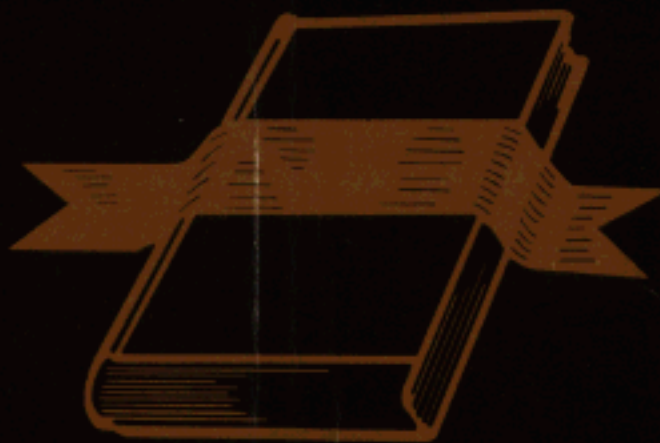


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SASH

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The Black Sash magazine

CAN THEY EVER BE THE SAME AGAIN?

**those who have been detained
by the Security Police**

**Since 1963 more than 5 000 people
have been detained without trial**

**What percentage of these can be said to
have emerged without permanent damage,
whether physical or mental or both?**

CAN YOU TELL US, MR LE GRANGE?

Quote . . .

**'The Government has only
got mountains left for the
black people'.**

see Driefontein, page 7

Quote . . .

**'Blanke Dwaze
Moeder Uit
Zuid-Afrika'.**

*Sheena Duncan chats about her
trip on page 4*

Quote . . .

**'The non-racial attitude is
encapsulated in the slogan
"no normal sport in an
abnormal society".'**

see Merrett, page 10

STOP PRESS

Paris, 17-year-old son of Saul Mkhize, has laid a charge against the Piet Relief police alleging he was taken from a bus, asked why his father was resisting the removal from Driefontein, and beaten so badly that he lost his glass eye. He says he was threatened with what seemed to be a welding torch, made to lie down while a car was driven to within an inch of his neck, and kept overnight in the local police cells. His civilian-clad assailants, seven black and one white, allegedly showed him their police identification cards.

see Driefontein removal, page 7

Quote . . .

**'Non-racialism and all-or-
nothing tactics do not
necessarily have anything
to do with each other'.**

see Wentzel, page 12

Neil Aggett Inquest

From the Court record:

MR SCHABORT — Mr van Heerden, clearly, clearly, your decision to tell him (Major Cronwright) was on the supposition that he would do something positive about the deceased?

AURET VAN HEERDEN — No it was not Mr Schabort. If I can just — I was intent on doing everything I could to try and avert a possibility of Neil committing suicide but I cannot say that I had confidence in Major Cronwright or any other member of the police to act on my information and if I could just illustrate that with an example; at one stage after my own treatment when I had my wrist manacled to my ankles for two days, I could not walk and a Major from the Uniform Branch came into my cell and took — and noted in his book that my health was good despite the fact that I could barely walk.

MR SCHABORT — Yes you see it is now all very well, you can start telling us about things that happened to you which you know would not be taken up with you in these proceedings because of a rule of His Worship and because we are not going to spend time on that. So you may introduce these things. I am not asking you about them and I am just leaving them there but let us come back to my question . . .

AURET VAN HEERDEN — Your Worship if I could just explain? I am simply trying to describe the state of mind that I was in.

BY THE COURT — Mr van Heerden just a minute. As a matter of interest, you were advised — I am sorry to interrupt Mr Schabort — you were advised that your information as far as your treatment is concerned is not regarded as admissible in these proceedings, is that correct?

AURET VAN HEERDEN — That is correct.

BY THE COURT — When?

AURET VAN HEERDEN — Yesterday after—

BY THE COURT — Before you were called to the witness stand?

AURET VAN HEERDEN — That is correct.

BY THE COURT — Okay, you may proceed Mr Schabort.



Major Arthur Cronwright, the Security Police Officer in charge of Dr Neil Aggett's detention.
— by courtesy of RDM

From the Judgment:

Mr Van Heerden said that he realised on the 4th February, 1982, at about 7.30 pm while he was listening to the radio that Dr Aggett was a suicidal risk. Yet he raised no alarm, for instance shouting or shaking the grill to draw attention. He did not wait for Sergeant Agenbag to tell him. When Sergeant Agen-

bag arrived at the cell he did not tell him of his fears. Is it really possible that a man with honest and honourable motives would behave like this if he really cared? He explained that he intended to tell Major Cronwright the next morning. Well if he decided to do that the delay was fatal. Let us accept for the

moment that Mr van Heerden did realise on the 4th February 1982 at 7.30 pm that Dr Aggett was a suicidal risk, did he as a friend not have the responsibility to raise alarm? He had no reason to believe that Sergeant Agenbag would not act and was his failure to act, his omission not contra boni mores?



Sculpture by Paul Stopforth

Photo: Ingrid Hudson

DURING April 1982, a memorandum prepared by the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) claimed that systematic and widespread methods of torture were employed by the Security Police during the interrogation of detainees.

The Minister of Law and Order, to whom this memorandum was presented, rejected these allegations. Subsequently, an officer of the CID approached the DPSC, having been

appointed to investigate the allegations made in the initial memorandum.

In response to this, on September 30, 1982, the DPSC submitted more than 70 particulars of allegations by ex-detainees, in which various forms of torture, intimidation and pressure were set out. Particulars were sent to the CID officer appointed to investigate the allegations levelled and to the Ministers of Law and Order and Justice.

- ★ 'I want to ask that we identify all people who make these wild, exaggerated allegations, wherever they are made, as liars and continue to identify them as liars. We must continue to say, "We cannot believe you".'
- ★ 'Every person who opens his mouth about these exaggerated things must get a direct accusation from every right-thinking and responsible inhabitant of South Africa that we cannot believe you, you are a liar.'

— Minister le Grange in Parliament (RDM 25/5/82)

- ★ 'You won't get much information if you keep a detainee in a 5-Star hotel or with friends.'

— Minister le Grange (Citizen 11/8/82)

DETAINEES WHO HAVE DIED IN DETENTION

Name	Date of death	Act detained under	Cause of death
Solwandle Ngudle	5/9/63		'Suicide by hanging'
Bellington Mampe	?/9/63		Undisclosed
James Tyita	24/1/64		'Suicide by hanging'
Suliman Saloojee	9/9/64		'Fell 7 floors during interrogation'
Ngeni Gaga	9/5/65	Proclamation R400 (Transkei)	'Death from natural causes'
Pongolasha Hoye	9/5/65	"	"
James Hamakwayo	?/8/66	180-day clause of CPA	'Suicide by hanging'
Hangula Shonyeka	9/10/66	"	'Suicide'
Leong Pin	19/11/66	"	'Suicide by hanging'
Ah Yan	5/1/67	"	"
Alpheus Madiba	9/9/67	"	"
J B Tubakwa	10/9/63	Terrorism Act	"
Unknown	Unknown		Reported in Parliament
Nicodemus Kgoathe	5/2/69	Terrorism Act	Bronchial pneumonia after slipping in shower
Solomon Modipane	28/2/69	"	'Slipped on soap'
James Lenkoe	10/3/69	"	Signs of electric shock, but verdict of 'suicide by hanging'
Caleb Mayekiso	1/6/69	"	'Natural causes'
Michael Shivute	17/6/69	"	'Suicide'
Jacob Monnakgotla	10/9/69	Terrorism Act	'Thrombosis'
Imam Abdullah Haron (45)	27/9/69	"	'Fell down stairs' and died of heart failure
Mthayeni Cuthsela	21/1/71	"	'Natural causes'
Ahmed Timol (30)	27/10/71	"	Fell from 10th floor of John Vorster Square
Joseph Mdluli (50)	19/3/76	Criminal Procedure Act	Severe injuries inflicted before death
Mapetla Mohapi (29)	5/8/76	Terrorism Act	'Death by hanging'
Luke Mazwembe (32)	2/9/76	General Laws Amendment Act	'Suicide by hanging'
Dumisani Mbatha (16)	25/9/76	Terrorism Act	'Natural causes'
Fenual Mogatusi (22)	28/9/76		'Natural causes — epileptic fit'
Jacob Mashabane (22)	5/10/76		'Suicide by hanging'
Unnamed man	6/10/76		Undisclosed. Reported died in Carletonville cells
Edward Mzolo (40)	9/10/76		Undisclosed
William Tshwane	14/10/76		"
Ernest Mamasila (34)	19/11/76	Terrorism Act	'Suicide by hanging'
Thalo Mosala	26/11/76	Proclamation R400	'Natural causes'
Wellington Tshazibane (30)	11/12/76	Terrorism Act	'Suicide by hanging'
George Botha (32)	15/12/76	General Laws Amendment Act	'Suicide by jumping 6 floors down stairwell'
Dr Nanoath Ntshuntsha (43)	9/1/77	Terrorism Act	'Death by hanging'
Lawrence Ndzanga (53)	8/1/77	"	'Heart failure'
Elmon Malele (52)	20/1/77	"	'Brain haemorrhage'
L Mathews Mabelane (22)	15/2/77	"	'Fell 10 floors to his death'
Twasifene Joyi	15/2/77		Undisclosed
Samuel Malinga (45)	22/2/77	Terrorism Act	'Pneumonia'
Aaron Khoza (35)	26/3/77		'Suicide by hanging'
Elija Loza (59)	1/8/77	Terrorism Act	'Stroke'
Phakamile Mabitja (27)	7/7/77	General Laws Amendment Act	'Fell from 6th floor during interrogation'
Hoosen Haffejee (26)	3/8/77	Criminal Procedure Act	'Suicide by hanging'
Bayenpini Mzizi (62)	13/8/77	Terrorism Act	"
Steve Biko (31)	12/9/77	"	'Brain injury after a scuffle in interrogation room'
Sipho Malaza (18)	16/11/77	"	'Suicide by hanging'
Lungile Tabalaza (19)	10/7/78		'Jumped from 5th floor, Security Police HQ, Port Elizabeth
Saul Ndzumo	10/9/80	Transkei Public Security Act	'Natural causes' — No inquest was held
Tshifhiwa Muofhe (28)	12/11/81		Died two days after his detention by Venda Security Police, who were found responsible
Neil Aggett (29)	5/2/82	Section 6, TA	Inquest in progress
Ernest Moabe Dipale	8/8/82		Not yet determined
Jona Hamukwaya	18/11/82		Namibia. Not yet determined
Kaduma Katanga	18/11/82		Namibia. Not yet determined

