

May 1979

**Conference  
issue**

22 MAY 1979

# SASH



<b>The costs of apartheid</b>	<b>1</b>
JOYCE HARRIS	
<b>Children of protest</b>	<b>6</b>
RENÉ DE VILLIERS	
<b>A birthright stolen</b>	<b>9</b>
SHEENA DUNCAN	
<b>A most Christian country</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>UIF in Natal Coastal Region</b>	<b>12</b>
SOLVEIG PIPER	
<b>Obituaries</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Pensions in KwaZulu</b>	<b>14</b>
NATAL COASTAL REGION	
<b>Black Sash deputation</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Institutional violence</b>	<b>16</b>
TRANSVAAL REGION	
<b>Censorship and the police</b>	<b>22</b>
LOUISE SILVER	
<b>Regional round-up</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Court attendances</b>	<b>32</b>
DIANA RATCLIFFE	

**The Black Sash magazine**

Vol 21 No 1  
Price 60c

## Dedication . . .

**I**N 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 . . .

**M**ET 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 vertroue 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.

# The costs of apartheid

Joyce Harris

*Mrs Harris's presidential address to the 1979 Black Sash National Conference held in Cape Town*

**M**Y theme for tonight is an ambitious one. It clamours for thorough research and investigation by teams of experts. I refer to the Cost of Apartheid.

There is no simple way of measuring this. Our country has paid and is paying directly and indirectly, tangibly and intangibly, across the entire spectrum of economic, political, social and human affairs for the implementation of a policy to which only a small percentage of the total population subscribes.

In May 1978 the Government celebrated 30 years of National Party rule. In its blinkered and unwavering pursuit of apartheid it has embarked upon the balkanisation of our country, muzzled us, banned us, detained us, abrogated the Rule of Law, subjected us to stringent censorship, deprived millions of South Africans of their citizenship, stunted the economy, controlled industrial growth and the labour supply, created a burgeoning bureaucracy, and woven so many tangled webs of controls and restraints around our black brethren that their lives have been effectively reduced to permits, passes — little bits of paper they require simply to prove their very existence — while their human needs and aspirations are crushed by a juggernaut over which they have no control whatsoever.

Our country is fractured. Internally we are in a state of potential, and sometimes actual, disarray and externally we are threatened not only militarily but also economically.

These are the broad and immeasurable costs of Apartheid, and in estimating the cost they must all be taken into account. The accounts can never be accurate and the books can never be made to balance. After all, if one little section of the Government, the Department of Information, was unable to account satisfactorily for its expenditure, how much less can the whole country?

The Department of Information debacle was itself one of the results of the policy of Apartheid, for the attempts of the Department to influence public opinion both inside and outside the country would have been unnecessary had it not been for a policy whose effects require justification. So here we already have an amount which seems to be anything from R30 million upwards of tax payers' money which has been lost or misused.

Some cost figures are available in some areas of Government. At best they are sketchy and

fragmentary, but they do provide an indication of the cost in rands and cents of the implementation of the policy.

But perhaps before I quote figures I should first concede that the Government itself has found the word 'Apartheid' sufficiently unpalatable to replace it with such euphemisms as 'Separate Development' and now 'Plural Development' or 'Pluralism', but these are just a stinkblom by another name, for the fundamental ideology remains intact. I shall therefore continue to refer to it as 'Apartheid'.

## The cost of the Pass Laws

The Pass Laws and Influx Control are probably the most obvious and glaring examples of Apartheid in action. Most South Africans must surely be fairly conversant with the implications of the Pass Laws — that every black (in this context African) over 16 years of age must apply for a Reference Book; that this book must carry authorised stamps indicating ethnic group and rights under Section 10 of the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945 as amended, which include the fundamental rights to live and work in a particular area.

Nearly 10 million Africans carry Reference Books, each of which costs about R10 to produce — a total of R100 million, to which can be added R4 million a year for new books and a further R20 million for keeping these documents up to date. Professor Barnard quoted these and other figures in the *Rand Daily Mail* on November 27, 1978. (From survey Dr M. Savage)

He quoted further that the Pass Laws resulted in nearly six million prosecutions in a decade — more than half a million in one year at an estimated cost of R1,5 million. The cost of imprisonment was estimated at R18,7 million, of prosecutions at R1,7 million, and that of patrolling and policing the system R11,5 million. The time lost by people arrested amounted to 12,3 million productive man-hours — the equivalent of losing R7,7 million.

About R35 million a year is spent on contract labour documents and another R12 million on the operation of the labour bureaux which help to administer the Pass Laws and the Migrant Labour system.

The survey estimated that South Africa spends about R112 million a year simply operating the Pass Laws, an amount more than the total moneys allocated for the 1976/77 budgets for running the now re-named Department of Bantu Edu-

cation, the Department of Labour, the Department of the Interior and the operating costs of Parliament!

Professor Barnard quotes a top South African financier, who pointed out that South Africa's gross national product would be about 50 per cent higher without the Apartheid bleed-off, an amount of R38 800 million in 1976 instead of R26 700 million. The survey quoted the direct cost of Apartheid at about R13 000 million a year. On February 28, 1979, Mr A. Widman, MP, estimated it at R18 795 million — Star 28/2/79.

### **The cost of the Migrant Labour Policy**

But Apartheid has not only to be administered through the Pass Laws: the infrastructure has also to be created. This has been, and continues to be, an on-going project for the Government, and a costly one, though comprehensive figures are not readily available, if at all.

The Government has employed such methods as the entrenchment and extension of the Migrant Labour System; continuing systematic and large-scale removals; and the fragmentation of our country into non-viable, non-consolidated 'Homelands'.

The compulsory Migrant Labour Policy has been designed to ensure that the maximum number of black workers employed within the white economy shall be rooted in their Homeland and shall spend their entire working lives as migrants. In his book *Migrant Labour in South Africa*, published in 1972, Dr Francis Wilson estimated that no less than 51 per cent of all Africans registered in employment were oscillating migrants. Prof Jill Nattress estimated it from 1974 figures at 43 per cent for men plus 260 000 women. In any event as more homelands take independence, this percentage will inevitably escalate with the implementation of the new citizenship laws. Having lost their SA citizenship fewer and fewer children born in the urban areas will be able to achieve Section 10 rights, and as industry will presumably still require their services there will be more and more migrants.

#### • *Hostels*

Migrant labour policy is expensive to implement. Besides the cost of administering the Labour Bureaux the provision of accommodation under two separate roofs for members of the same family must be uneconomic. For instance in Alexandra, on the outskirts of Johannesburg, the Government has embarked on a scheme to demolish existing family housing at a cost to date of R1 000 000 (*Financial Mail* 23/6/78). Admittedly much of it is in poor condition but nevertheless it provides accommodation for families at a time when the housing situation for black people has reached crisis proportions. In its place gigantic, barrack-like hostels are to be built to accommodate so-called single men and women, the country's workers, while their families must return to the homelands.

