. In addition, it is estimated that 70 percent of the disposable income of Sowetans is spent outside Soweto mainly in the Johannesburg Central Area.

Within Soweto there are many constraints on the development of economic activity. Severe restrictions were placed on the development of businesses, particularly after 1968. Many of these have,

70 percent of the disposable income of Sowetans is spent outside Soweto.

vehicular transport, and in Soweto is comprised mainly of taxis and of lift clubs using Kombis.

10 percent of commuters use private cars. Routes between Soweto and the city are extremely congested at peak hours.

Internal Movement

Few roads in Soweto are tarred and many of those which are tarred are in a bad state of repair. The internal bus service within Soweto is inadequate.

Main problems identified in a survey on commuters in Soweto include:

- Overcrowding
- Lack of safety
- Absence of facilities like toilets and shelters
- Cost
- Long waiting time for transport was also mentioned.

SERVICES

These include the water supply system, the sewerage system and the electrical distribution system.

The major problems relating to the water supply system is inadequate capacity of reservoirs, and the poor state of the existing reticulation system. It is estimated that approximately 20 percent of water is being lost through consumer wastage and pipes and appliances needing repair.

The sewerage system in Soweto is at its full capacity. Although some relief schemes have been implemented, these will be at their full capacity only by 1985. The inadequacy of the system places a severe restraint on future housing programmes. Inadequate maintenance is also a severe problem.

however, been lifted. Other constraints include limited access to capital and bulk buying, to materials and potential markets, inadequate infrastructure (eg telephones and electricity) and limited business experience.

Only 3,8 percent of the economically active persons in Soweto employed in the formal sector work within Soweto, mostly in administrative or in clerical work and in services like teaching and nursing.

There are approximately 3 000 licenced self-employed persons, mostly traders, taxis, builders and cartage contractors.

In a pilot survey on informal employment in Soweto, it was revealed that 1 out of every 10 households were engaged in some informal activity — mostly shebeens, childminding and selling or hawking activities. Since 1974 a number of small scale or home industries have emerged. They are mostly women's groups engaged in activities such as sewing and knitting.

There are approximately 1 600 traders in Soweto, mostly small merchants supplying daily convenience goods. As expected, because of the trading restrictions, a very small range of shops exists. A supermarket in Diepkloof was opened in April 1980.

In assessing economic activity, one must note the following points:

- for a city of its size, there are insufficient employment opportunities available. Even those economic activities fundamental to dormitory cities, like service industries, are lacking
- although they are no replacement for a balanced and appropriate formal economic sector, informal employment activities serve an important function in Soweto. They are significant sources of employment for certain persons unable to compete in the formal sector, such as

the old or incapacitated, are labour intensive, and act as 'sponges' during periods of unemployment. Many of these activities are being hampered by the enforcement of inappropriate health and traffic regulations

- the revenue-producing capacity of Soweto in terms of its ability to generate income through property rates is inadequate since there are few commercial or industrial sites
- past restrictions on economic activity in Soweto, lack of business experience, competition from White business, and lack of capital and loan facilities have severely inhibited the development of free enterprise in Soweto. In addition, all consumption takes place within White Johannesburg, which means that there is an almost total outflow of income and a minimum internal income generation
- the cost of most goods sold in Soweto is higher than in Johannesburg. For a substantial portion of the population living below subsistence level, this is a critical factor. The range of goods provided is also poor and means that most goods are bought outside Soweto.

HOUSING

Housing as well as providing basic physical space, fulfils many social, investment, and identity needs.

The historical review has outlined the housing programmes undertaken since the first township was established in the 1930s. The overcrowding of houses has also been noted.

There are approximately 102 000 houses in Soweto, 70 percent of which are the standard 51/6 type. There are also approximately 2 000 owner-

substantially increased which occasioned widespread protests. In assessing these site rental increases, it is noted that they are higher per square metre per year than the rates charged in an average Johannesburg suburb. It is clear, too, that the facilities provided are far inferior to those in Johannesburg.

The housing shortage and the fact that many residents are illegal or do not qualify for houses, means that there is a great demand for sub-letting. A recent survey estimated that 6,4 percent of households were sub-letting.

Although only approximately 10 percent of houses are owned, many have been improved due to the extreme shortage of housing and, in the case of external improvements, the desire to create some individual identity.

There are nine hostels in Soweto accommodating approximately 38 000 persons. Most hostel dwellers are male and the majority are migrant workers. Most have a few single rooms but consist mainly of dormitories. Residents in Soweto speak in derogatory terms of hostel dwellers and are very uneasy about the presence of large numbers of single men.

The existing shortage of housing in Soweto is conservatively estimated to be 32 000. By the year 2000, an additional 115 000 units will be needed to house the population. An area almost double the size of Soweto will be required. At present only 733 ha remain for future development.

The main problems relating to housing in Soweto are outlined below:

- The shortage of housing, caused by the inadequate finance allocated to Black housing; the lack of participation by the private sector; the official approach towards housing which em-

Most open spaces have become negative aspects in the total environment.

built houses found mostly in the elite suburbs of Dube, Moroka and Beverley Hills. At present, approximately 12 000 houses are owned by residents, mostly under the 30-year leasehold that applied prior to 1968. The 99-year leasehold has been slow to get off the ground, with fewer than 500 leases having been registered.

Two types of rentals are charged in Soweto: a site rental and a house rental. House rentals are based on repayments on loans raised to finance the houses plus an insurance premium and a fee for maintenance. They range between R1,85 for a two-bedroomed unit in Jabavu and R4,30 for a new four-roomed unit.

Site rentals are a monthly charge levied on each site in Soweto charged for various services like administration, sewerage, refuse removal, health, etc. Over the last six months site rentals have been

phases a minimum standard irrespective of the ability of all households to afford that housing

- the inadequate choice of housing resulting from the standardised provision of housing; the lack of a property market inhibiting upward mobility and the operation of the 'filtering process'; rigid administrative procedures and controls
- the monotonous and undeveloped environment, due to the poor range of accommodation and lack of resources for the development of public facilities and spaces
- inadequate opportunity to satisfy social needs such as identity, status and security, resulting from inadequate security of tenure, lack of choice and shortage of housing, and public rather than individual responsibility for housing.

Suggested guidelines for future housing in Soweto include:

- 1 — the urgent need for more land
- 2 — the granting of freehold tenure
- 3 — a greater allocation of resources of housing and the establishment of more efficient financing and subsidation procedures
- 4 — the adoption of more realistic standards
- 5 — the promotion of a greater choice of housing
- 6 — the creation of a better environment
- 7 — the stimulation of appropriate building processes.

PRE-SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN SOWETO

It is estimated that approximately 115 000 children in Soweto require pre-school services. Currently just over 6 percent of this estimated demand is being catered for in the formal pre-school centres. There are 63 full-day centres in Soweto and 2 half-day centres; 50 percent are run by the African Self-Help Association, 13 percent by the Dutch Reformed Church, 12,5 percent by the Board, and the rest by individual organisations. All centres, apart from Entokozweni Early Learning Centre, cater for children between 2 and 6. The Department of Education and Training has recently introduced pre-school classes at about 100 lower primary schools.