SASH PRESIDENT ATTENDS YWCA HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE

29 speeches, 21 interviews, four radio and two TV broadcasts in 20 days

THE YWCA Conference at Hoddesdon, about an hour's drive north of London, was most restful compared to what followed. It was a conference on Human Rights in preparation for the international Y Conference in Singapore next year. They had chosen three areas to concentrate on — sexism, racism and economic injustice.

I had been invited to speak in the racism section where, of course, South Africa loomed large but where I learnt a good deal about racism in other parts of the world — notably Sri Lanka where the Tamils are being denied citizenship after centuries of residence there and are being deported, back to their 'homeland' in India.

There were two most interesting women from Palestine — one a fiery individual from Jordan and the other a charming person from Jerusalem who composes and sings beautiful songs to express all the tragedy in the middle east. There are many similarities between the emotions and frustrations of the Palestinians and those of black South Africans and the language of dispossession is the same but we were unfortunate in that there were no Israeli women there so felt pressurised sometimes by one side of the story only. The Y is having a consultation in Jerusalem early next year at which they are hoping to achieve a complete across-the-board representation.

Incidentally, I had never realised before that the YWCA is the largest women's organisation in the world with approximately six million members in 84 dif-

ferent countries. Women from all over the world were there. We had a party in which we had to come in ethnic dress — I and Nomanda Bam from Natal were part of the African group from Tanzania, Nigeria and Zambia. They were all glorious in African prints and Xhosa weaves (but I had to make do with a doek and a blanket).

Most interesting was an address by a legal expert in international law. International law does not help aggrieved South Africans very much because our country has not signed some of the most important conventions, so it is not subject to international law in most crucial areas. However one useful and interesting fact came to light. Individuals may register their complaints in writing to The Director, Division of Human Rights, United Nations, Palais des Nations, Geneva.

South Africans aggrieved by the removal of their citizenship would fall into this category. If sufficient individual complaints are received the Division must deal with them and push them through the bureaucratic system for debate. It may be worth thinking about this. The denationalisation of black South Africans is the most crucial issue facing us, I think.

Free trade zones

The economic injustice section was most valuable. I learnt for the first time (I'm very backward) about 'Free Trade' or 'Export Processing' zones in Third World countries which are very similar to our border industrial areas where firms can establish factories with no responsibility



Sheena in 'ethnic' dress

for social infrastructure. Female youthful labour is preferred and wage determinations and other protective labour legislation are waived.

That trite saying that SA is a microcosm of the world's problems came to have real meaning for me. The pattern of our first world industrial development/third world exploitations really is a mirror of the North/South, have/have not conflicts in the rest of the world.

I missed Paul Oestreicher's address and the section on sexism because I had to fly to Holland for a TV interview.



A television interview in Holland

Holland

I went to Holland properly for the three-week lecture tour on October 14 and didn't draw breath again until I fell onto the plane to Edinburgh on November 4. The Women's Church Organisation which organised the programme is VKW — Vrou, Kerk, & Wereld — and they did a fantastic job — 29 public meetings, group meetings and lectures; 10 interviews with various individuals; 11 newspaper and magazine interviews; four radio and two television broadcasts — in 20 days. I talked and talked and talked and met some very interesting people. The two most terrifying meetings were with the Moderation of the Dutch Reformed Church and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the First Chamber (ie the Senate) of the Dutch Parliament but both were very much easier than I had expected. I had meetings with Catholic and Protestant Church groups, the women members of the Dutch Parliament, a Dutch member of the European Parliament, a member of the Belgian Parliament, the Dutch lawyers for Human Rights, two Trade

Union groupings, the General Secretary of the Dutch Council of Churches, students at three different universities and lots of women's groups just like us, as well as various groups which work only on the South African issues.

The 'dwaze moeders'

One newspaper headlined its interview with me, 'Blanke Dwaze Moeder Uit Zuid-Afrika'. The 'dwaze moeders' are the foolish mothers of the Place Di Mayo in Argentina who demonstrate, demanding the release of the disappeared ones.

In Holland the women's groups demonstrate every month at the Hague in support of the foolish mothers. It was a comparison I was proud to be associated with. It is good to feel oneself part of the world-wide struggle for the security and survival of ordinary people against the dark powers of States. I felt very at home with all the women's groups in Holland who are working on a multitude of facets of the fight for simple justice both in Europe and further afield. They are just like us and experience the same

internal debates about 'life style', group rights vs individual rights, guilt about wealth and being placed among the 'haves' of the world, etc; also share the same ideals as we do and work in the same way to achieve them.

The only difference is that they have freedom to express dissent. I think Holland is the most democratic country I have ever been in. I was told that 40 political parties contested the last election and that if you have a concern, however weird, you just form an organisation to concentrate on it and people will join in. They seemed to me most moderate people — 70% tax on all income including all fringe benefits — and great social security for everyone in need. They are not satisfied that they are doing well enough and wage constant warfare against the Transnationals but it seemed to me to be a social democracy that really does ensure a dignified human existence to the most disadvantaged members of the community.

They have tremendous anxieties as well. Amsterdam has a housing shortage of 50 000 units,

more than there were at the end of the war. They are coming to accept that unemployment is there to stay and is now structural. Many people in the future will never have a job and this means that a whole rethink of the Protestant work ethic is a matter of urgency. No one starves in Holland because he does not have a job, but we have made joblessness somehow blameworthy and this means that the unemployed suffer real depression, boredom and feelings of total inadequacy. The young do not plan for the future. They do not believe that they have a future because they are convinced that America and

Russia will eventually fight a 'limited' nuclear war in Europe. The manufacture of smaller nuclear weapons and missiles seems much more threatening to them than the concept of the Hiroshima-type bomb because they believe that it makes it possible for the powers that be to contemplate the use of nuclear weapons which would not inevitably lead to the destruction of the United States. America is not universally popular at the moment.

I was astonished by the level of interest in South Africa and the sound factual information which so many groups circulate, and by the way in which so many people

work with commitment on South African issues. I think I probably gained a distorted impression because I was not meeting the big business interests and the more conservative politicians (although some were present at some of the meetings). Our Government's information service does a most efficient job.

However, the re-imposition of the ban on Beyers Naude undid all their efforts. He is very well known in Holland and greatly admired and respected.

I was overwhelmed with kindness the whole time I was there and came back laden with messages of love and support to all of you.