According to the *Financial Mail* of 23/6/78 Alexandra is to be divided into seven areas with up to eight hostels in each. The first two hostels, one for 2 600 men and the other for 2 600 women were opened in 1972. A third hostel to house 3000 men is due to be built this year. The West Rand Administration Board estimates its cost at R7 million. The cost per bed is about R2 300, amounting to an estimated total of R57,5 million for the whole Alexandra complex, and these hostels have then to be administered and maintained at an extra annual cost.

In the meanwhile the spouses and the children of the 'single' inmates of these hostels, and many others like them all over the country, have to be accommodated in the homelands where, theoretically, housing must be provided for them at further cost. Government expenditure on housing is both justifiable and essential, but the policy of Apartheid which demands separate housing for members of the same family and the demolition of existing family housing is obviously totally uneconomic.

While on the subject of housing I should like to digress briefly to mention the 99 year or indefinite leasehold for blacks in urban areas which was introduced last year and for which the Urban Foundation has arranged the inflow of millions of Rands from overseas. I readily concede the desirability of home-ownership, while opting for freehold rather than leasehold, but feel it is absolutely essential to point out that the Citizenship Acts for the independent homelands, while allowing for the inheritance of such property, make the occupation of such property by the legitimate heirs dependent on permission, for eventually the heirs will no longer be in possession of Section 10 rights. If they wish to sell such a house in order to realise their assets they are likely to face a constantly dwindling market as more homelands opt for independence and Section 10 rights are denied to more and more people. This scheme may therefore also eventually prove to be an exceedingly expensive venture, both for those who provide the financial backing and for the actual purchasers. The recent clarification by Dr Koornhof is encouraging but still unsatisfactory in view of the conflict between his statement and the as yet unaltered laws on the statute book.

#### • *Removals*

The systematic and large-scale removals of black people are costly to implement. In its pursuit of the policy of Apartheid the Government embarked on a giant redistribution of the population. In its determination to separate it has created nine separate homelands in approximately 61 pieces, some of which have still to be amalgamated.

Massive removals have been necessary in order to achieve this. Together with removals under the Group Areas Act just over 2 115 000 people have already been removed, all but 7 000 of them black. 1 727 000 people have still to be moved, all but

1 600 of them black — 3 842 000 in all. This costs a great deal of money, though the final arithmetic has still to be done.

The *Star* reported on 7/4/78 that more than 86 000 people had been resettled from April 1976 to March 1977, and money spent on transport, temporary housing, compensation and initial development involving these people totalled R5 517 000. If it costs R5½ million to resettle 86 000 people, how much will the final accounting be for 3 842 000 people? My short-cut arithmetic yields an approximate figure of R246 million! This could instead have provided the minimum of R200 million which the Economic Research Bureau at Stellenbosch University urged the Government to invest in low-cost housing in order to be effective. (IRR 1977).

On 29/6/77 the *Star* reported Mr Marais Steyn as saying in the Assembly that it would cost the Government something like R23 133 274 to resettle 591 Indian traders in 21 platteland towns under the Group Areas Act. On 2/6/78 it reported him as saying that the Government would spend R29,5 million to move 398 Indian traders in Natal and the Transvaal between now and 1982.

Mr Abram Mayet of the Indian Reform Party stated that up to June 1976 the Government had spent more than R29 million to build 852 Indian shopping units. It had resettled 1 300 traders in shopping complexes including the Oriental Plaza, Fordsburg and the Orient Bazaar, Pretoria, at a cost of R31,5 million. Mr Mayet quoted other figures and said 'We have estimated that it is going to cost the taxpayer more than R200 million by 1980 to resettle all the Indian people'.

Land has had to be acquired in order to implement the colossal removals project. The total expenditure on the acquisition of land during the year 1976/77 was R32 875 991. The sum voted for this purpose for 1977/78 was R50 million. (IRR '77). Dr Hartzenberg, Deputy Minister of Plural Relations, said on 22/1/79 that the remaining land still to be bought would cost between R400 million and R700 million. (*Rand Daily Mail* 23/1/79).

No doubt there is a degree of overlap in some of the figures I have quoted, for all the various aspects of the implementation of Apartheid — the Pass Laws, the Migrant Labour System, the Removals Schemes, the Homelands, Group Areas — mesh neatly into each other to provide a colossal machine geared to achieve the Government's final aim to have its cake and eat it: to disavow its responsibility for black people by making them non-citizens while utilising their labour and making it readily available, with the concept of independent homelands as an ethical veneer.

However, the fact that these figures run into billions is undeniable. Had all this money been spent creatively on housing, education, vocational training, upliftment; had the manhours of those

employed in the burgeoning bureaucracy the system demands been used productively; and had all the millions of people whom the system has mercilessly shunted around been permitted to live secure working lives in secure family units — rich South Africa could have forged ahead into peace and prosperity instead of being the sanctions — threatened polecat of the Western world plagued by endemic internal unrest.

These are some of the directly observable costs of Apartheid: approximately R600 million for land purchase still to come: a very conservative R246 million for resettlement, if Indian removals alone are to cost R200 million; R3 billion for housing migrants — a total of R3 846 000 000 — to which must be added R112 million per annum for operating the Pass Laws and R47 million per annum for labour contracts and the labour bureaux system.

These figures are neither accurate nor complete. I am no economist and no statistician, and I have simply combined some of the figures others have estimated. They require expert handling and I use them merely to demonstrate that Apartheid is an expensive Government indulgence in terms of rands and cents.

### Indirect costs

What of all the indirect costs, for the effects of Apartheid permeate the entire fabric of our society?

Geographically our country is being carved up. Borders are being created within borders and the South Africa we have known and which we love has already ceased to exist. Practically speaking its borders requiring protection have been enlarged to such an extent that they are virtually unguardable, as recent events on the borders of Bophuthatswana and Botswana have clearly indicated. And this is just the beginning.

#### • Defence

The unpopularity of the policy of Apartheid in the countries bordering South Africa coupled with the incipient threat from within have necessitated a virtual military explosion with more and more young men — and women too — being drawn into the Defence Force, with a consequent loss of countless productive manhours, and more and more of the exchequer being diverted to the Department of Defence. The total estimate of expenditure on Defence from the State Revenue Account for 1977/78 was R1 700 082 000, 18,1 per cent of the total budget. (IRR '77). In the USA it was 23,7 per cent in 1977, with all their sophisticated hardware, and in Britain 8,59 per cent for the 78/79 budget. In this acquisitive world every country needs a defence force, but ours has grown out of all proportion.

#### • Internal security

Internal security has also taken its financial toll. As with the Defence budget it is impossible to assess what percentage of the annual Police and Prison budget which is diverted to the Security

Police. We do know, however, that during his premiership Mr Vorster found it necessary to create a Bureau of State Security and that the activities of the Security Police, and no doubt, its manpower, have escalated over the years. Since the 1950s 1 373 people have been banned; at mid-December 1978 153 people were in detention (*Rand Daily Mail* 20/12/78).

It is costing our country dear to maintain internal and external security. The riots of 1976, the causes of which have still to be satisfactorily resolved, were costly as was the Cillie Commission into the cause of the Riots, whose findings have yet to be tabled.