Practically all those requiring pre-school care and education in the 3-month to 2-year group, and

a higher primary phase (3years), and a secondary phase (standard 6-8) and a senior secondary phase (standards 9 and 10). In 1978, there were 148 574 pupils attending schools of whom 89 percent were in primary education, 10,6 percent in secondary education and 0,4 percent in post-secondary education.

In 1978, there were 183 lower primary, 143 higher primary, 32 secondary schools.

There are at present only one technical school (at Jabulani) and 3 technical centres in Soweto. The George Tabor Technical Institute offers part-time training in certain trades. A Commercial High School combined with community facilities financed by a group of American companies, is to be established.

Briefly, the main problems relating to education are as follows:

- a lack of confidence in Black education
- a shortage and poor quality of teachers
- a high drop-out rate
- inadequate extra-mural activities and the under-utilisation of school facilities
- insufficient participation by parents
- inadequate opportunities for adult education.

HEALTH SERVICES

Baragwanath Hospital is the only general hospital serving Soweto. It has near 2 500 beds and a

The lack of security for Sowetans leads to despondency, passivity and frustration.

a large proportion of those between 2 and 6 years, are catered for by informal child-minder systems. A pilot survey of child-minders in Soweto revealed the following:

- 1 — the number of children per child-minder varied from 1-7,14 percent of the children were related to the child-minder
- 2 — the average age of children being cared for was 3½ years, although 65 percent were below 2 years
- 3 — the average fee charged was R18,24 per month, about three times the fee charged at formal centres.

A number of projects aimed at upgrading child-minders have been initiated.

FORMAL EDUCATION

The school system in Soweto spans 12 years. It consists of a primary phase lasting 7 years, divided into a lower primary phase (4 years) and

staff of 7 000 including 532 doctors and 3 568 nurses and nurse assistants.

There are also 11 local authority (Johannesburg City Council) and 8 Provincial clinics. They provide the following services: general family and child health services, TB services, curative services, midwifery and primary health care services, dental and family services.

There are at present only 16 private doctors in Soweto.

The major problems relating to the health service are:

- the service provided at Baragwanath is of a high standard. It is, however, overburdened, facilities are being used to their maximum capacity, wards are full and often patients are accommodated on the floor and in the passages
- apart from a few clinics which have active health committees, most have insufficient contact with their local community

- few provide a fully comprehensive service and none are open after hours to cater for emergencies
- few other agencies (eg welfare organisations) have been integrated into the clinic system
- although primary health care services using para-medical staff have been introduced at some clinics, most still rely on qualified doctors
- many clinic buildings are inadequate, and many parts of Soweto do not have convenient access to clinics.

SOME OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

1. Integration into the Metropolitan System

The designation of Soweto as a separate unit from the Metropolitan Region of Johannesburg is artificial, both from the point of view of co-ordinated planning and from that of the allocation of finance.

2. The Allocation of Resources

It is unrealistic to assume that Soweto can be economically self-sufficient. To achieve an adequate resource base, a combined strategy of creating a more effective tax base in Soweto

and of a greater allocation of metropolitan and national resources is essential. Greater private sector participation is also important.

3. An Efficient Administration

The administration of Soweto needs to be more efficient. This requires a clarification of the powers and duties of the various representative and administrative bodies involved, and the immediate training of local persons of the required skills.

4. Education

Education is a key factor in the development of a community. The separate system of education and the unequal allocation of national resources cannot be justified.

5. Personal Security

The lack of security for Sowetans leads to dependency, passivity and frustration. The permanence of urban Blacks must be secured and their rights clearly defined.

6. Opportunity for Self Expression and Choice

Opportunities for self-expression and choice are restricted at all levels and in all activities. These restrictions must be removed and opportunities for self-expression, choice and decision-making vastly increased.

Tribute to Bunty Biggs

THE CHAIRMAN of Natal Midland Region from 1977 to the beginning of this year, Bunty Biggs, has recently left us to retire with her husband to England. Pietermaritzburg will miss her in so many ways. Ask anyone what Bunty was involved in and they'll name two or three organisations, yet in fact the total was much greater, for Bunty was not one to advertise how busy she was, and even her relations could not give me details of all her concerns.

There was the Edenvale Society for Family and Child Welfare, in which for over twenty years she headed the Child Welfare section, always practical and a right-hand person to the Chairman of the day, structuring the work, liaising with local officials and coping with day-to-day crises. She was a founder committee member of Kupugani in the '60s, and more recently one of the National Directors. She showed the same down-to-earth compassion when she was among those who started the 'Need' fund in response to a period of extra-high unemployment in Pietermaritzburg in the '70s. When Dependents' Conference first began looking after the families of detainees and political prisoners in Pietermaritzburg in 1976, Bunty was one of an ad hoc committee of three who ran it locally for two years until the local Council of Churches took over the work. Bunty was a stalwart member of the Liberal Party for the whole of its existence.

Black Sash Natal Midlands Region can be grateful for Bunty's clear thinking and energetic concern in matters as diverse as removals, tours of welfare organisations by schoolchildren, conditions of Swartkop Location and the curfew — the last-named a Natal Midlands campaign which was actually successful. Bunty served on the Committee for twelve years, often taking the chair temporarily before she was elected Chairman in 1977. Under her chairmanship meetings were never dull; indeed, they were often hilarious. She was a vigorous correspondent to the local Press, and her letters on behalf of Sash or in her private capacity were always relevant and telling.

When people talk about Bunty, the same phrases recur: **love and concern for people**. Bunty is a Quaker, a member of the Society of Friends, and in that unassuming Church where there is neither Bishop nor Minister she for eight years held the highest office in Southern Africa — Clerk of Southern Africa. She is a living example of the Friends' ideal of a humble and thoroughly practical, good-humoured and loving Christian.

Uhambe kahle, Bunty! Siyabonga.

M J C

JOHANNESBURG: AN OPPORTUNITY MISSED

JANET LEVINE

CITY COUNCILLOR (PFP)

In this article Janet Levine, a PFP City Councillor, analyses the recent re-structuring of salary-scales at the Johannesburg City Council.

THAT there has been a staff crisis in the service of the Johannesburg City Council is patently obvious to all who follow the fortunes of the large administration that runs our city. Not only is there palpable and on-going discontent among the Black labourers at the lower end of the scale, discontent which manifested itself in a serious outbreak of labour unrest in August 1980, but there is also dissatisfaction at the top of the ladder, dissatisfaction which has caused a severe crisis in manpower shortages at middle managerial level, as well as several recent set-backs in the loss of two heads of departments.

At one of the most recent month-end meetings of the Council in March this year, recommendations for a new wage dispensation and salary structure for the Council's 22 321 workers were approved. The programme is designed to avert any further staff crises and therein lies the seeds of several disturbing features which bear further examination.