A welcoming sign greets two combi loads of Sash members and the Press at the Driefontein turnoff — and a little further on, other signs read, 'Welcome Black Sash. Keep on Helping' and 'Welcome to Driefontein, the land of our forefathers — 1912 - 1983'.

WITH a black housing backlog of 680 000, and against a background of overcrowding, cholera and starvation in the 'homeland' areas, those remaining rural communities in 'black spots' that are well housed and economically viable are being systematically destroyed.

BLACK SPOTS

Apartheid cannot tolerate these 'poorly situated' islands of black settlement. All those that remain* are due for destruction. Most have already been moved, involving half a million people.

Driefontein

One such area is Driefontein, where successful farmers sell their surplus on the local market, where there are long-established homes, fields of maize, sugar beans, potatoes and pumpkins, and where sleek cattle graze on uneroded pastures. All this is to be obliterated, together with the school, shops, churches, windmills and all the assets built up during 70 years of orderly community life.

BUGHT in 1912 by the Native Farmers Association of Africa Ltd, this farm area, near Wakkerstroom, covering 3 000 morgan, is divided among some 300 land-owners. Roughly 7 000 people live there.

In the early days, by planting trees and selling timber, the people of Driefontein had been self sufficient. Because surrounding white farmers needed labour, the timber merchants stopped buying their wood. This was a cruel blow to the black farmers, who increasingly were forced to work on nearby farms and in the white-owned sawmills. And today, the local farmers and factory owners fear labour shortages once the community has been moved.

Their economy has been further eroded by the increasing strictness of influx control, which has resulted in the community taking in more and more people as tenants. Despite increased poverty in recent years, however, this is a typical black spot — a place where rural life is steady, where many people are relatively prosperous, and which has the blessing of continuity.

*Some 75 Black Spots remain

Not only is it to be moved to far away mountainous areas, but also divided into ethnic groups, with all the accompanying disruption of extended family ties and old friendships. The 'Swazis' will be settled in Lochiel, Kangwane, and the 'Zulus' in Babanango, KwaZulu.

The land in these two areas is at present controlled by the South African Development Trust. It will be consolidated into the two 'homelands' after (and if) the removal takes place.

Transvaal members of the Black Sash have made three visits to Driefontein. Two of them were made on days when it was known that members of the community were being taken in busloads to show them their proposed places of resettlement in Lochiel and Babanango. On each occasion the buses had left before we arrived on the scene.

'Those who went to Kangwane cannot speak because they saw a horrible surprise. They are saying there is no town, no water.'



Must he move?

On both days there was a posse of riot vans and carloads of officials and policemen. On the second visit, Marion Lacey's film was confiscated and our names and addresses were taken. The officer-in-charge told us we had no right to be in this area but gave no grounds for this assertion. (It is known that the villagers at nearby Daggakraal refuse to allow government officials on their property.)

During our first visit, Black Sash members were struck by the bewilderment of the people who did not want to move but who do not fully comprehend the nightmare that awaits them, when, hopelessly undercompensated as always, with their livestock, homes and institutions gone, far from places of employment, they will have to live in tents or those notorious resettlement shacks which are ovens in summer and ice-boxes in winter. At Kangwane lack of water and proper sewerage will bring them into contact with cholera.

To their disadvantage, like all socially secure freehold rural communities, their respect for the law is so strong that they cannot believe and do not fully realise that those very people who represent law and order to

them have cynical disregard for the just safeguards enshrined in the idea of the rule of law. In common with so many other now destroyed communities, these are decent people who are trapped in their own decency: and they simply cannot credit that the government can be so evil as to seize their freehold title — and moreover, without even remotely adequate compensation.

The government has been able, as always, to persuade some 100 residents (mostly tenants) to sign forms agreeing to move.

Gradually, however, the people have begun to realise the seriousness of their position. Some tenants who 'signed' have since regretted having done so, especially when they realized their present rentals which average R25 per annum will rise to anything between R6 and R33 per month for tiny plots of a quarter to half an acre. Subsequently 80 plot-owners also signed their consent to be moved. They say they were threatened with no compensation if they did not sign.

On the other hand, 307 signatures from plot owners protesting against the proposed move were handed in to Geoff Budlender of the Legal Resources Centre, who is acting for the community.

Dissatisfied with what they felt was only feeble protest by their Community Board and its chairman Mr Msibi, the people of Driefontein obtained permission from the magistrate for landowners to elect representatives to negotiate with Dr Koornhof's department. Accordingly, on December 26, some 3 000 people met and the landowners among them formed the Board of Directors of Driefontein, with a mandate to prevent the removal taking place. They elected as chairman the dynamic Saul Mkhize, a landowner in the area who works in an accountancy firm in Johannesburg.

On the instructions of this new Board, their lawyer Geoff Budlender wrote to the commissioner, 'We are instructed that the Driefontein Community Board has previously exercised certain

administrative functions in relation to matters such as reference books, birth certificates, pension, seeking of employment, etc., and that it was recognised by you for this purpose. The Community Board clearly no longer represent

or enjoys the confidence of the residents, who wish the new committee to take over these functions. Would you kindly confirm this will be in order.' The magistrate replied that the new board is not recognized.



Paul Mkhize talks to the residents at a protest meeting. Photo: Ingrid Hudson



Ethel Walt with Driefontein residents. Hilda Gamede (left) widow of the School Principal, has frequently applied for her pension at Wakkerstroom, but the officials fob her off, telling her to get married so that a husband can support her. Photo: Ann Bernstein

'Here we have widows, old men and women, who have spent all their lives raising their families, educating them, building their houses, looking after them, while they still had the strength and the vigour to do so. What can they do now — the old, the weak, the infirm, and the crippled? Must they just curl up and die? How can they live in tents for six months and then build again? Without money and without the vigour of youth, which they no longer have, how can they start all over again?'

Statement from the 'Voice of the Driefontein People' from a Rand Daily Mail article by John Kane Berman

Why they must move

Alerted by their knowledge of government tactics towards resistant communities, the people of Driefontein and the surrounding, also-threatened villages of Kwangema and Daggakraal (where some 50 000 people live) have formed a united front.

Dissatisfied with what they believe to be the unfair withholding of pensions and work recruitment opportunities, the community are collecting affidavits and will challenge the actions of local officials.

During the last fortnight they handed in 60 pension application forms on which they had written, 'if application not granted, please comment below'; the Wakkerstroom magistrate, Mr Prinsloo, returned all of them without comment.

Early in March, Black Sash members will spend a day at Driefontein assisting with the large volume of work involved in the collection and collation of affidavits.

Local residents believe that recent pass raids, arrests and searches are part of a campaign of harassment designed to punish them for resisting the proposed removal.

Harassment has stiffened the community spirit. Although outside support can be valuable, this community will stand or fall by the measure of their own solidarity and determination.

●
Compiled by J Wentzel from reports supplied by Jill de Vlieg and members of the Black Sash resettlement committee in the Transvaal.

The Deputy Minister to the people of Driefontein:

'Everyone of us has to make sacrifices in some way or other to further peace and prosperity in this beautiful country of ours.'

*The Chairman
Driefontein Community Board
18-12-1981
Dear Mr Msibi,*

**RESETTLEMENT: DRIEFONTEIN 388 I.T. :
WAKKERSTROOM**

Further to your letter dated 10 August 1981, I would, in the first instance, like to point out that the removal and relocation of so-called "Black Spots", or poorly situated areas, is carried out in accordance with a policy which has as its goal the improvement of the standard of life of all people of South Africa. You will therefore appreciate that it sometimes becomes necessary for people to be encouraged to move for their own ultimate good.