The Erasmus and Van der Walt Commissions are costly. The duplication of services for whites and blacks is costly, though unequally so. The ethnic universities are costly. Separation is costly.

Raising loans in an inimical foreign climate is costly. Oil from unwilling suppliers is costly. Resistance to South African exports is costly. The list is endless and all-pervasive, and the cost is incalculable.

#### • *Human costs*

I cannot conclude without referring to the human costs of Apartheid, for they are perhaps the most expensive aspect of all though they can never be measured.

Our regular Advice Office Reports paint a graphic picture of the toll in human misery paid by the black people of our country as a result of the implementation of this inhuman policy. They present an endless repeating kaleidoscope of broken families; of husbands begging for the comforting presence of their wives and children; of wives seeking to live with their husbands; of endorsements out of urban areas to homelands which are often remote and totally unfamiliar to those being sent there; of evictions from houses; of the inability to acquire family housing; of labour problems; of the often fruitless endeavours to obtain permits — work permits, housing permits, living permits — of the desperate struggles of ordinary men and women to acquire what should be the basic human rights of family life and the freedom to seek work and accept employment.

There are the growing numbers of migrant workers who are condemned to spend their entire working lives in single-sexed hostels, without privacy, without security for their belongings, without adequate cooking and ablution facilities, leading an unnatural existence in close proximity to each other and often seeing their families only once a year for three weeks. The structure of black society is being torn asunder with immeasurable costs to the total society.

There are the millions of people who have been and are still to be forcibly uprooted from their homes, where generations of their families might have been established, and removed to distant and alien places where they are dumped in the veld — sometimes with alternative accommo-

dation provided, sometimes with nothing more than tents and often with inadequate water and hygiene facilities and a dearth of shops, clinics, transport and employment opportunities. There the women, children and old people must fend for themselves while their menfolk must seek employment elsewhere as migrants, if they are fortunate enough to be requisitioned by visiting agents to their local labour bureaux.

There is the misery and insecurity of the squatters whose sin is that they seek family life in the place where they work and whose shacks are mercilessly demolished and front-end loaded while they desperately scuttle still further into the bush like hunted animals.

There are all those members of the 'coloured' and Indian communities who have been shifted under the Group Areas Act — deprived of their homes and often of their very livelihood and moved to out-lying areas where totally insufficient provision has been made for their accommodation and their needs.

Lives have been disrupted, settled communities have been uprooted, the fabric of a large section of our society has been destroyed and replaced with alienation, loneliness and despair.

The creation of the homelands, which are now being referred to as self-governing black states, though non-independent ones are no more self-governing than are the provinces of South Africa, and the arbitrary deprivation of their South African citizenship of millions of our citizens have resulted in South Africa losing its unity and the majority of its citizens being converted into bitter and frustrated aliens.

The constant emphasis on ethnicity, on identity, on separation has reinforced the natural inclinations of people to gravitate towards those with whom they are familiar and is creating in-group loyalties and out-group hostilities which are fragmenting our people and which bode ill for the future peaceful evolution of our country. The Security Laws could well be included in the cost of Apartheid for Security legislation is a direct by-product of Apartheid. Total rejection of the policy has given rise to opposition and eventually to unrest which has, to date, been contained by the costly security measures designed for this specific purpose.

But this is not all. To the hopelessness, helplessness and suffering of those who are arbitrarily arrested, banned, detained under this legislation with no access whatsoever to the process of law, must be added the disastrous loss to society as a whole of the right of *habeas corpus* and the abrogation of the Rule of Law.

Its failure to prosecute General van den Bergh compared with its swift action against the *Rand Daily Mail*, is an indication of how far the Government itself has strayed from respect for its own institutions.

The moral fibre of all South Africans is being undermined, and they are experiencing the in-

evitably brutalising effects of brutality — whether it be physical or psychological. I challenge any South African to deny the difficulty of retaining sensitivity, humanity and a yardstick of values within the framework of our society which does such violence in the name of an ideology...

### The new constitution

Apartheid has brought South Africa naught for its comfort. The cosmetic changes the Government has recently introduced, mainly as a result of outside pressure, are all within the broad framework of Apartheid, as is its proposed new Constitution with its three separate ethnic Parliaments and the total exclusion of the African people.

A Government which has evolved its entire policy upon the separation of people cannot be expected to devise a scheme wherein power is actually shared.

Unless the National Party has undergone a very real reversal of the principles and beliefs which have governed it since its inception, it is reasonable to assume that its built-in numerical control of the Council of Cabinets, combined with the powers of the Executive President, will be sufficient to ensure that the real power to be wielded by the three Ethnic Parliaments will be marginal.

White opposition political power will become increasingly irrelevant, as the opposition is not even to be represented on the Council of Cabinets, which is to initiate legislation affecting all three Parliaments, nor will its loss of power be counter-balanced by any meaningful increase in black power.

Finally any constitution which totally excludes 18 million of the 24 million people it is designed to govern is little more than a sick joke. It is not cured by making non-citizens of them. They will still be living and working within what most of them know and recognise as their country, in which they were born and to whose wealth and prosperity they have contributed. The Homelands are not of their choosing. Those which have already opted for independence have done so without the support of the vast mass of the people.

In terms of costs no mention has been made of the inevitably escalating expense of maintaining three separate governments, and this in a country which is already over-burdened with a non-productive bureaucracy. This top-heavy Government contrivance will not resolve the racial dilemma in our country, nor can the country afford it.

Apartheid has already cost our country dear to the point of social disaster, economic distress and moral bankruptcy. Apartheid must go, or it will cost South Africa its future.



*Relatives of the accused at the trial of the Soweto eleven.*

ANNE SASSOON

# Children of protest

René de Villiers

*The opening address to the 1979 Black Sash Conference, delivered by Mr de Villiers, chairman of the Cape Western Region of the SA Institute of Race Relations*

**I**N these days of crisis, while South Africans are having to decide whether they are going to move ahead to full democracy in an open society, stay stuck in a situation of indecision or slide down deeper into our own brand of authoritarianism, it is a privilege to be able to pay public tribute to an organisation that has stood firm on principle for just on a quarter of a century.

The Black Sash, which started as a movement of conscience and protest over the packing of the Appeal Court and the enlarging of the Senate in order to take the 'coloured' people off the common voters' roll, has remained in being as an instrument to restore and defend the fundamental rights and dignities which have been the prerogative of civilised people down the ages. Nobody has ever been in doubt as to where it stood on the issue of civil rights.

In the process it has become a symbol of decency and fair-dealing in public affairs. In the very first call to the women of Johannesburg to join the protest march objecting to the Senate Bill, the organisers ended their manifesto with these words: 'Let all women who value liberty and freedom heed this call to action'.

Thus the movement, known then as the Women's Defence of the Constitution League, started with a protest and with a commitment to fight for liberty and freedom for men and women of all creeds and colours. It mobilised the moral indignation of a people gripped by political lethargy and suffering from the shock and dismay eight years of Nationalist rule had produced, and showed the way ahead.

It has, I believe, been true to the ideals of its founders, and in doing so it has proved beyond doubt, not only that there is a crying need in South Africa for creative dissent, but that protest pays. For a movement of dissent to remain in vigorous being for close on 25 years proves that protest has a very vital and positive role to play in the public life of this sorely divided country.