That they are sweeping recommendations and usher in a new era in determining salaries for local government employees is gratifying. But that being said, it must be made explicit that even with this programme the Council, as a public sector body, still lags far behind private sector enterprises both in the salaries it offers and in the type of personnel administration and labour relations it practises. Although the City Council's 13 907 Black workers are directly involved in the changes that are envisaged, neither the Black Municipal Workers' Union, which represents over ten thousand of the Council's Black workers, nor the Management Committee's own 'puppet Black union' were consulted. The changes were negotiated with and bargained for by the Industrial Council, which consists of only the White trade unions of the Council. Indeed, part of the motivation for the Council's acceptance of the proposals was to elicit its 'approval of the changes proposed as far as staff who are not represented on the Industrial Council are concerned.'

That is the entire Black labour force.

This type of labour practice is reactionary, anachronistic and downright dangerous.

What are the changes?

There are three central principles to the new dispensation.

- (i) Firstly, the Council has now adopted a unitary grading system for all its employees. This system replaces the old two-part system of 'graded' and 'non-graded' workers. Graded workers were monthly-paid workers, whose salary automatically advanced a notch on the key-scale every year, or one or two notches, if this increase was negotiated by the White municipal trade unions. The Black workers were left out in the cold on every occasion because they were not 'graded' workers. Graded workers numbered seven thousand five hundred people, all of them White except for a handful of Black clerical staff. The remaining fourteen thousand eight hundred workers were Black (13 907) and 'Coloured' and Asian (915). In the main these workers are male migrant labourers. This system had the effect of ensuring that the majority of the Council employees were never able to qualify for an increment, because each time they returned to the Council on their annual contract, they started again on the minimum level, that of non-graded worker. This fact emerged as one of the most startling disclosures of the Council's discriminatory wage-practices during the labour unrest in July last year.

Men with ten, fifteen and even twenty-five years' service to the Council were still on the bottom rung of the salary-scale. They had never received an in-built increment. Salary increases, such as they were, raised the minimum level by a paltry few cents and particularly since 1975 the basic minimum wage which has been paid (in 1980 it was R1 680 p.a.—R32,30 a week), had fallen dramatically behind the CoL index. Now the entire staff complement is to be graded in a unitary system and any worker on any grade may be advanced by merit recognition, one or more notches along the key scale, on the recommendation of the departmental head.

This is a major breakthrough for the Black labourers, as well as the White staff. It gives the heads of departments real authority in that they may advance their key workers, without having to wait for their recommendations to be ratified as in the previous cumbersome bureaucratic system of management.

- (ii) The second major principle again affects the Council's Black employees. It flows out of the first principle in that it introduces an annual built-in increment for all workers. A Black labourer may now advance eight notches along his grade over a period of eight years. The absence of this built-in increment was articulated as one of the most bitter grievances of the Black workers in July last year. The Management Committee's response in this instance is to be commended.
- (iii) The third principle is to be found in the streamlining and rationalisation of the entire wage structure. Over six hundred job titles were paid on a basis of more than three hundred different remuneration scales. This was an unwieldy system which resulted in complicated and lengthy procedures in personnel administration. It was the cause of major staff discontent.

The rationalisation programme envisages six key divisions: (a) Executive, (b) Managerial, (c) Supervisory, (d) Skilled, (e) Semi-skilled and (f) Unskilled. Within these six divisions the grades will be reduced from the previous 300-odd to a basic twenty-three. This provides for an easily understood framework for municipal pay.

These innovations certainly encompass a feeling of urgency about the overall ability of the Council to maintain and develop a reliable, contented work-force. There is a fly in the ointment, however. Lest anyone assume that the new structure also heralds a massive pay-rise let us examine the real situation. In actual terms those workers who are already graded will receive a three-notch increase and those who now become graded will move onto the bottom rung of the lowest grade. Therefore, the 13 907 Black labourers move to R1 764 p.a. (R33,92 a week) from R1 680 p.a. (R32,30 a week). The ceiling of this grade is R2 268 p.a. (R43,61 a week) and it will take the average worker eight years to reach this ceiling. **These salaries are totally inadequate. They fall below every accepted Poverty Datum Line in the country and should be a source of grave concern for every rate-payer in this city.**

Salaries for Whites in the top grade by comparison, by way of the three-notch increase, move from R33 720 p.a. to R38 184 p.a. Therefore, those at the bottom have a rise of 5 percent or R84 and those at the top 13,2 percent or R4 464.

As has been already stated these innovations were approved by the Industrial Council for the Johannesburg Municipal Undertaking, a body of White-only trade unions representing only the White workers in the Council. These workers constitute only one-third of the Council's total staff complement. This type of arrogant acceptance that the

Industrial Council can presume to speak for all the Council's workers is short-sighted and ill-judged at best, and reprehensible at worst.

I find it inexplicable that the Management Committee have missed a golden opportunity for redressing some of the ill-will it generated by its abusive mishandling of the labour unrest last year, by not holding even informal talks with the Black Municipal Workers' Union and even its own 'sweet-heart' Black union.

An awareness of this and other shortcomings leave me with only a qualified and somewhat sceptical welcome of these new innovations. Until meaningful communication is structured into the Management Committee's dealings with the Black labour-force, I feel uneasy and concerned about our whole labour relations situation.

I do not believe that we have heard the end of the story.



'Coloured' schoolgirl overcome by teargas.

● Acknowledgements to The Star. Picture by Alf Kumalo.

Regional Round-Up

These Regional Reports detail Sash activities outside the Advice Offices. They demonstrate the individuality of each region, which paradoxically emphasises the cohesiveness of our organisation.

ALBANY

THIS has been a traumatic year for us in Grahamstown. Not only was the violently explosive and unhappy state of our society brought right home to us by the deaths in August in our townships following the School's Boycott but also, as I write this, the trial still continues of one of our most conscientious and dedicated Advice Office workers — Guy Berger. He, together with a number of students and a research worker at Rhodes, was detained in August. Faced at such close quarters with the sort of events which are increasingly occurring all over South Africa has led us all to think deeply about our society and its uncertain future.

Despite these horrifying local events of the past year we have managed to hold regular meetings. The committee members have all been marvelously hardworking and enthusiastic despite the fact that each member has many other commitments both professional and personal. During the year we said goodbye to Ingrid Stuart who served on our committee for the nine months that she was here. We also said farewells to Patricia Kelly, our former treasurer, and to Iona Mayer who, like Patricia, worked with great dedication in the Advice Office. One of our scheduled general meetings took the form of a farewell party for Patricia and Iona and on the same evening we presented Connie Pridmore with a much deserved Honorary Membership. As this was in August and Albany was subject to the provisions of the Riotous Assemblies Act, we did not hold our scheduled meeting on Resettlement but confined ourselves to a social gathering.