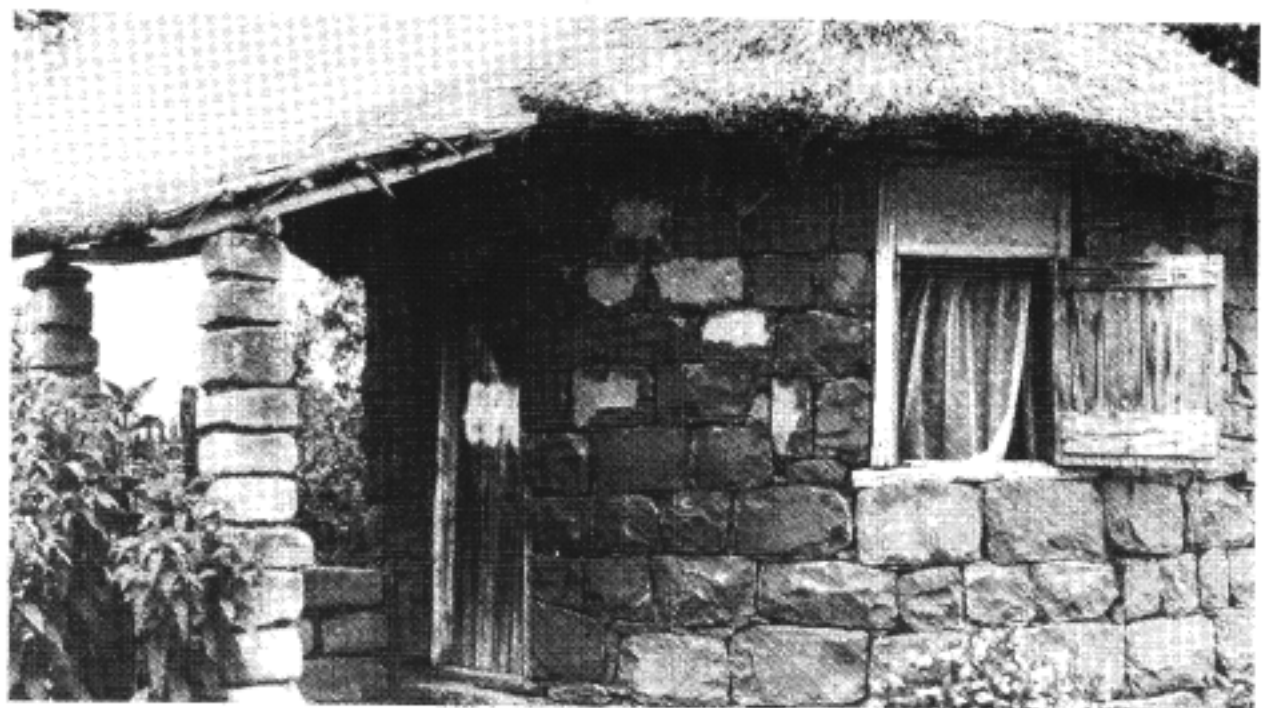
In regard to your reference to forced resettlements I must emphasize that it is certainly not part of declared policy that people should be forced to move and be resettled elsewhere without due consideration of their residential and other rights, nor that they should be exposed to hardship. In your particular case the reason for your resettlement has been discussed with you and your Board on various occasions. It was pointed out to you that the Department of Water Affairs is building a dam which is of national importance, on the Assegaai River and which will on completion towards the end of 1982, inundate some of your properties.

In conclusion I must stress that, like you, there are many Whites who also had to leave land which they have owned and occupied for generations and on which members of their families were born, raised and were subsequently buried. Everyone of us has to make sacrifices in some way or other to further peace and prosperity in this beautiful country of ours. Although the Government therefore appreciates and respects your feelings the relocation and resettlement of your people will have to be carried out in the interest of all concerned.

J J G WENTZEL MP

Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs

- The dam site is quite a distance from the village, possibly as much as 10 kilometres, and flooding could only affect a tiny percentage of their land.



*Part of Saul Mkhize's home. The stones for the whole complex of rondavels were hand-cut by his grandfather.
Photo: Ingrid Hudson*

SPORTS BOYCOTT by Christopher Merrett

1 **PLAYING THE GAME: some non-racial viewpoints on sport in South Africa**

ON AUGUST 27, 1982, in the course of the presentation of State President's sports awards at Ellis Park, Johannesburg, the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, attacked the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) as one of South Africa's 'most violent sport enemies', run by 'fanatical politicians rather than sports administrators'. The Nationalist government of South Africa claims to have 'normalized' sport in this country; and many people who would describe themselves as liberal or progressive assert that sufficient changes have occurred on our sports fields in the past decade to merit inclusion once more in international competition. From all sides non-racial sportsmen and women affiliated to SACOS are villified as unpatriotic and extremist. It is not hard to see why the Nationalist party responds in this way; for people of other persuasions it could be because non-racial sport poses too many embarrassing questions about the fundamental nature of our society.

The decade of the 1970s was marked by Pretoria's attempts to salvage South Africa's position in international competition, lost by the rigid application of apartheid. A certain amount of pragmatic tinkering with the law, for example the Group Areas and Liquor Acts (although the Separate Amenities Act remains intact), has allowed a gradual relaxation of segregation on the sports field and in the clubhouse.

Sport in South Africa is desegregated and 'normal', proclaims the soft propaganda released overseas, and this view is readily accepted by the news agencies and media in general. Sport administrators from the more conservative sports such as cricket and rugby have hastily swallowed the bait, sugared as it is by enormous financial induce-

ments (provided by unofficial and semi-official bodies), to send teams to South Africa. It would be unwise to minimize the success pro-Government bodies have achieved in keeping sporting links open and harassing opponents of apartheid overseas — witness the financial backing for the prosecution of Peter Hain in 1972.

The sporting boycott has been of immense importance. Lack of international competition, or the threat of its loss, has been the one area where the average white South African has suffered visibly from apartheid policy. The government, in a bid to retain electoral support, has thus pursued a policy of sporting liberalization in order to achieve international acceptability.

Why does a significant proportion of South Africa's sporting fraternity reject these government moves as irrelevant? The non-racial attitude is encapsulated in the slogan 'no normal sport in an abnormal society'. Basically what SACOS is arguing is that sport cannot be compartmentalized and isolated from the socio-political conditions in which it is played. It cannot be denied that South African society is founded on a fraudulent system of social engineering, in the context of which no sporting activity can be 'normal'.

It is hypocritical to argue that society is being liberalized because members of all so-called race groups can play on the same sports ground; when out-

side its walls they cannot live in the same residential area, travel in the same train compartment, make love to or marry certain other South Africans, send their children to the same state school, or vote together for the institutions which control their lives. Non-racial sportsmen reject 'normal' sport as defined by the government as morally indefensible and seek to play sport in a spirit worthy of the South Africa of the future.

Such a non-racial South Africa was summed up ably by Krish Mackerdhuj, Vice President of the South African Cricket Board (SACB), a few days after Viljoen's vitriolic attack, as one in which '... free interaction of all human beings in all activities of society on the basis of total equality and opportunity and without regard to the race or racial group to which one may belong would be fundamental. In this sense, in the search for societal morality, non-racial sport has a political aim and expresses solidarity with groups like the non-racial trade unions and the Black Sash in their struggle for a free and democratic South Africa.

Hassan Howa, past President of SACOS and President of the SACB clarified the non-racial viewpoint when he said, 'Anything less than total integration is a concession and we are not interested in concessions — only in our rights as citizens and sportsmen. This belief is inalienable human rights causes non-racialists to reject the application for, or granting of, any permit to play or socialize together. The official sports bodies which do so are simply conniving with the established political and social system for their own selfish and narrow ends. It does not impress non-racial sportsmen that they can drink a beer in an approved clubhouse,

The non-racial attitude is encapsulated in the slogan 'no normal sport in an abnormal society.'

or a so-called 'international' hotel, after a match. The morality of any society where permission is necessary in the first place is highly questionable.

For non-racial sportsmen the visits of financially oiled rugby, cricket and soccer teams to South Africa is an affront to the oppressed majority. While white South Africa luxuriates in, say, the Dirty Dozen performing at enormous cost at Newlands, millions of South Africa's black citizens are condemned to loss of citizenship, to rural slums and forced resettlement, to inferior education and job opportunities — and above all to denial of all human dignity. (The South African Breweries workers' strike during the 1982 cricket tour and the black boycott of the rebel soccer tour, showed the feelings of the majority of South Africans towards foreign sporting visitors). Scores of those who stood up effectively for the dispossessed have been detained without trial, condemned to solitary confinement, banned or exiled. Non-racial sportsmen reject those sports bodies which accept government concessions and turn a Nelsonian blind eye to the evils of the system.

For years 'official' sporting bodies have been trying to entice non-racial organisations under their wing. Where this succeeded, for example with the South African Cricket Union (SACU) in 1976-7, the experience was one of paternalism on the part of the white administrators, and specific instances of racialism, which soon led to a further split. Rapprochement lasted until 1982 in the Transvaal with Lenasia teams playing under the auspices of the Transvaal Cricket Council (TCC). The inevitable conclusions of cricketers' questions about the quality of their children's education and the fate of the Pageview residents, was to withdraw to the non-racial fold of the Transvaal Cricket Board (TCB).