You'll permit me, I hope, a personal note. My own recollections of the Sash go back to Bloemfontein in 1955.

It took courage to be a Sasher in my beloved Free State where, ironically enough, men and women who rightly and proudly prided themselves on being 'Kinders van die protes', often found it beyond their level of tolerance to allow those who disagreed with them to indulge in any form of protest.

So it came about that when a brave little band of women from Bloemfontein and Tweespruit — Westminster — stood at the opening of the Free State National Party Congress in the City Hall, they were subjected to some pretty robust treatment at the hands of the younger delegates in particular. Some had their sashes torn off. Most were vilified in one way or another.

No sooner had news of this incident reached Johannesburg than plans were laid for a contingent of reinforcements from the Rand to motor through the night to help their sisters in distress in Bloemfontein.

After 'sashing' Cabinet Ministers throughout the following day the reinforcements drove back to the Transvaal, dog-tired but in high glee.

A leading article in *The Friend* the following day said: 'If the Women's Defence of the Constitution League have ever had any lingering doubts about the effectiveness of their campaign, they should have been resolved by the reaction which their silent rebuking of Cabinet Ministers in public provoked at this week's Free State National Party congress in Bloemfontein. Cabinet Ministers may endeavour, as they do without much success, either to ignore or ridicule these courageous women. But the insults and the threats to which they were subjected by Nationalist youths the other night are the true measure of the degree to which this campaign has got under Nationalist skins and, perhaps, pricked Nationalist consciences.'

It took guts to stand at Nationalist congresses and to be taunted. Those women had courage, the courage of their convictions. Not only were they subjected to Nationalist insults: they were often dissuaded from active participation in Sash activities by their own people because it was bad for their husbands' business or profession.

Times have changed. Mirabel Rogers's history of the founding of the Sash and the movement's first exciting year makes inspiring reading: the account of the march of thousands of women through the streets of Johannesburg; of the trek to the Union Buildings and the camping there in the open for two nights in an attempt to hand a petition to the Prime Minister; (2 500 woman-hours were spent at the Union Buildings between 1955 and 1965); of the convoy of hundreds of cars that came from all corners of the country to converge on Cape Town; of the visit to the Gallery of the House of Assembly by a hand-picked group and their gentle eviction when they all



started pinning dark roses to their frocks; of the hundreds and hundreds of occasions when Sash women stood in silent and dignified protest in the presence of members of the Government, or kept vigil at some public place.

Who of us who saw it will ever forget the silent vigil of several days and nights around a 'flame of liberty' in protest against the Sabotage Act?

And who can deny the effect this had on the thinking and the feelings of countless men and women?

In the words of first National President of the Black Sash, Mrs Ruth Foley: 'Moral indignation gripped the women and canalised their random thoughts into a defined objective. They had met a task and, knowing that in this life we meet each task but once, they met it with courage and imagination, and a will to succeed.'

This past of protest and dissent is worth recalling because it is the very stuff of which the never-ending fight for democracy is made. As Mrs Foley was able to write after the Sash had been in existence only one year: 'The great strength and the great weakness of democracy is that it depends on the individual; that democracy is a burden as well as a privilege; that democracy demands absolute integrity of word and deed. We have learned that nothing is politically right which is morally wrong and that the end of all political struggle is to establish morality as the basis of all legislation.'

'Our way is hard. We have an Everest to climb and we are still in the foothills; but in the knowledge that human achievement is limited only by human endeavour, we will go on struggling until South Africa regain the spirit of Union.'

Those words are as apposite today as when they were written. South Africa is still in the foothills, but you have the satisfaction of knowing that you have done what you can to help it upwards. Where, one wonders, would South Africa have been today if it had not been for the Black Sash and kindred organisations and institutions as well as countless individuals striving ceaselessly for a just and open society in which there will be respect for the dignity of all men and women?

When the Sash celebrated its tenth anniversary in 1965, Mrs Jean Sinclair, that very remarkable woman who guided the movement's destinies for so long and so devotedly, wrote of the need to keep a watching brief 'on the steady advance of official tyranny in our public affairs'. And she added: 'That is why I think it is desperately important to keep active a spirit of dissent in South Africa today'.

How right she was — and is. More than ever is it imperative today that the voice of dissent should be heard loud and clear. For thirty years or more the English-language Press has been playing a role of creative dissent in political affairs. It has done so often under the most trying conditions, often under threat, usually in a climate of ominous intimidation. It has been a great

fight for freedom of speech, that Katharsis of discontent and condition of necessary reform, and I believe it has borne fruit.

Much of what my colleagues and I were writing in the early sixties, and which was often denigrated as unbridled radicalism, is today accepted almost as commonplace in enlightened Establishment circles. I smile wryly today when I read what *Die Transvaler* and *Die Beeld*, trying bravely to drag their verkramppte followers into the 20th century, have to say, in a spirit of great discovery, about the future of the Urban Africans, about wages, about a political voice for the voiceless, about individual rights, about a score of other issues. It's all old hat as far as enlightened non-Nationalists are concerned. We've said it all before.

But here is the point I want to make: this 'discovery' by the forward-looking elements in the Nationalist Party and sections of its Press, is due, largely if not wholly, to what English-language newspapers and many others have been saying with monotonous regularity for so long.

But I go much further. Where would South Africa have been today had it not been for the attitude and actions of many of the churches; of the stand taken by our English-language universities on the issue of academic freedom; of civil rights bodies which have remained in being in the face of monumental public apathy; of the courage of men like Beyers Naudé and Theo Kotze in the Christian Institute, men subject to threat and intimidation and ultimately banning; and last but by no means least, of the efforts of individual members of the Black Sash who have been working in their own inimitable way to create a better life for all our people?

If these and other voices of protest and creative dissent had been stilled or had simply gone out of existence in the past 15 or 20 years, how much further would South Africa have been from a just society and how much more of an authoritarian one?

Take the issue of the 'coloured' vote to which the Black Sash really owes its existence. After taking South Africa to the brink of disaster by its determination to deprive the 'coloured' people of their century-old right, the Nationalists are today starting a slow crawl back to some form of political power-sharing. If the Sash and all the other agencies of dissent I've mentioned had not agitated for something like this down the years, would this ever have come about? I doubt it.

There is, of course, another aspect of the Sash's activities which has produced positive results and in which protest is implicit. I refer to the work of your Advice Offices. Writing as far back as 1965, Noel Robb expressed the opinion that the Sash's decision to help the victims of unjust law 'was the most important decision we ever made' Why? Because 'it is only when you help the victims of unjust laws that you become entirely convinced that they are not only unjust, but cruel and inhuman, and it is only then that you

become really knowledgeable and able to argue and support your arguments with indisputable facts'.

The mass of hard facts the Sash has accumulated in this field of influx control during these last 21 years has been an educative factor of prime importance. It has been of inestimable value to the Press, public speakers, MPs and as ammunition for use by deputations to Cabinet Ministers and public servants.