Dr Marianne Roux of the Rhodes Sociology Department spoke to us on the industrial unrest at Ford, Nancy Charton of the Politics Department talked on Resettlement in the Ciskei and Prof Terence Beard of the same Department talked to us on the rôle of the police in South Africa. Our branch is indeed fortunate to be able to draw on speakers who can talk so professionally on topics of relevance and immediacy.

We have tried to resurrect a former excellent tradition of newsletters to members and although only two were sent out we hope to make this a far more regular occurrence. During the August troubles the Sash was represented on an ad hoc committee formed to monitor police action in the township. We put our name to a press statement issued by the group calling on the police to exercise restraint. This branch also spearheaded a nationwide telegram campaign to Dr Piet Koornhof

asking him to intervene and pointing out that a political solution, not police action, was necessary to stop the violence. Although attendance at Primray schools resumed this year after the decision by the Port Elizabeth students to end the boycott, the black High School is still not open.

We held two one-man protests during the year. The first was to protest at the detention in August of the Rhodes staff member and students and the second was to register our dismay at the closing of the Johannesburg black newspapers. We are delighted to welcome a new member (long a member in Cape Town), Margaret Barker whose advent with her husband, the new Dean of the Cathedral, means that our requests to hold stands on Cathedral property always meets with immediate consent.

A small group from among our members have organised regular food parcels and reading material for the two detainees who have been held in the local prison.

With resettlement like Glenmore and Kammaskraal virtually on our doorstep, with our overcrowded and poverty-stricken townships, with our local black unemployment figures, with the imminent independence of the Ciskei, it seems as if the Albany branch will increasingly have to face the same sort of problems with which we were faced this year. We obviously need determination and courage not to succumb to the temptations of apathy and despair. I feel that hosting this conference, and thus enabling our members to feel fully part of a nationwide organisation, can only prove psychologically beneficial for us all.

MARGOT BEARD

CAPE WESTERN

LOOKING back on the past year it is difficult, in fact well-nigh impossible to measure achievement or success in our work, hemmed in as we are by the prevailing system. In the political area there is much talk of change, but the harsh laws — and there are many of them — affecting so many of the citizens of South Africa remain on the statute books.

We have had a hard and troubled year in the Western Cape. Detentions without trial followed in the wake of unrest surrounding the meat-workers' strike and the bus and school boycotts. Our ex-office secretary and the sons of two of our members were detained and subsequently released, no



● SCENE FROM CONFERENCE

charge having been laid against them. During the last week in May we held daily stands displaying posters which read 'Remember the banned and detained'. There were a few incidents during that week, and although we all stood our ground, one poster which had attracted the attention of the SA police and riot police was confiscated but later successfully retrieved from Claremont police station.

We are all very aware of the tremendous suffering involved in the general unrest and the boycotts. At our June general meeting the concern of two members resulted in our calling on the Mayor of Cape Town to initiate some consultation in an effort to resolve the transport situation. We were granted an interview with the Mayor and Deputy Mayor to whom we gave memoranda from the Institute of Race Relations and the Board of Social Responsibility of the Anglican Church, as well as our own. A second meeting involving other organisations was subsequently held and later still a delegation from the Institute of Race Relations saw the Minister.

One of the horrors of the boycott had been the harassment by armed police and Department of Transport officials of commuters using so-called pirate (ie unregistered) taxis. Eventually, with the help of the Urban Foundation, some taxi drivers were able to register and the combi-taxis run a steady service from Claremont and Mowbray to the townships and back.

On the practical side members were asked to give lifts to commuters from the townships wherever possible. Some people were actually walking 15 km a day to come to town to work.

We closely followed the case of Rommel Roberts versus City Tramways regarding the increased bus fares. He won the case and the fares reverted temporarily to the original rate. Later we learnt that the government had handed over R4,165,000 to City Tramways to cover costs (Hansard No. 15, 1980, page 7366).

During the year-long school boycott there was little we could do except watch the situation clo-

sely and gather as much information as possible. On 26th February we called a meeting of all concerned people and organisations. This was very well attended and proved to be a worthwhile exchange of ideas and information. The future looks grim but we will continue to meet.

Reports come to Regional Council regarding the activities of many organisations. We have been in constant touch with the Women's Movement for Peace and the SA Institute of Race Relations to whom we are grateful for statistics and information. We are represented on the Friends of District 6 committee. (The Crossroads one is now disbanded).

In June and July when the Hout Bay squatter situation was at its height, Theresa Rachman, a comparatively new member, visited the camp daily to give both moral and practical help to Sister Ann Andrews in her endeavour to aid the fishermen and others who were moved from squatter homes where they had lived with their families for years. Later they followed these people to Langa barracks and were responsible for the exposure of the unhealthy conditions in temporary accommodation provided there. Sister Ann became a member of the Sash, and was in constant touch with the Advice Office. Together these two had a good measure of success in gaining rights for many of the squatters. The case against Ann in the Wynberg magistrates' court for trespass during the height of the removals was withdrawn, but she did gain a good deal of publicity at the time.

In April Noel Robb, Margaret Nash and I saw the Minister of Community Development, Mr Marais Steyn, in order to discuss the urgent housing situation with him. We presented him with a memorandum which was later given to the Press. At that meeting the Minister was asked why the Slums Act had not been used to clear parts of District 6 which he had mentioned as being uninhabitable. No answer was given to this. Now we propose to see the Medical Officer of Health for Cape Town to discuss this act with him in regard, inter alia, to the present policy of moving all the occupants

of a shack which is demolished in a 'coloured' squatter camp into one house, regardless of how many people were occupying the shack.

It has been of great interest to a few of us who have assisted Laurine Platzky in Atlantis with the 'Surplus Peoples Project' which she has been carrying out under the auspices of the University of Natal. As most research for this project had previously been conducted in rural resettlement areas, Atlantis was used as a contrast. The township, controlled by the Cape Divisional Council, lies approximately 45 kilometres northwest of Cape Town. Apart from housing local factory and fishery workers, it has absorbed 'Coloured' people uprooted by group areas removals and those affected by the dreadful housing shortage in and around Cape Town. Some of these people are still forced to commute long distances daily. It was particularly interesting to compare the results of our questionnaires with the impressions given to us on an official guided tour which we were given last year.

A proposed meeting of the Study Group was prohibited under the legislation existing at the time which prohibited more than 10 people from being present at a gathering. We had applied for a permit at the request of the speaker and were somewhat amazed ourselves when it was not forthcoming. Permission was also refused for a series of meetings we intended holding on the UCT campus in conjunction with the SRC. Hopefully these will be held this year.

Friends joined us on 13th May to celebrate 25 years of the existence of the Sash at a supper party followed by some really excellent toasts and speeches. The emphasis was on the old days, and the splendid historic display put on by Hildur Amato created a great deal of interest and sparked off many a story. However, we were all aware, amongst all the celebrations, that having notched up 25 years the sincere regret is of course that we are still 'in business'

Nostalgically too, five of us sat in the public gallery, with two black roses between us, when the Senate was dissolved in June.