Non-racial rejection or collaboration with the apartheid system is enshrined in the double standards resolution. SACOS affiliates reject contact with any

bodies which practise, perpetuate or condone racialism, separatism, multinationalism or any other euphemism for the undemocratic organization of South African society. This includes 'official' sporting bodies, and all government agencies designed to entrench the classification of people, such as the Coloured African Indian Council, Local

Anything less than total integration is a concession and we are not interested in concessions — only in our rights as citizens and sportsmen.

— Hassan Howa

Affairs Committees and Community Councils, which foster discrimination. For this reason non-racial cricketers and rugby players, for example, boycott the Currie Cup. Whatever concessions are made at Newlands or Kingsmead, these are islands of liberalization in an undemocratic society. In recent years 'official' sporting bodies have attached themselves to the non-racial label, subverting its meaning to their own ends of accepting benefits from a repressive regime while ignoring wider and fundamental social issues.

There is no doubt that non-racial sports people make sacrifices in the course of their stand. The inequalities are legion although they are of course minor compared with those that separate white and black education. Nevertheless, an example well known to the writer serves to illustrate the point. It goes without saying that the non-racial philosophy is anathema to the government; equally it does not find favour with the white elites who run local government. Even where these groups can be described as liberal or progressive they are remarkably myopic where the position of sport in society is concerned.

Loyalty to the old school or club tie is undoubtedly a factor; a desire to see encouraging, even if fictional, change another.

In Pietermaritzburg cricketers are divided between the Maritzburg Cricket Union (MCU) and the non-racial Maritzburg District Cricket Union (MDCU). For the 1982/3 season the latter has 20 competing teams from 15 clubs, about 300 registered players in all. The municipal facilities provided constitute one ageing, although adequate, ground with a good grass pitch and a pavilion (Tatham Memorial Ground); and three other matting pitches on two grounds (Chatterton Road and Brookside). One of the latter is a former municipal dump and scheduled for hypermarket development; and the other is zoned as a bus terminus. Neither of these grounds has facilities, or indeed any shade, and all three are situated in the industrial area. By comparison, the numerically smaller and gradually declining MCU has the use of the lavishly provided Jan Smuts Stadium, whose floodlights were reputedly installed by the municipality at a cost of R27 000, and the beautiful Alexandra Oval, as well as two other grounds.

The economic gulf between the two South Africas is graphic-

Whatever concessions are made at Newlands or Kingsmead, these are islands of liberalisation in an undemocratic society, a fact which no doubt is cynically appreciated by the majority of spectators.

ally illustrated, and this divide is also characterised by a fundamental difference of attitude towards the future.

Had the Nationalist government made its present concessions in the 1960s it could probably have persuaded the international community, and much

internal opinion, that real change had come about. It can only be a country so impervious to moral persuasion that could assume that world attitudes and standards do not evolve through time.

The question is often raised: but sport has changed, why now penalize sportsmen and women? The answers are suggested above: sport cannot be isolated from its parent society; and the Pretoria regime is making propaganda capital out of 'normal' sport in order to make its apartheid menu palatable to international bodies. SACOS is a beleaguered minority vulnerable to government repression and the blinkered reasoning of powerful capitalist vested interests. Its links with the Supreme Council of Sport for Africa and thereby to the OAU and the United Nations are vital; and the current rethink by the Commonwealth on

Sport cannot be isolated from its parent society, and the Pretoria regime is making propaganda capital out of 'normal' sport in order to make its apartheid menu palatable to international bodies.

the Gleneagles Agreement could be conclusive. The admission of Sri Lanka as a full member of the International Cricket Conference has closed the cricket door emphatically, leaving South Africa's allies isolated. Even on the domestic front sponsorship is now being made available to

non-racial sport by courageous firms such as United Tobacco (now threatened by a boycott by South African Defence Force personnel).

Countering these trends are conservative elements such as the British Freedom in Sport organization under Lord Chalfont and wealthy South African business interests. In a recent appeal, Joe Pamensky of the SACU even asked for government finance. It is not conceivable, however, that South Africa forever will be able to buy literally the best of the world's sportsmen. Commonwealth and United Nations action will gradually restrict the ability to bring rebel sports tours and persons to South Africa. There is little doubt that reviewed in historical perspective decades ahead, the tactics of SACOS will look realistic and its strategy morally defensible.

SPORTS BOYCOTT by Jill Wentzel

2 A more agonized viewpoint

THE SLOGAN 'No normal sport in an abnormal society' explains the majority thinking behind the current sports boycott: but not everyone would agree that it 'encapsulates the non-racial attitude'.

Non-racialism and all-or-nothing tactics do not necessarily have anything to do with each other: indeed many people whose attitudes are non-racial are uneasy about tactics which do not reward creative dissidence within our society and which therefore might contribute more to racial polarisation than to the cause of non-racialism.

It might be that uncompromising boycott tactics, resulting in increasing isolation for white South Africa, will hasten the day when whites decide, or are compelled, to abandon apartheid and call a national convention, but this would only happen if boycott on every level, especially economic, was orchestrated with efficiency and complete international cohesion, which seems unlikely.

In the meantime, the all-or-nothing tactic governing current boycott policy has created a situation of stalemate, which classically drives people to seek strong-arm and unconstructive solutions — in this case, bribery of international sportsmen. The linking of sport to all the ills of our society has rendered sportsmen of all races powerless to make their own specific contribution to progress.

The linking of sport to all the ills of our society has rendered sportsmen of all races powerless to make their own specific contribution to progress.

So it is that the recent no-normal-sport-until-armageddon tactic has driven into the arms of the government significant numbers of sports administrators, sportsmen and businessmen who would have preferred to work for non-racialism through sport, and some of whom would have been prepared to use sport as a springboard to wider inroads into apartheid outside the field of sport.

The current situation is dead, providing victory to no-one, semi-defeat to everyone. It is, however, the result of an inexorable process and it is hard to think how one could find a way out of it.

The non-racial Liberal Party saw sports boycott as a vividly educative measure which could contribute to a process of change but which obviously was not in itself able to produce the basic changes necessary to create a normal society.

Believing that some degree of non-racialism in sport would be at least one effective weapon against granite apartheid its members co-operated

closely with SANROC (South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee) and eventually the successful sports boycott campaigns were led by Peter Hain, whose parents had been energetic leaders in the Liberal Party. His original idea was to force specifically sporting changes on the apartheid regime, thus making a dramatic inroad into apartheid which hopefully would initiate an unstoppable process and spread to economic and political fields.

Far from no normal sport in abnormal society being the objective, the idea was to influence and slowly reform the abnormal society by means of thin-end-of-the-wedge tactics and by demonstrating the naturalness of non-racial contact.

In January 1980 the Stop All Racist Tours Campaign, of which Peter Hain was chairman, presented, through the British Sports Council the following demands to South Africa, in summary: that sports be non-racial from top to bottom, including a law which would insert in the constitution of every club a requirement that the club be open to all races; that school sports be mixed; that laws be passed to take apartheid out of sport in regard inter alia to the liquor act, group areas and pass laws in so far as they applied to the playing of sports fixtures. **These demands did not go beyond the field of sport.** But the South African government failed to respond quickly enough and lost for all time the opportunity to do so. By the time they met most of these demands, it was already too late.

Peter Hain commented to me recently that the logical consequence of no normal sport in an abnormal society would be not to play sport with Russia either. However, he felt it was correct for Hassan Howa's committee to take an intransigent line because, he said, they are operating in South Africa against a ruthless regime.

In any event, the educative boycott barely got off the ground. Lumbered with a reluctant government, South African sports administrators never managed to get ahead of the demands made on them; but while they limped behind they did make changes during the time that international sport was still played. In stages the boycott movement forced non-racial selection of teams and the mixed accommodation of spectators and motivated more sports fields and coaching and sports scholarships in black areas and schools.

But alongside these victories on the sports front the apartheid system strengthened itself on other fronts. Each parliamentary session produced harsher laws, punishment without trial increased steadily, the pass and resettlement policies intensified in their cruelty. Concessions made in the sports field, though not inconsiderable when seen against a background of granite apartheid, seemed piffling by comparison with the profound suffering of millions of people. As an expression of anger and impotence, the one weapon that could be used against white South Africa, boycott in all its forms, became punitive and was no longer perceived to be a creative tactic.