I suggest to you that this work, of helping, of informing, of persuading, of which we, of the Institute of Race Relations have been privileged to be witness, is perhaps the most effective form of protest imaginable. It not only helps to bring policy-makers and policy implementers to other insights, but it also generates gratitude in those helped and in that way builds bridges between the races. The number of African men and women who have reason to be grateful to the Black Sash for help and advice in this field is incomputable. Moreover it adds to the fund of goodwill which may well one day stand between us and disaster or violent revolution.

Of course protest pays. But I would go further and say that even if it didn't seem to pay it would still be imperative to make it. Why? Because it gives fresh heart to those whose cause is being defended or espoused, it gives encouragement to those helped, and it helps to sustain the faith of those who do the work. All that is important, for without it the forces of reaction or of evil or of destruction would operate without any restraint at all.

And if we tend on occasions to become impatient with the results — or the non-results — of protests and the demand for change, let us remember how long it took for the world-wide campaign to abolish slavery to achieve final success.

Race discrimination is to our generation in many ways what slavery was more than 100 years ago. It was protest and dissent that finally ended it, just as protest and dissent will one day end race discrimination and what goes with it.

What we need above all in this country today is what that great South African, Jan Hofmeyr, once called the fifth freedom, the freedom from prejudice. Speaking as Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand shortly after Hitler's war, Hofmeyr said this:

'Surely it is a mockery for us to talk of ourselves as a free people, to acclaim ourselves as the inheritors of a tradition of

freedom, while we are as a nation to so large an extent the slaves of prejudice. As long as we continue to apply a dual standard in South Africa, to determine our attitude towards and our relationships with European and non-European on different ethical bases, to assign to Christian doctrine a significance which varies with the colour of men's skins, we shall suffer as a nation from what Plato would have called the lie in the soul.'

Those words have as much validity today as when they were uttered. Only when we have managed to rid ourselves of the lie in the soul will we, as individuals and as a people, be able to play a meaningful part in the battle for mankind's emancipation from the bondage of prejudice and fear and, no less important, from the fear of bondage.

Only then, I believe, will we be able to get away from discrimination based on race and colour, only then will we be able to judge human beings on their worth, and respect men and women for what they are or what they can become no matter what their race, religion or colour.

Liberty is never safe anywhere: its exercise calls for eternal vigilance. In fact, every generation has to fight the battle for freedom afresh. The Black Sash has done this for 25 years and it has, in the process, earned the gratitude of men and women of all creeds and colours.

Let those who fight the battle of freedom, in whatever dimension and by whatever means, in however humble a capacity, retain this one certainty as expressed by Harold Laski 50 or more years ago: That alone among the ends men seek, it has the genius, where the need of its service is imperative, to give the quality of heroes to the common people who answer its call.

I can find no more apposite thought to leave with you, 1979's 'kinders van die protes', than an extract from a Black Sash prayer written by Lulu Friedman and published in the tenth anniversary issue of the Black Sash magazine 14 years ago:

Let conscience goad us with its stern command:

'Condemn oppression always!' — for the sum of ugly, mean decrees is not yet done.

Power corrupts, and those who now have power

Believe, triumphantly, their fight is won, And deem eternal this, their transient hour...

Lord, help us prove not vainly men have bled, And that for which they perished is not dead.

The Chartists [Polish dissidents] know that they have not built up widespread active support. As one Chartist said to me last year in Prague: 'Many are sympathetic and that makes it sadder. There are a lot of nice people but even more are weak.'...

'... it is terrible to be imprisoned for a reason which will, in a time shorter than the length of the length of the punishment, no longer excite anybody.'

THE OBSERVER 1979

# A birthright stolen

Sheena Duncan

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*Mrs Duncan runs the Johannesburg Advice Office*

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**T**HERE is a passion which transcends and sublimates these lesser passions; there is a passion which can unify and not divide, and that is the passion to be a true South African, joining what is noblest and best in the heritage of each; a passion which can find its full expression in the proud statement. 'I am a South African citizen!' — T. E. Donges.

Until October 26, 1976, South Africa, in spite of all the efforts made by the architects of Apartheid to divide her, was a nation of over twenty-six million richly diverse people. On that date three million people ceased to be South African citizens.

On December 6, 1977, over one and a half million more people ceased to be South Africans. Later this year, on the occasion of the independence of Venda, we shall lose another three hundred and fifty thousand.

Mr Vorster, when he was Prime Minister, said that he was confident that every homeland, except KwaZulu, would become independent within five years. If he is correct we shall have lost another six million people by 1983 and we will then be a culturally impoverished nation of only eleven or twelve million people — the great achievement of thirty-five years of National Party rule?

## How has this been engineered?

1970 saw the introduction of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act. This Act says:

'Every Bantu person in the Republic shall ... be a citizen of one or other territorial authority area ...'

Every black South African has since that time been a citizen of one or other of the Bantustans, whether he likes it or not and whether or not he has ever lived in any Bantustan, and whether or not he even knows where in South Africa his family originated. The only question remaining is to which particular territorial authority he belongs.

Since then birth certificates issued to black children have shown the 'homeland' citizenship and every black person has been recorded in Pretoria's computer as being a citizen of one Bantustan or another.

It did not seem to matter very much then because Section 2 (4) of the Act says: 'A citizen of a territorial authority area shall not be regarded as an alien in the Republic and shall, by

virtue of his citizenship of a territory forming part of the Republic, remain for all purposes a citizen of the Republic and shall be accorded full protection according to international law by the Republic.'

Everything went on as before and people shrugged their shoulders and let the Government go on playing its paper games.

Then in October 1976, Transkei became independent. Section 6 (1) of the Status of Transkei Act says: 'Every person falling in any of the categories of persons defined in Schedule B shall be a citizen of the Transkei and shall cease to be a South African citizen'. In December 1977 Bophuthatswana became independent and the Status of Bophuthatswana Act contains the identical clause. Schedule B of both Acts repeats, expands and clarifies Section 3 of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act quoted above. Every person falling within the Schedule is a citizen of the newly created independent State irrespective of whether he has ever been there or whether he even knows where it is.

There is no choice of citizenship allowed and no legal right for anyone to remain a South African and to refuse the citizenship thrust upon him. There is only an administrative procedure whereby a person who wishes to renounce citizenship of his new country may apply for citizenship of another homeland. If the application is granted he will again become a South African citizen by birth — until his new homeland becomes independent.

The decision as to whether the application will be granted is made by the Minister of Plural Relations and, in the experience of the Black Sash Advice offices, it is only granted if there are strong family reasons such as in the case of a Tswana woman lawfully married to a Zulu man who wishes to have the citizenship of her husband.

We have no evidence at all that people who merely wish to remain South African have any hope of their applications being agreed to. The evidence is all to the contrary. In any event the application can only be made by people who were born before the date of independence of their so-called homeland.

Children born after independence cannot even apply.

It must be remembered that the policy of the Government, as so clearly enunciated by the former Minister of Plural Relation, is that there are to be *no Black South Africans*.