Arising out of the Regional Conference was deep concern at the proposed amendments to Section 183 of the Municipal Ordinance of 1974 which was soon to be brought before the Cape Provincial Council. This so-called 'key law' became operative from 19th December 1980 but before that we did our fair share of protesting. It requires householders and flatdwellers to keep a register of servants and a key to the servants' quarters which may be demanded at any time between midnight and 8 am by police or municipal officials, in the area where the legislation applies.

We called a public meeting at which we were supported by the Institute of Race Relations, the Womens' Movement, NCW, the Civil Rights League and the Union of Jewish Women. A statement and petition from the meeting was delivered to Mr Bouwer, MEC who presented the legislation, before it became law. Local supportive provincial

councillors managed to find us seats in a very packed gallery during the ensuing debate.

Subsequently, Mr Chris Joubert, Chairman of the Green and Sea Point Ratepayers Association, the body largely responsible for initiating the proposed legislation, addressed our November general meeting. Needless to say, this meeting proved to be perhaps the liveliest we have ever had. Very little if any of what Mr Joubert said to us was acceptable, but we sincerely hoped that our remarks had made some impact on him.

Some of the activities discussed here will be carried over into another year. Sadly there is no shortage of work for us or of challenges to be met. We shall continue to protest as the grand plan of Apartheid rumbles on leaving so many South Africans crushed in its wake. 'If ever there was a total onslaught it was the government onslaught on District 6' said Helen Suzman at the recent commemoration meeting held there, but, she added,

'the value and force of sustained protest should not be underestimated. In spite of this intransigent government, it brings results'.

J. GROVER

NATAL COASTAL

Introduction

It hardly needs stating that, as must be sadly apparent to all of us, we meet this year in an atmosphere created by an ever worsening situation, of heightened tensions, further polarization, tighter control and the threat of sterner measures still to come. These are challenges that will require the combined resources, collective imagination and the efforts of us all.

Protest stands

These for a number of reasons, given today's political climate, have tended to lapse in favour of what is generally felt to be more valid forms of protest. We did, however, stand recently against the bannings of the POST and SUNDAY POST — and ironically enough got no publicity whatsoever! Prior to this a stand had been organized to protest the detention of a school-boy from Swaziland but was cancelled when the boy was released.

Release Mandela campaign

This was launched by the SRC of Natal University, Durban with a mass solidarity meeting at which Bishop Desmond Tutu, Zinzi Mandela and Beth Franklin addressed a capacity crowd whose numbers were swelled by school boycotters. Thereafter the campaign gathered momentum with the local organization of the nation-wide petition, meetings, international co-operation etc. and in all a tremendous amount of enthusiasm, support and politicization was generated.

Schools' boycott

This has been dealt with in a separate fact paper. Suffice to comment here that Natal Coastal,

believing in a unified, non-racial system of education, was therefore able to identify with the boycott and its just demands. What was of special social and political significance at this time of crisis was the degree of unity and solidarity evident (at least in the initial stages) amongst students of all (Black) race groups. No less than was their democratic behaviour, their discipline, determination and highly articulate leadership.

In contra-distinction to this was the apparent unpreparedness and gross ignorance of the Whites. A committee was hastily formed of representatives of concerned organisations expressly to draw to the attention of local editors this deplorable state of affairs.

What slight improvement there may subsequently have been as regards educating and informing a largely apathetic and insular White public, was short lived. For it remains true to say, I think, that so long as social issues of too controversial or contentious a nature are shunned by our local press (with the exception of the Sunday Tribune and possibly Post) so long will the White public continue, as Martin Luther King would say, sleeping through a revolution'.

The Biko doctors

As the Medical Council of South Africa do not have an office in Durban we were strongly advised by the President of the Natal Coastal Region of the Medical Association that instead of registering our protest with a 'stand' it would be preferable to write to the Medical Council's only representative here, requesting him to convey to his colleagues in Pretoria our deep concern and our objections. This was done.

African pensions

Although Jillian Nicholson will be incorporating this in her Advice Office Report I would here like to record the outstanding job she has done, and is doing, in this connection. Hers is indeed an uphill and ongoing struggle against chaos, corruption, bureaucracy and legal entanglement in order that the aged, the indigent and the disabled might be granted what Dr Koornhof himself has described as the statutory right of every South African citizen to a pension — meagre and totally inadequate as this is in the case of Africans.

Housing co-ordinating committee

This year again Solveig Piper has acted as Natal Coastal's very able representative on this committee:

DHAC and SHAC

The Durban Housing Action Committee was formed from among the Indian and 'Coloured' communities to channel feelings of justifiable anger and to protest against the proposed high increase in rents and rates demanded of the poorer sections housed in Durban's outlying districts of Chatsworth, Merebank, Springfield, Asherville, Austerville, Phoenix, Newlands East, Sydenham Heights and Clairwood. At the end of October a

four-month moratorium was agreed by the Durban City Council. At the time of writing this has just been lifted and 60,000 tenants from Phoenix, Newlands East and Sydenham Heights are once again threatening to stop payment of their rents unless the City Council withdraws the increases. A further 400,000 have promised similar support should municipal action be taken against the boycotters either by their eviction or the cutting off of their electricity. An explosive situation is once again developing.

Integrated bus service

A Transport Commission is currently sitting in Durban and Mary Grice will once again be putting forward Natal Coastal's views on the necessity of integrating bus services.

1981 Natal Republic Festival protest

Following the excellent article, carried in the Sunday Tribune, by Prof T Cope of Natal University, clearly spelling out the reasons why Natalians should consider seriously before associating themselves with the Festival (to be climaxed in Natal) Natal Coastal sent a letter, in agreement with the Professor, to the papers and one of protest to the City Council. A sub-committee was formed consisting of Beth Franklin and June Cope who together have launched a petition (only 250 signatures required before the Council 'shall call' a meeting), and they will be liaising with Diakonia and other concerned bodies with regard to future joint action.

Press, publicity and letters

In view of what was earlier said it is not surprising that SASH is not altogether 'persona grata' with the local press despite the co-operative efforts of some individual journalists. Our letters and press statements have often not been accepted although certain articles, for example on Pensions have been published. Understandably enough, even less inclined is the SABC to give us news-coverage! For although I had written to Mr Christopher Dingle emphasizing the urgent social problem of African pensioners and despite the very inadequate 2-3 minutes they eventually allowed Jillian Nicholson the interview was never publicly recorded. Jillian was, however, interviewed by Mr Subry Govender for Radio Nederland and excellent coverage given both to the problem itself and to SASH's role in general. (Subry Govender has since been served with a very restrictive banning order).

In addition to those already mentioned, official letters/telegrams have been sent to the respective Ministers with regard to bannings, the gold bonanza; and the 1975 Act on Abortion with the request that a Commission of Enquiry be set up to investigate its working.