Overall, the sports boycott put the South African political situation and the nature of apartheid on to the agenda of ordinary people overseas who were immediately able to relate to it within a field in which they had tremendous interest. In its early phase, the sports boycott succeeded dramatically in encouraging sportsmen to try to move away from sports apartheid. In its present all-or-nothing form (administered not only by SACOS but by an immensely powerful overseas lobby) it is an almost daily reminder to white South Africans that they are perceived by all the world to be wicked. It is about the only way to penetrate their smugness and their determined ignoring of the sufferings caused by apartheid.

Thinking people of all races might at least ponder the sterility of the present situation.

Thinking people of all races, however, might at least ponder the sterility of the present situation. Even if there do not seem to be any immediate solutions, human rights organizations like the Black Sash are surely duty bound to think carefully about tactics which reject gradual reform and disable our society from changing itself non-violently — and should also remember how many crucial human advances like the abolition of slavery and capital punishment and the achievement of universal suffrage were brought about step by step as a result of painful and plodding effort.

It is a thankless task and requires more than moral posturing, to retain respect for human rights and human individuality in the context of an unpromising environment. In this regard the equity boycott (which in any case punishes thinking people of all races within South Africa more than it punishes ordinary whites) can be seen as a tragic denial to South Africans of the civilising effects of good literature, especially of the benefits of ideas generated in free and therefore more creative societies. The overseas artistic and intellectual dialogue could be tremendously helpful in countering and taming the ignorant and dangerously violent clichés which proliferate in isolation (among all shades of political opinion).

The trouble is that the real problem facing us all the time is that of violent white intransigence which inter alia imprisons moderate leaders and unfairly puts the onus of preventing violent con-

Human rights organisations like the Black Sash are surely duty bound to think carefully about tactics which reject gradual reform and disable our society from changing itself non-violently.

frontation on those who already suffer it. An answering intransigence is not only a satisfying punitive weapon but is more importantly a means of building up cohesion and strength among opponents of the government (overwhelmingly black and voteless) whose only weapon is their numbers. The failure of last year's soccer tour demonstrated to black communities that they can wreck the best efforts of big business combined with the government.

No one in his right mind would want to see this process weakened. It is hard to know if it would necessarily be weakened by the use of carrot and stick tactics which could result in a series of victories as opposed to the semi-defeats occasioned by bribery.

However, against a background of our past history it is not easy to argue the merits of negotiation or moderation: for far too often have liberals encouraged reasonableness on the part of blacks (who let it be said have out of sheer niceness been as inclined to reasonableness as their 'liberal hangers on') with the result that blacks have time and again been tricked out of their positions of potential strength.

But perhaps a weakening in the white position is changing this scenario. It might be that as white power declines and as government opponents gain in strength there will be situations within commerce and industry, within politics, within boycott, when push-pull strategies might come into their own, orchestrated not by liberal 'hangers on' but by powerful black constituencies.

There are no easy answers, and precisely because there are no easy answers, democrats should watch what they are doing and guard against making refusal to co-operate with anything associated with the apartheid regime into a moral obligation so compelling that it precludes any future use of creative tactics, so vitally important to the cause of non-violence.

Recently an article on the new constitution in **Work in Progress** (August 1982)* provided thoughtful new direction which is relevant to all anti-government strategy.

'These changes in the political climate associated with the introduction of the new dispensation create new possibilities for struggle, which must be debated on the basis of tactics rather than principles Democrats also need to consider whether there is merit in trying to make the operation of the system impossible, as the Labour Party did with the CRC and whether it might be helpful to have spokesmen in parliament with the immunities against banning and detention which such positions would imply.'

And on community councils:

'Community organisations should be able to exact a series of gains for their residents by keeping up the pressure on the new institutions, while at the same time discrediting them by continually revealing their limitations. Their demands can be pitched always one step further than the authorities are ready to go . . .'

*Written in August last year, this article bears no relation to and must not be seen as an endorsement of the LP's precipitate decision to enter the new constitutional dispensation.

'The new constitution is thus likely to mark the start of a new political era for both the dominant groups and the democratic opposition in SA in which opportunities for legal, peaceful political activity which have been absent for two decades are likely to emerge. The implications need to receive wide debate and a creative response. The new institutions will pose new dangers, but they will also create new possibilities.'

Finally, let us remember that an organisation like the Black Sash, which aims to be a catalyst for civil rights and liberties is not necessarily able to provide the best tactical answers, nor is it in a position to carry out major opposition strategies. Its role is to point out those trends in our society which inhibit human rights. In the early sports boycott days we needed to point to the anomalies of normal sport in an abnormal society. Now that the slogan 'No normal sport in an abnormal society' is in the ascendancy, it would be appropriate to give sober thought to its conflicting advantages and disadvantages.



Photo: Mike Vincent, courtesy of EP Herald

A member of the Port Elizabeth branch of the Black Sash mounts a silent vigil at the Horse Memorial in Cape Road to protest against banning, in particular the recent re-banning of Dr Beyers Naude.

ABORTION

by June Cope

THIS paper sets out to argue that the 1975 Abortion and Sterilisation Act was Nationalist Party legislation based on misinterpreted or misconstructed evidence. This legislation has resulted in a diminishing of human rights; discriminatory medical resources; and a lowering of maternal health standards. It does not argue the 'rights or wrongs' of abortion or whether abortion should be practised, for this is a matter of individual conscience; but rather that abortion exists.

World Background of changing abortion legislation

In assessing the 1975 legislation, it is accepted that in the past few decades widespread legislative change now allows the majority of the world's citizens the right and the means to control their fertility, using the combined resources of information, education, contraception and early abortion. To quote the UN statement on fundamental human rights, 'All couples and individuals have the basic human right to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children and to have the education, information, and the means to do so!

During this worldwide legislative change, one result clearly emerged: medical abortion for socio-economic reasons was no longer the privilege of the rich with dangerous back-street abortion the option for the poor. Under liberal legislation women from low economic backgrounds now form the majority of those able to obtain skilled medical help in the event of unplanned pregnancy.

New York statistics provide a classical example of this type of medical levelling.

Originally, a Common Law ruling allowed abortion to be performed only to save the life of the mother. Over the years much had been left to the discretion of the doctor. Going sharply against the world trend of legal and medical reform, the Nationalist Party in 1975 introduced South Africa's first statutory legislation on abortion and sterilisation.

The new legislation was a retrogressive step. It had been preceded by draft legislation coupled with the setting up of a Parliamentary committee. The committee was to investigate the situation, assess comment on the draft, and having done so, submit an amended draft.

As the present legislation resulted from the findings of this committee, it is important to study aspects of the committee and its report. Appointed to chair the committee was Nationalist MP Dr C V van der Merwe. The committee was all-male, and, in spite of protest, when it was subsequently converted to a commission no woman was appointed to serve on it, for, as Commissioner Dr L A P A Munnik said, 'It is not necessary for a woman to serve on a committee if we wish to sound the conscience of the nation. If we wanted to abolish

capital punishment, we would not appoint a bunch of murderers to go into the matter'.

The commission appointed to 'investigate the matter' stayed in the Cape. By not travelling to other centres it effectively minimised Black representation. In the event the omission paled into insignificance when it later became apparent that the Commission had misconstrued or ignored certain of the public's written evidence. 'Apart from one body' claimed the Report, 'South Africa as a whole was opposed to abortion in any but the most exceptional circumstances.' Protected by Parliamentary privilege, Dr Helen Suzman charged the Commission during the subsequent debate with misrepresentation of evidence. This was ignored.

Commissioner and Nationalist MP Dr W L Vosloo said, 'I want to place on record that this is this Government's legislation. It was not even necessary for the Nationalist Party caucus to argue about this matter because every Nationalist here adheres to the Christian principle that you must respect life, particularly the life of another'. In contrast to the Opposition parties, no Nationalist member was allowed a free vote in the Debate.

All suggested amendments to the Bill were turned down and the legislation which was meant, in the words of the Minister, 'to be restrictive from the start' became law. Later the Dutch Reformed Church openly claimed responsibility for the law in its final form.

Under the 1975 Act, abortion on socio-economic grounds is not to be tolerated. Even if medical sterilisation has failed, stated the Minister of Health in the House, 'I do not see how we can condone an abortion afterwards, because this is tantamount to abortion on request.' Six years after this statement, an amendment aimed at allowing abortion after failed sterilisation was deleted before debate.

The legislation was clearly for whites. The plight of the poor or rural woman was not considered. Structured as it was, within a racial ideology which sees South Africa's future as white, this embargo on choice in the matter of fertility control has a historical interest. Its results were quickly evident.