There is a common misapprehension shared by both black and white South Africans and by the Press. This is that it is the taking of a passport from Transkei or Bophuthatswana, which makes one into a foreigner. This is not the case. The kind of identity document which one carries is irrelevant. Anyone who is classified as Tswana or Xhosa (excluding those Xhosa-speaking people who are computerised as belonging to the Ciskei) is a foreigner, an alien, in South Africa from the day of independence of the homeland to which he or his parents, or his grandparents, are deemed to belong. He has ceased to be a citizen of South Africa.

**From the booklet issued to white immigrants who become naturalised South African citizens:**

TO:

TOM JONES

With the compliments of  
the Department of the Interior  
on the occasion of your acquisition of  
South African citizenship

'You have this day received a precious gift from South Africa — her citizenship. On behalf of the Government and people of South Africa I welcome you as a member of the South African community.

'To transfer one's allegiance from one country to another involves a decision of no mean import. For this reason you did not lightly apply for citizenship, nor was it lightly conferred upon you...

'It is my sincere wish that you will avail yourself wisely of the privilege of South African citizenship and that it will bring you and your descendants peace, happiness and prosperity.' — message from the State President.

**From the temporary permit issued to black South Africans who were born in South Africa and whose ancestors, as far back as family memory goes, were born and lived in South Africa but who have now ceased to be South Africans:**

'This permit is granted to the abovementioned holder — to enter and reside in the district or districts described, in the Province mentioned, for the purpose of undertaking unskilled or domestic labour and is issued subject to the following conditions and to the provisions of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act, 1972...

*Conditions*

1. That the holder enter into a contract of service with the undermentioned employer...
2. That the permit is valid for a period of six months from the date of issue and the holder shall leave the Province, without expenses to the Government on or before...

3. In the event of the holder not leaving the Province on or before the date specified herein, the deposit will be forfeitable and the holder will render himself liable to be dealt with further according to law...
4. Not to be employed without special permission under Section 12 of Act No. 25 of 1945 or Section 28 (1) of Act 15 of 1911.

I/We agree to the above conditions...

This document is actually a legal nonsense for those people who have rights and remain in urban areas in South Africa but it clearly expresses the intention of the National Party Government, an intention which was given legislative force during the 1978 Parliamentary Session.

The Status Acts both have a clause which says:

'No citizen of Transkei (Bophuthatswana) resident in the Republic at the commencement of this Act shall, except as regards citizenship, forfeit any existing rights, privileges or benefits by reason only of the other provisions of this Act.'

That was yesterday's promise which, while being technically fulfilled, has been cynically rendered null and void for those 'residents' in the Republic who might have expected their children to continue to enjoy their own existing rights, privileges or benefits.

Last year an amendment to Section 12 of the Bantu Urban Areas Act was made which substituted for the words 'a Bantu not born in the Republic' the words 'a Bantu who is not a South African citizen or who is not a former South African citizen who is a citizen of a state, the territory or part of the territory of which formerly formed part of the Republic.'

This tortuous phraseology means that any child born after the date of independence of the Bantustan to which his parents are deemed to belong may not 'enter, be or remain' in any urban area of the Republic of South Africa without the permission of the Secretary of Plural Relations. The Secretary's permission may be withdrawn at any time without any reason being given.

This applies whether or not the child has ever lived in any Bantustan and whether or not he has ever lived anywhere but in his home town in the Republic of South African. Such a permit is a very different thing from a legally enforceable right to live where he was born which has hitherto been provided for in Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act.

How members of the Broederbond and the Government must be laughing up their sleeves at the way in which other white South Africans have heralded the re-introduction of leasehold title for black people in urban areas as being a positive indication of change. No black person will eventually qualify in terms of Section 10 because they will all be aliens and, as such, will only be able to occupy the houses bequeathed

to them by their fathers by special permission of the Minister.

Concessions, privileges and permits are no substitute for legally enforceable rights.

Long before ninety-nine years have elapsed, if this Government remains in power, South Africa will legally be a nation of eight million people with twenty million there either living as guest workers in the Republic or clustered around its grossly extended and convoluted borders waiting to get in to claim back their birthright.

This will be the legal position but in reality nothing on earth can separate us from each other. We are irrevocably one, spiritually, politically, economically and socially.

The citizens of Transkei at Crossroads, the

half-million or more non-citizens of Bophuthatswana who are resident within that country's borders and are now being told to apply for citizenship or to get out, the refugees from Transkei independence at Thornhill, the Southern Sotho people at Nqutu in KwaZulu, those at Maboloka and Thaba 'Nchu within Bophuthatswana, the many families in urban areas where ethnic ancestry has long been forgotten, are all visible and physical demonstrations of a South African nationhood which cannot be unscrambled and undone. To try to do so is to attempt to reverse the irreversible for:

'Citizenship is not an act or a series of separate acts, it is a way of life...' C. J. Langenhoven

## A most Christian country

**A**RE WE a Christian country?

Dr Koot Vorster thinks so — that's one of the reasons why he won't have rabbis conducting the epilogue on television. And he is so confident of the just rewards of our Christian goodness that he predicts we will be ruling the world sometime or another.

Gott mit uns, yes?

But of course there are at least two sides to every question. So how do we do when rated against the Ten Commandments?

- Thou shalt have no other gods — well, not *everybody* worships skin colour;
- Thou shalt not make graven images — no comment on that sculpture of the unknown rugby player at Loftus;
- Remember the Sabbath to keep it holy — oh we do, we do; we even outlawed Sunday movies. Though not, of course, Sunday pass raids;
- Honour thy father and thy mother — right. But let's not get overly sensitive about laws that humiliate and degrade Black parents in front of their children, shall we?
- Thou shalt not kill — were all deaths in detention suicide or accident?
- Thou shalt not commit adultery — or, at least, not be caught out in it.
- Thou shalt not steal — and, let's face it, 'alienation' of taxpayers' money sounds so much better;
- Thou shalt not bear false witness — but of course lying to Parliament and the Press may be in the national interest;
- Thou shalt not covet — unless it is the business sites of the Indian traders in town.

And then, of course, there are also the two commandments of the New Testament: to love thy neighbour and to love God.