Conclusion

A constant theme of this report — implicit if not always explicit — is the need to publicise. 'Publish or Perish' is what the scientists believe and we

would do well to remember this! For although I know I am not stating anything new, I feel strongly that, despite the difficulties that already confront us in this respect, the act of exposing the exploitative, ugly face of apartheid is still a very potent weapon left to us. And it is potent precisely because it is feared, and feared because any revelation of the truth is always inimical to those who, for their own nefarious ends, would suppress it. I therefore urge that rather than 'Silent Protest' the 1980s witness an upsurge in the extent to which SASH's voice is heard and the truth propagated to as wide an audience as its resources will permit.

HIGHWAY BRANCH

THE Highway Branch has continued to meet once a month throughout the year. We are a small, closely knit group, acting chiefly as a support group to the Region.

Instead of a party to commemorate the 25th Anniversary of Black Sash, we started a Bursary Fund to help train a teacher. At present the fund stands at the gratifying amount of R340.00.

The Black Sash Highway Branch received Drought Relief food from the Sunday Tribune Fund for the Hillcrest area. A sterling and unenviable job was done by Mary Grice and her band of helpers.

We have also tried to keep in touch with the Water Crisis committee, the St Wendolins removals, the proposed Umgeni River dam which will displace people and schools, the rezoned Stockville valley and the Association for Rural Advancement.

L. MELOUNEY

NATAL MIDLANDS

Changes of Office Bearers

For a variety of reasons our Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer have all had to relinquish office this year. Maimie Corrigan, who has been involved with Sash since its inception as an office bearer with Natal Midlands, has now retired from the secretaryship. Her contribution to the Region has been incalculable, and we are grateful that she is able to continue on the Committee.

Iris Friday has resigned as Treasurer due to her inability to attend afternoon meetings, but is not lost to us either as she is to be our Auditor.

Bunty Biggs is about to leave for retirement in England, and so will be handing over soon, to our great regret, as she has been an outstanding Chairman. We record our gratitude to them all, and also to Mary Park Ross, who died this week, who retired from the Committee after many years of balancing the precarious Advice Office finances.

General

- Under Sheena's guidance a greater emphasis is being laid on self-help. A research group has been set up to expose abuses, make representations to authorities, and organise office research material.
- **Removals and Resettlement:** Sash is represented on AFRA (Association for Rural Advancement).
- **Black Education Display:** This display of facts and photos made in 1979, continues to be in demand, and has been on display in private schools, one Government school, and in the Race Relations Art Centre.
- **Concerned Citizens' Committee:** Following the trouble in Indian and 'coloured' schools there was a move to set up a committee to co-ordinate the response of caring bodies in the City. Black Sash's representative on this committee, has been pressing for some action on solitary confinement, and Black Pensions, and a statement has appeared on the latter.
- **Research:** Individuals on the Committee have been undertaking research on Solitary Confinement of Prisoners, and Black Pensions, the latter in co-operation with Natal Coastal and the Advice Office.
- **Protests:** These were confined to the local Press and were mostly in the form of letters, although one was a cartoon.

Conclusion

If it is impossible to feel optimistic about the future of this country, at least we close the year with greater optimism about the relevance and liveliness of our own Region of the Black Sash. The Advice Office, from being a running sore with its financial and manpower problems, has become a 'growth point', and, with the co-operation of Race Relations, we can look forward to it continuing to make a useful contribution to this city.

MAGGY CLARKE

TRANSVAAL

THE PAST YEAR has been a year of crises on every level. We have observed the crisis in education, the crisis on the labour front, the crisis in the legal system, the crisis of the Press and the crisis in total strategy.

There have been crises even within the Government. Teachers' pay, hospitals, prisons, the Auditor-General's Report and the legal crisis are but a few manifestations of the crisis in the State bureaucracy.

A LABOUR

Labour action has been of particular significance. Over the last six months of 1980 over 90 000 workers came out on strike. In the Transvaal we

have witnessed strikes by employees of Nels Dairy, meat workers, Johannesburg Municipal workers, Putco and various other strikes.

We in the Transvaal witnessed the significant strike of 10 000 Johannesburg Municipal workers. They went on strike for higher wages, improved working conditions and for the recognition of the Black Municipal Workers' Union, demands which were articulated in almost all strikes in SA. We watched in horror at the way the Johannesburg City Council handled this strike. The leadership was detained, migrant labourers were transported back to the Homelands and scab labour was employed. Sheena Duncan worded a pamphlet stating the workers had struck and that they were being paid below subsistence wage of R42 per week. A group of us handed out the pamphlets to the public. Mr Mavi, Mr Dhlamini and Mr Mazwi, organisers of the Black Municipal Workers' Union, are being tried under the Native Labour Relations Act for allegedly illegally instigating a strike in an essential service. Sash members attended the trial.

We endorsed a statement by SAIRR which was published in the Press on the meat strike. Individual Black Sash members boycotted red meat. Joyce Harris issued a statement on the strike.

In May, workers of Nels Dairy were sacked for trying to establish a Works Committee. An interdict was sought to prevent Nels from sacking 24 men. The interdict was upheld and the workers' lawyer agreed to accept Nels' word that they would not sack any further workers. Despite having been given their word they continued to sack workers and to victimise workers for supporting the Works Committee by refusing to renew their contracts when they came to an end. This demonstrates the way in which employers use the contract labour system to control workers, a point emphasised yet again in the Municipal and other strikes. One of the workers, Joe Mabaso, brought a civil action against Nels for contempt of court, which he won. The court ordered Nels to pay the legal costs. Nels fired 42 workers in all, seven of whom had been employed between 10-20 years. Betty Nicol of the Black Sash was involved with the workers from the start and was instrumental in gathering information on the victimisation of the workers. This evidence proved vital to the case. Betty also made a statement to the Wage Determination Board.

We in the Transvaal reacted to the Pebco strike. We had a stand protesting the Pebco banning. We also issued a statement to the Press.

We have watched the increasingly stringent crack-down on labour within the Transvaal, which has resulted from the implementation of the Riekert Commission. Unemployed, unskilled workers who have become redundant, due to the increase in mechanisation, have been and are being removed to the homelands, in order to defuse any threat they may pose in the urban area. The Riekert Commission attempted to contain the unemployed crisis. However, by upgrading worker skills, creating a Black middle class, imposing greater control

on labour from the rural areas and removing workers not needed in the urban areas, Riekert created a situation of severe pressure on the rural areas and a state of tension in the urban areas. The Wiehahn recommendations provide for the registration of Black unions, so that they can fall within the industrial relations system, and be controlled.