Results of the New Legislation

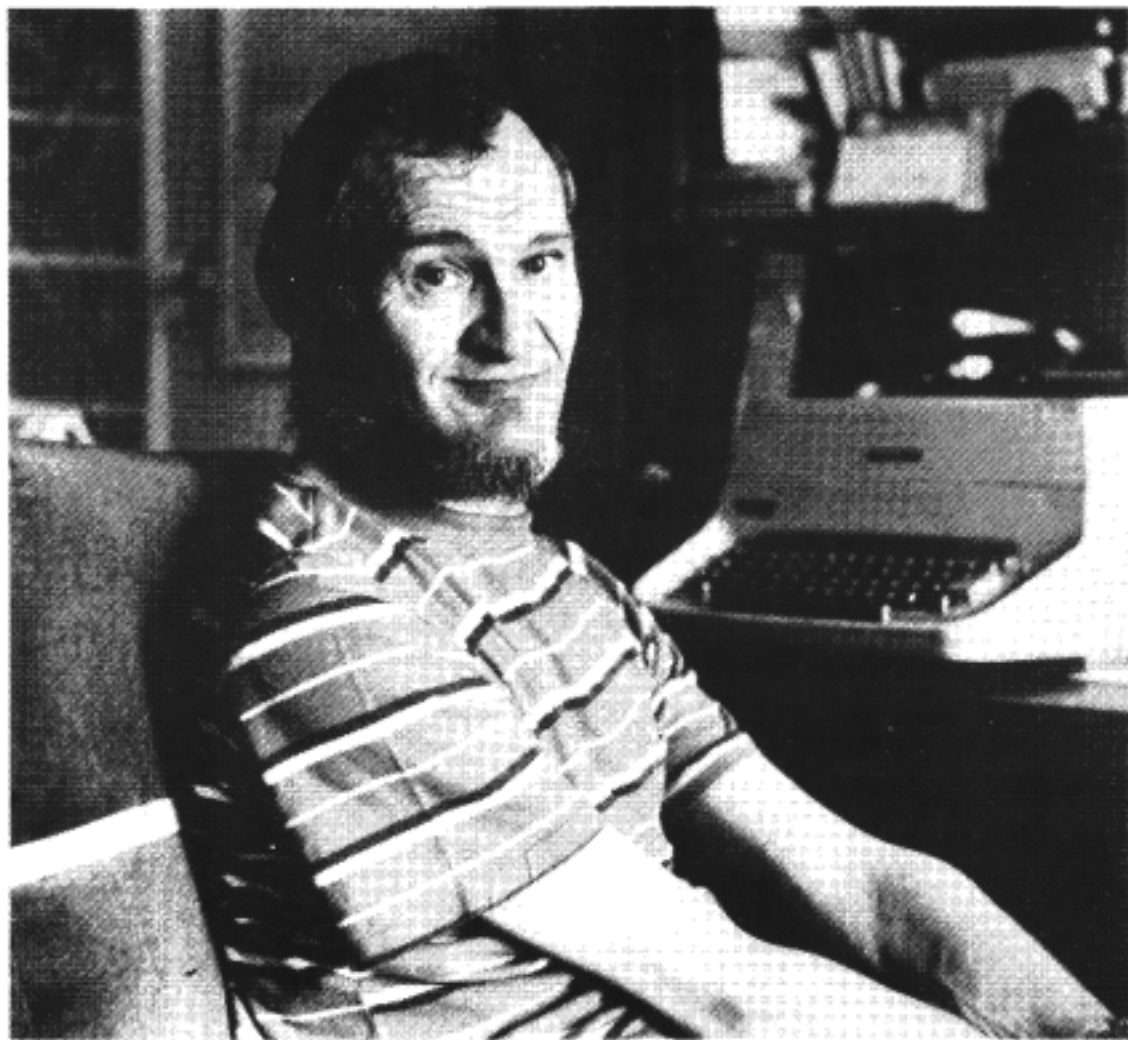
An ARAG survey conducted in the twelve months immediately following the Act showed that admission cases to Natal and Zululand private and mission hospitals for incomplete and illegal abortion rose by 33.6%. Again, it is of interest that halfway through this survey, as a trend was becoming apparent, Government hospitals were not allowed to release further figures.

Illegal abortion was clearly on the increase.

After pressure, the Government recorded and released figures of those women hospitalised for

— to inside back cover →

Publication of this February issue of Sash magazine has been delayed due to the last-minute withdrawal of an article entitled FROM SHAKESPEARE HOUSE TO THE LAAGER



Lionel Abrahams

Photo: Ingrid Hudson

THIS ARTICLE by poet and author LIONEL ABRAHAMS tells the story of his association with PEN between its revival in 1978 and dissolution two-and-a-half years later in 1981.

It was the story of the conflict between 'relevance' and ordinary artistic standards in literature, which, together with the demands of black consciousness, made it necessary for relevance to displace the idea of art implicit in the original PEN.

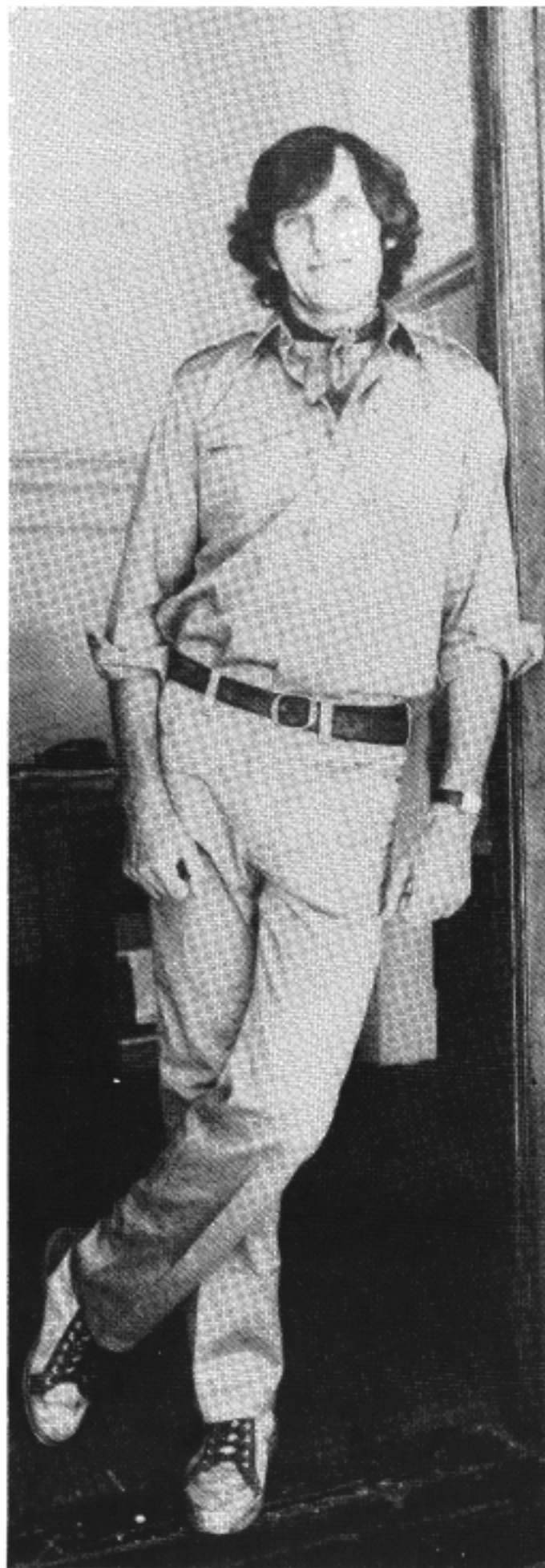
The article would have been of interest to our readers because the pressures which broke PEN revealed the dilemmas of all of us who are caught in a process of polarisation.

At the time of the break-up of PEN, Nadine Gordimer said that the move should not be interpreted as reflecting a desire on the part of the black members to dissociate from whites. It came about rather because this was the 'wrong historical moment for non-racial collaboration.'

The article was withdrawn at the request of the author after Mike Kirkwood (a prominent member of PEN, editor of *Staffrider* and director of Ravan Press) had strenuously objected to it because, inter alia, he felt it could be misinterpreted. He and the author agreed that it would be better if Mike Kirkwood's viewpoint was published simultaneously: but there was not time for this to be done.

When finally these articles are published elsewhere, they will make riveting reading — especially as they will represent the conflicting viewpoints of two dedicated, historically important and remarkable men.

PEN — Poets, Playrights, Essayists, Novelists — is an international writers' guild with branches in many countries.