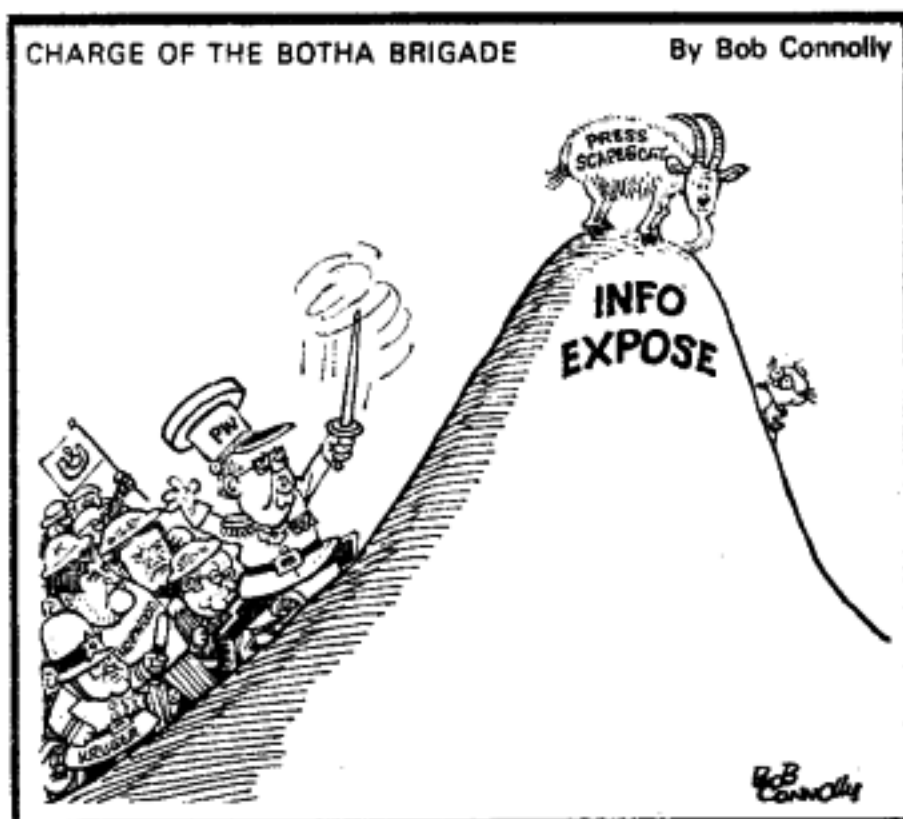
About the former, all I can say is it proves how smart the Nats were in segregating the suburbs. Think what a quandary some of us would have been in if we had neighbours of a different colour.

As for the latter — check our score on the other Commandments. I leave the answer up to you.

(With acknowledgements to the *Sunday Express*, 4/2/78.)

### LEGACY

Cape Western Region wishes to record with deep gratitude the receipt of a legacy of United Building Society shares to the value of R700 from the estate of our greatly loved late member Barbara Brock.



# UIF in Natal Coastal Region

Solveig Piper

*Mrs Piper is chairman of the region and head of the Advice Office there*

**T**HE Unemployment Insurance Fund (established by Act 30 of 1966) is in the process of being amended so that:

1. The R10,50 per week minimum wage below which African workers could not contribute to or receive benefits from the Fund is to be scrapped.
2. The maximum wage 'ceiling' of R700 per month above which workers cannot benefit from the Fund, can now be raised by the Minister of Labour without first going to Parliament.
3. Sick benefits can be claimed after two instead of three weeks off work and full benefits after four instead of six weeks.
4. Maternity benefits can now be claimed retrospectively up to 26 weeks.
5. Appeals against penalties can be lodged within 30 instead of 21 days after the date on which notification of such penalty has been made.
6. Some Africans employed in 'Rural' areas can now become contributors to and receive benefits from the Unemployment Insurance Fund.

While this is an improvement, Domestic, Agricultural and Seasonal workers are still excluded and these workers constitute a large percentage of our labour force.

Hopefully point 6 above will cover those workers employed, for example, by the Durban Municipality's City Engineering Department as builders' labourers etc. in the township areas. These workers, almost 2 000 in number, used to contribute to the Fund until a few years ago when suddenly they had their contributions refunded and were told they could no longer benefit from the Unemployment Insurance Fund.

However, there seems to be an anomaly here as the following case will illustrate: Five nurses from King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban were transferred to a clinic in Umlazi, which is now part of KwaZulu and deemed a 'Rural' area. While employed at KEH they contributed to the UIF but their contributions ceased after their transfer. We made enquiries on their behalf as to whether they could be refunded the money they had contributed because, as we understood the Act, they no longer qualified as contributors to or beneficiaries from the UIF and so should at least be entitled to their money back. We were then informed that the Act states clearly that a person entitled to ordinary benefits is one who has been a contributor for at least 13 weeks

in the last 52 OR 'other'. The 'other' would be that person who has not left the labour market but who, through no fault of his own, was working in an area which did not fall under the jurisdiction of the UIF Act. Consequently such a person would be entitled to apply for and receive ordinary benefits on his/her termination of employment.

Why then have the Durban municipal workers in Umlazi been refused benefits? There has obviously been a breakdown in communication or in understanding of the Act. It is clear that there is an urgent need for administrators of the Fund, employers and employees to be fully informed about the UIF Act if it is to function at all smoothly and to the benefit of the people who need it the most, namely the unemployed.

An analysis of some 280 problems relating to the UIF dealt with at the Advice Office has served to reiterate this need. It has confirmed our feelings that it is important that not only the Department of Labour but employers should be responsible for informing employees of their rights as regards the Fund.

While the figures obtained by our Advice Office are certainly an improvement on our previous ones, we must bear in mind that our figures overall have dropped dramatically this last year. This could very well be indicative of the growing unemployment, especially amongst Africans. If a person has a job, no matter how exploited or unhappy he may be, any complaining about this could well cause his dismissal. There are also the 'disappearing people'. These are the migrant labourers who have lost their jobs, been endorsed out of the area and have the fear of conviction and arrest hanging over their heads. Therefore they are afraid to be 'caught' openly in the towns.

Where are they and what job opportunities are there for them?

The 'migrant' has to compete each year with the increasing number of school leavers who have 'rights' to be in the area but who also are faced with diminishing employment opportunities.

Black unemployment figures are estimated at  $\pm$  2 million in a country with a population of about 22 million people. If one compares these figures with (for instance) Britain, which has a population of almost 60 million and approximately the same number of unemployed, there is obviously something very wrong with South Africa's political and social structures, which are the cause of the mass unemployment problem.

Why is there no organized scheme for social activities as happened in the 1930s? We have a chronic housing shortage for example and there are many other areas where labour could be effectively utilized on social schemes.

Finally, from the Advice Office point of view, we would like to see much more pressure brought to bear on employers who contravene the Unemployment Insurance Act. While the administration of the Fund by the Department of Labour

is clearly being carried out as expeditiously as possible, some thought must be given by this department to the amendments being introduced, especially as regards the 'Rural' areas. The ensuing added duties will require further training of clerks in these areas where they often fall down in their duties: benefits take much longer to process and the whole backlog begins because of their lack of training and expertise.

**Solveig Piper**

## **OBITUARIES**

### **GWEN LIPP**

**I**T is with deep regret that we have to announce the death of Mrs Gwen Lipp, who was one of our earliest members in the Western Cape. She joined the Stellenbosch Branch very soon after its formation and was its Secretary for a number of years. Later, when she and her husband left their farm, she continued her work for the Sash in Somerset West.

Her exceptional intelligence, her balanced judgment and her infectious sense of humour made her not only a most valuable member but also a most delightful one. Those who worked with Gwen, especially in those early days of the Sash, will look back with deep appreciation of the privilege of having had her support and her companionship in all our activities.

**H. Spottiswoode**

### **VERA PAVER**

**V**ERA PAVER, headmistress of Kingsmead College for 33 years, and a Black Sash member, died last year. She ran a private school where service to the community was a first principle of education and where snobbery had no place.