B EDUCATION

Tied up with the simmering discontent on the labour front we witnessed an explosion from students. Quiet since 1976/77 they hurled themselves into wave upon wave of political action in 1980. They came from areas which included Lenasia, Eldorado Park, Riverlea, Kliptown, Bosmont and Coronationville. The student demands followed on the heels of the Cape schools' boycott where comprehensive lists of demands both immediate and long term were handed to the authorities. In April 1980 'Coloured' pupils marched in protest against inferior education. The State tried to ignore the boycotts in the hope that they would fizzle out. But on the 23rd April the students were baton charged at Eldorado Park and Coronationville. The stay-away moved beyond the educational sphere especially after the funeral of Solomon Mahlangu when four Mamelodi schools joined the boycott. On the 30th, a meeting of 'Coloured' and Indian students at Westbury High was broken up by police and 854 children were arrested. We are very concerned that children may still be held in prison under Section 6. Students had the support of their parents and teachers which made for unified action. Parents threatened to down their tools in solidarity with their children. In Johannesburg, parents, teachers and religious leaders decided to draw up a memorandum to the Minister. It was difficult for our Education Sub-committee to decide what role to play in support of the students. First, they informed themselves by arranging talks. Rev Thorne gave the sub-committee an eye-witness account of the 'Coloured' school boycott. He was later arrested under the Riotous Assemblies Act. Five members from this sub-committee attended his trial. A panel discussion led by Prof Hartshorne, of the Centre of Continuing Studies, Mr Fakier and Mr Minnaar, both of the Rand College of Education, studied the reasons for the discontent in education and what could be done to resolve this cancer. Black Sash members attended a meeting to form a Non-racial Education Union which led to the founding of NEUSA of which we are members. We attended a NEUSA meeting to establish policy in dealing with the HSRC (Human Science Research Council) Commission of Inquiry. The outcome of this meeting was to dispute both the constitution and raison d'être of the Commission as it was not a democratically elected body. The meeting recommended that members did not participate on this Commission. Mrs Sylvia Nell of the Education Sub-committee wrote an article on the **Structure of Education in SA**. A further meeting was addressed by Mr Peter Kalloway from Wits, Rev Thorne and Prof Hartshorne at which we had a record at-

tendance. Mr Kalloway highlighted his belief that the problem in education is that Bantu Education is designed to domesticate Blacks. More than that, he went on, it fulfills the needs of industry by churning out labourers with the rudimentary skills needed, ie reading and writing. The Education Sub-committee, appalled by the fact that 11 000 Cape students were being locked out of their schools, liaised with the Cape region to try to co-ordinate a campaign. A paper was written by our member, Mrs Betty Taylor, on 'Promises' made by the Government on Black education.

Some members of the sub-committee assisted the English Academy in preparing a **Study Guide of English Poetry** for Black teachers, for which they were thanked. This committee kept a comprehensive news cutting book which proved most informative. It was used by many people for reference purposes. They also visited 'Coloured' schools. They were impressed by the spirit of the children, parents and teachers.

C RESETTLEMENT

Our Resettlement Sub-committee started off the year by contacting other organisations working in this field to find out what areas were being worked on. They arranged talks and visits to various areas. Neil Coleman addressed the group on the 'History of Labour in SA' and Gerry Maré addressed a meeting on 'African Population Relocation.' The sub-committee visited Winterveld twice, once led by Annieke van Gelswyck and on another occasion took a group of visitors from the Ford Foundation. We visited the Makgato tribe as we had heard that three people were appearing in court for allegedly re-building their homes illegally. When we got there we were told that the hearing had been postponed. We took the opportunity to visit the Makgato and Batlokwa areas and were impressed by the vitality of these communities. We then visited Kwaggafontein, a Tribal Trust area to which thousands of Ndebele people have been resettled from Winterveld. We were struck by the total despair and lack of resistance of people who had been arbitrarily moved to this barren, hopeless environment. A film called 'The Promised Land' was bought for our use by this sub-committee's chairperson, Pru Crosoer. It has proved invaluable. The film was produced by the SACC and the CPSA (Church of the Province of SA). The committee has so far shown it to three hundred people and has produced a fact paper based on the film. It has proved useful in initiating further discussion on rural poverty and migrant labour. The film has been shown to Church and Habonim groups, students at Technical College, farmers at Underberg, Sash members and housewives. The fact paper has been circulated to interested organisations.

D LAW

Our Justice Sub-committee sent a letter to the Minister of Justice in response to the Civil Rights Circular on bannings. The committee has kept a

watching brief on Press and Hansard. Joyce Harris and Sheena Duncan attended the Renfrew Christie Trial. The deplorable Police Bill prompted action from us. An emergency meeting was called with the SACC, the SAIRR and the PFP, lawyers and other organisations. The outcome was a joint statement published in the Press. A telegram was sent to the Prime Minister calling on the Government to listen and stating that Government action was fanning the flames of discontent.

The bannings of Mrs Helen Joseph, Mr F Mazi-buku and Mr Sisulu and others led to us responding by letters to the Press. This continued onslaught on the leaders solves nothing as no attempt is made to root out the cause of discontent. The banning of **Post and Sunday Post** demonstrates the fact that the State is not prepared to tolerate the expression, to any significant degree, of the problems and aspirations of the majority of the people in this country. We stood on this issue, the placards reading: 'Total Onslaught on the Press' and 'Post and Sunday Post Gagged.'

The dropping of the Biko affair simply appalled us all. Letters were written to the Press. Jill Wentzel and Ethel Walt stood in Pretoria outside the Medical and Dental Council offices. Jill reported that she found the passers-by very hostile and felt actually threatened by them. She and Ethel were taken to BOSS headquarters where they were questioned and released after an hour. This prompted Jill to write an article which was published in the Rand Daily Mail, 'Standing in Front of the Pretoria Public.' There were photographs of the stand in the Press.

The committee checked the legislation as to whether juveniles were protected by the law in any way from being detained without trial. Because of the wide orbit of the Terrorism Act it was ascertained that juveniles are not protected from being detained.

E HOUSING/EVICTIONS

Gita Dyzenhaus was elected to the Executive of Actstop, a committee of landlords, tenants and other interested parties, who are working against the eviction of 'Coloured' and Indian people living in so-called 'White' areas in Johannesburg. We were represented on this committee by Kathy Jordi, Joyce Harris and myself.

Kliptown is a mixed community of 'Coloureds' and Africans who have amicably lived side by side for many years, and want to be resettled together. There is no argument that the area is a slum and they want better housing. The authorities are ignoring their request to be resettled together and are calling their demands 'political.' They have begun demolishing the Black homes. A group of us went to Kliptown when we had a call for help from some families who were being evicted. They were living in corrugated iron shanties and the authorities had come and dismantled them and taken the wooden window frames, doors and floors and burnt them. They then axed the iron sheets to

render them unusable. No alternative accommodation had been offered these people and because of the housing shortage they could not find any. This prompted Sheena Duncan and myself to ask for a meeting with Mr John Knoetze, Chairman of WRAB, to prevail upon them not to evict people from existing homes, no matter how bad, until alternative accommodation was found. At this meeting we discussed overall housing in Soweto. The outcome of this meeting was that most of the people we discussed were rehoused and the men who were not 'legally' in the area were helped. Nevertheless, the authorities continue to evict people without giving alternate accommodation so we were not successful in our plea. The residents of Kliptown have now formed the Kliptown People's Association. They have invited the Sash to come onto the committee which we have agreed to do.