Mike Kirkwood Photo: Ingrid Hudson

Spirits of nobility

by Rene de Villiers

former President, SA Institute of Race Relations

WITHIN A MONTH South Africa has lost three women of exceptional quality and ability. They happened to be of an age were friends of many years standing and they shared one over-riding ideal: dedication to the cause of human achievement.

Two, ELLEN HELLMAN and MONICA WILSON, were anthropologists (and a great deal more); HANSI POLLAK was a sociologist (and much besides). Ellen Hellman and Hansi Pollak found the Institute of Race Relations the vehicle for their labour of love and contributed immeasurably to the work and achievements of that body. Monica Wilson, while in complete sympathy with the ideals of the Institute, made her particular contribution through her writing and the Church.

All three were true scholars to whom propaganda as such was distasteful. They sought the truth and went wherever the quest led them.

All three had to incur occasional wrath of criticism from those who thought the facts could be bent just a little to achieve one or other end.

All three were liberals in the very pure sense of the term: people who believed passionately in liberty and who sought it for all, not only for themselves and their associates.

All three were sustained by their own particular faith, whether this originated in religion or in science. All three were driven, to the very end of their days, by a determination to spread knowledge and improve the quality of life for people of all creeds and colours in all walks of life.

All three, who, in their own way and time had shown remarkable physical courage, whether it was in the outback of Africa or in urban townships, or in ravaged post-war Europe, became victims of crippling illness towards the end of their lives. But they never let up: they never gave in.

Hansi Pollak, I know, used to work to three or four in the morning on her beloved education bursary trusts. Ellen Hellman read proofs and manuscripts for others when she was hardly able to move from one room to another. Monica Wilson kept on writing — and gardening — long after the onset of a terminal illness. They never spared themselves, no matter what the price their efforts exacted in suffering.

Above all, in spite of setbacks and disappointments, yes even disillusionment from time to time, they never lost faith in the ideal of the dignity and potential worth of all men and women.

Blessed is the land that can produce spirits of such nobility.

With acknowledgements to the Cape Argus and the Sunday Times

NORA SMOLLAN

IT IS ALWAYS difficult to write about friends who are no longer with us. Nora Smollan is one of them. Not widely known even in her own Transvaal region she was one of those loyal, hard-working, gutsy back-room people who do much within their own limits but get none of the credit and never ask for it either.

She worked at the Temple Emmanuel synagogue employment/advice office (an extension of the Johannesburg Advice office) assisting black domestic workers with their pass problems, trying to find them jobs and educating the "White Madams" that even if the law does not state it, a domestic worker should have certain rights. She loathed the work but her sense of humour kept her going and she used to comment that she was never sure which was the more depressing — the ghastly pass laws or the ghastly "Madams".

For the last two years of her life she continued her work in spite of much pain and the battle to live. She was a gentle, kind and thoughtful woman, tough when she had to be but always fair in her judgements and much respected by her friends and colleagues.

Without the likes of Nora Smollan the Black Sash would cease to exist. She will be sadly missed.

Robin Harvey

ABORTION — *from page 15*

the 'removal of the residue of a pregnancy'. The figures are alarming and indicate the extent to which backstreet abortion has become the dangerous alternative to skilled care for South African women, in particular the poor.

Taking a two year period from 1979 to 1980, a mere 770 women obtained legal abortions. Of them 535 were white and 235 were black. Compare these figures with those of the 66 830 women hospitalised for 'the removal of the residue of a pregnancy' in the same period. Of these, 15 555 were white and 51 275 were black. These figures represent a fraction of the women who have resorted to backstreet abortion.

It is clear that few black women have the time, money or proximity to more than one doctor to comply with the law. It is also clear that maternal health standards in South Africa are at a dangerously low level.

But the effects of uncontrolled fertility and enforced childbirth do not end here. Poverty, malnutrition, and unstable living conditions are part of the fabric of our society. They can only be exacerbated by legislation which denies individuals the basic human right to control their fertility.

The known facts are of sufficient concern, but more research on this legislation is imperative.

SUGGESTED RESOLUTION. BLACK SASH URGES THE MINISTER OF HEALTH TO APPOINT A JUDICIAL COMMISSION TO EXAMINE THE WORKING OF THE 1975 ABORTION AND STERILISATION ACT.

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This Magazine, as the official organ of the Black Sash, carries authoritative articles on the activities of the

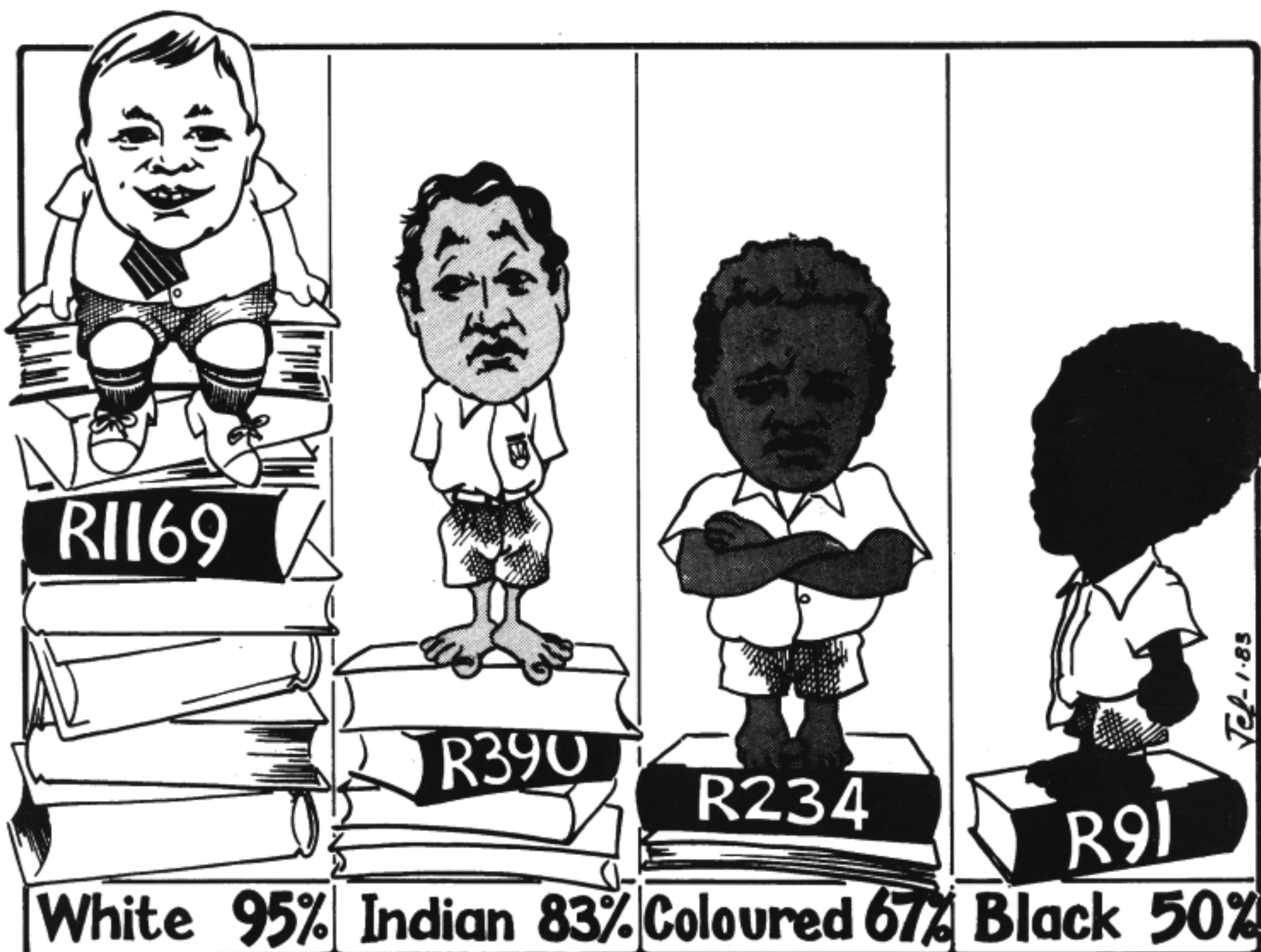
Black Sash. The leading articles adhere broadly to the policies of the organisation, which does not, however, necessarily endorse the opinions expressed by the contributors.

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LAYOUT: By Joyce Brown



□ EDUCATION DISPARITY: The 1983 matric pass rate . . . and annual expenditure on pupils of different races

By courtesy of the Sunday Tribune