In the late 1950s people were moved from Sophiatown, Fordsburg, Newclare and Pageview under the Group Areas Act. They were housed temporarily in disused army barracks in Lenasia. In 1963 they were moved to Thomsville as a temporary measure. Eighteen years later they are still living there. In 1968 the area was declared a slum by the Medical Officer of Health. Over the years they have battled to be re-housed, using the Management Committee as their spokesman to no effect. This has now given rise to the formation of the Thomsville Residents' Association, which is now seeking recognition by the Department of Community Development. Their demands are: that the people of Thomsville be re-housed in suitable adequate accommodation and decent homes immediately; that this take priority over the resettlement of people affected by the Group Areas Act, eg removing people from existing accommodation such as Pageview; and that the Thomsville Residents' Association be recognised as the legitimate representatives of the people. The TRA approached the Black Sash and other organisations to visit the area and to form a support group. We did so and will help them when called upon.

F ADVICE OFFICE

I would here like to note special thanks to Elizabeth Rowe, our stalwart of the Advice Office, who has had a very difficult year due to family problems. She took leave of absence but was back in the office the moment it was possible, continuing on her usual selfless and dedicated path, working an entire day. Our thanks are also due to Beula Rolnick for her untiring answering of the telephone with such humour and understanding and for her interest in dealing with clients.

Sheena Duncan has had enormous demands made upon her in the past year lecturing, interviewing, writing and teaching. Despite her long working hours, she has always continued to be

available to us all. She has dealt with big and small problems with patience and understanding for which we are most grateful. She has our utmost admiration.

G SATURDAY CLUB

This club continued to meet once a month. This year they introduced a new angle to their meetings. A member would discuss her 'roots' which made fascinating revelations as to each person's background and has been enjoyed by all. Pru Crosoer showed her slide-tape documentary and led a discussion on resettlement at one meeting. Pat van Rensburg initiated an interesting discussion on 'Rape' at another meeting. Mrs Helen Joseph, before her banning order, addressed the group on the Federation of Women, and they were also addressed by Mr Percy Quoboza at another meeting.

I wish to pay special tribute to Gita Dyzenhaus who was unable to attend this Conference. Her official tasks were those of Magazine Editor and Vice-Chair of the Region. She carried out both offices with ease and expertise, despite ill health. She is always willing to volunteer for the many sundry tasks that crop up during the year. She is a remarkable woman and much appreciated.

We all mourn Debbie Dison, our dynamic young member, who was killed in a car crash. She is a great loss to the whole community, an enthusiastic young woman on the threshold of life and with so much to give.

H DEMONSTRATIONS

Time and time again we have pondered the worth of one-person stands. Many feel that it is very important to be SEEN to protest, even if it is for the few who pass by. It is, of course, invaluable when it is reported in the papers, but this does not always happen. After much debate it was decided that we would not continue to stand on a weekly basis but spontaneously on particular issues. For this reason fewer stands were recorded than before, as follows:

- Tutu's Passport Taken — This Man of Peace Punished — Why?
- Pebco Banning
- Respect Black Leaders, Don't Prosecute Them — We Must Adjust — When?
- Adapt or Perish
- Provide Equal Education For All
- Leaders Again Silenced
- Yet Another Two Journalists Banned — Total Onslaught on the Press
- Post and Sunday Post Gagged — Total Onslaught on the Press

AUDREY COLEMAN

OBITUARY

MARY COKE

WE CELEBRATE the life and death of MARY COKE, a member of Cape Western, who died on April 9, 1981.

She had asked her family that there should be no mourning at her death, but to make it rather an occasion of celebration — and all who attended the memorial service were caught up into the feeling of great joy in thanksgiving for her life.

The flame that burned in Mary was fed by qualities all too rare in this present age.

Her faith, which was deep and strong, carried her through the many occasions of loss in her family, and sustained her in her stand for human rights.

Integrity, together with fearlessness, gave her the strength to uphold her belief in truth and justice.

In her life's work to these ends she drew respect. Outspoken and rebellious but balanced by a brusque compassion, she communicated with old and young on the same level.

A dry sense of humour and an equally dry assessment of people often brought forth comments in that deep resonant voice which we shall all miss.

Her willing work for Sash ever since its inception was constant and reliable; the thin, often trousered, figure topped by the whitening hair can be seen in many Sash photos. More recently she never allowed ill health to interfere with her duties on the Regional Council and in the Langa Courts until she was absolutely forced to give up.

We give thanks to Mary. She has left us an ever-burning flame — a reminder of those qualities which can be attained if we forget 'self'.

ANNE FINSEN

MARY PARK ROSS

MIDLANDS REGION records with sorrow the death of MRS MARY PARK ROSS, who died at her home in Sweetwaters, Pietermaritzburg, in March after a short illness.

She was a long-standing member of Black Sash, and once served as Chairman of the Region. More recently her efforts were devoted to the Advice Office, for which until last year she organised both the roster of workers and the finances.

A mathematics teacher, Mary taught at St Anne's Diocesan College from 1943, becoming the vice-principal of the school in 1959, a position she held till her retirement in 1970. She was an active member of the Progressive Federal Party, and her membership of Santa Hilton Branch, led to her deep involvement with under-privileged families in the Mpumusa area.

The Natal Witness, to which newspaper thanks are due for permission to reprint parts of their obituary article, described her as a 'civil rights activist,' and a fellow teacher at St Anne's wrote of Mary that she had a mind 'at once precise and impartial and dedicated to self-sacrifice and love for fellow human beings.'

M J C

CARTOON SUBJECT OF THE YEAR

By Bob Connolly



Dedication . . .

IN pride and humbleness we declare our devotion to the land of South Africa, we dedicate ourselves to the service of our country. We pledge ourselves to uphold the ideals of mutual trust and forbearance, of sanctity of word, of courage for the future, and of peace and justice for all persons and peoples. We pledge ourselves to resist any diminishment of these, confident that this duty is required of us, and that history and our children will defend us.

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

MET trots en nederigheid verklaar ons ons gehegtheid aan die land van Suid-Afrika, ons wy ons aan die diens van ons land. Ons belowe plegtig die ideale te handhaaf van onderlinge vertrouwe en verdraagsaamheid, van die onskendbaarheid van beloftes, van moed vir die toekoms, van vrede en regverdigheid teenoor alle persone en rasse. Ons beloof plegtig om ons te verset teen enige vermindering hiervan, oortuig dat hierdie plig ons opgelê is en dat die geskiedenis en ons kinders ons sal regverdig.

Mag God ons help, op Wie se krag ons ons verlaat.

BLACK SASH OFFICES

HEADQUARTERS

Khotso House
42 De Villiers Street
Johannesburg 2001
Phone 37-2435/6

CAPE WESTERN

5 Long St, Mowbray 7700, Cape
Phone 65-3513

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All political comment in this issue, except when otherwise stated, by J. Sahli, Khotso House, 42 De Villiers Street, Johannesburg 2001.

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