In this country it is not usual for educational originality, humility and progressiveness to survive the head who believes in these things. But Vera Paver saw to it that the ideas of Miss Thompson, her predecessor, were respected and developed.

And so, for 33 years, in the midst of an affluent white South Africa, children were taught that learning was an exciting, not a competitive thing, and that knowledge would enrich life, provided that it was harnessed to ideals of service. Kingsmead girls believed that they were at school to develop their characters and their understanding of the world around them, and not primarily to obtain first class Matrics.

Vera Paver had accepted the headmistress-ship of Kingsmead with painful apprehension. One wonders if she ever realised that her shyness and lack of confidence — and simplicity — made of her a great headmistress who demonstrated to all other teachers that children are best guided with gentle patience.

**Jill Wentzel**

The cries of protest against the denial of human rights in South Africa have died down, Mrs Helen Suzman told delegates at the Conference on Human Rights yesterday.

Speaking in a panel discussion, Mrs Suzman, who is MP for Houghton, said this was because South Africans were not used to the rule of law and the threshold of their tolerance was rising all the time.

**THE STAR, 25/1/79**

No man or group of men with common interests can be trusted to exercise power unchecked over all others. We do not say this because those responsible for Government and State security in our country are worse men than most, but because they are like us, whether we are fair-skinned or dark.

So then, when the fair-skinned hold the helm of the vessel of state firmly, the ship goes where they choose. The fact that fair-skinned people have access to the corridors of power will mean that the way commerce and industry are organized will be to their advantage. Everybody of every conceivable pigmentation will use power in his own interest because we are all greedy and proud.

*Archbishop Bill Burnett, quoted in SEEK, March 1979*

# Pensions in KwaZulu

*Hillcrest and Botha's Hill area*

## **Environs of Hillcrest and Botha's Hill**

**T**HE year 1978 was a bad one for many KwaZulu pensioners. It was the year in which KwaZulu decided that grants and pensions needed investigation and in April they stopped all Pensions and Disability Grants. People were told to re-apply. They did so and many deserving cases have been re-instated, but some who are too ill to get to their Magistrate are still waiting. Our Magistrate is being asked to visit these very ill people, or to allow the local chief or social worker to visit. It is a disgrace that a genuinely sick person should be without his or her grant for so long a period.

In the Hillcrest Advice Bureau there are 180 people awaiting Old Age Pensions or Disability Grants. Amongst these, some may be receiving pensions and have not come back to tell us. We only know of about ten per cent who have received their pensions or grants. Some have waited since 1975 and a few have re-applied more than once. There is never any comeback from the Magistrate's office, so one seldom knows if they have been refused by the Magistrate or by Pretoria. We understand that when an age check is necessary KwaZulu has to send the application to Pretoria. KwaZulu being a non-independent homeland creates all sorts of complications and opportunities for the two Administrations to 'pass the buck'.

Old Age Pensions for Africans were increased in October 1978 to R47,50 maximum, paid every second month. The maximum private income one may receive besides a Government pension is R45 per month. It is doubtful if any pensioner in this area would receive an Old Age Pension if he were found to have any other income at all. It seems that in this area pensioners have to be at least 80 per cent disabled as well as over the minimum age before they qualify for pensions.

In the Pensions vote, KwaZulu declared that it has run out of money and that no new pensions will be issued before July. Where a pension is a statutory right for all, provided they are the appropriate age and receive below the maximum income, then surely the Republic must be responsible for KwaZulu? In view of the latest rise in the price of petrol, which means an in-

crease in the price of all foodstuffs, and a 35 per cent rise in the price of paraffin, the whole question of pensions becomes even more vital and urgent. It is no good saying that the old people in KwaZulu can grow vegetables or be supported by their families. This is not so either in the townships or in many rural areas which are without land to cultivate.

## **Pensions in Umlazi Township**

This is a township adjacent to Durban with approximately 250 000 inhabitants. It is generally reckoned that approximately 12 000 people could receive old age pensions. In fact, a total of 2 745 pensions was recently paid out, of which 1 377 were Old Age pensions and 1 286 Disability Grants.

**Mary Grice**

## **Report on pensions in Msinga District**

In the Msinga area of Natal the pension situation is worsening. Deterioration of the situation came when it was discovered that there was corruption in the system. The usual example given by government officials was that some chiefs were found to have several young wives and had arranged that each wife should get a pension. There certainly was and is graft, but the suffering caused by the cumbersome method of cancelling all pensions and making everyone apply anew is cruel beyond description and — worst of all — a futile exercise. Already it has proved incapable of efficiency but it has saved the State tremendous sums of money.

We had examples of people appealing through CAP and the pensions were reinstated but not retrospectively and no reply was obtained to requests for the pension covering the gap in payments. White-haired old people have been told, for up to eight years, to apply again next year as there is no money. We have cases in our files of this happening to eighty- and ninety-year-old people.

The cost of reapplying is very heavy for people whose pensions have been thus deferred or cancelled. The applicant has to pay bus-fare for the local Induna to vouch for his/her age, and feed him for the day. This is usually repeated more than once as clerks keep the queue waiting and demand graft money before they will move. All this takes time and the applicants go home and come back another day. A mobile van going round



could have young men going to the Chief's or Induna's home and could save untold misery for the aged and crippled.

Those lucky enough to have pensions are often short paid in the following way at the pay-out points. The queue files up to the table where each person is asked by the first clerk to sign or thumb-print for their money. They then pass on to the next clerk who pays them the money they have signed for, but which is short. If the person protests, the money is withdrawn and he is told that the money will be passed back to Pretoria. At this point the pensioner asks to withdraw the complaint and accepts the short pay gratefully. Any later query reveals that he signed for the full amount.

The Department is so cumbersome that transfer

from one pay-out point to another is impossible. We have at Mdukatshane a dozen people who walk eight miles to pay-out point A from their homes at pay-out point B, while another crowd leaves pay-out point B to get paid at pay-out point A.

The only method of transfer is to cancel your pension at your pay-out place and re-apply, with all the risks attached, at your next place of residence. You may never see your pension again.

Welfare and pension officers have been appointed at various head offices. Paper work and administration takes up most of their time, so that despite appeals and promised visits to see and check for themselves they have been unable to achieve anything.

**Neil Alcock**

## STOP PRESS

### Police harassment

**O**N Tuesday, April 10, two Sash women, Joyce Harris and Eileen Mendelsohn, stood at the University Fountain from 7.30 to 8.30 a.m. holding posters which read, 'Police Fear Press — Why?' and 'Inquest Bill — Who's Hiding What?' Because of the Riotous Assemblies Act they stood one at a time in 15 minute shifts.

At 8.29 a.m. Eileen Mendelsohn, who was standing at the time, was approached by two young men in jeans and T-shirts and asked what the posters meant. Her reply angered one of them who whipped out his identity card, grabbed her arm while his companion grabbed the posters, and told her he was taking her to the police station. Joyce Harris insisted that she, too, was involved, and would accompany Eileen, and the police permitted them to take their cars, one policeman accompanying Eileen in her car.

At the police station they were given chairs but refused permission on two occasions to phone their attorney, on the second occasion somewhat abruptly. In the meanwhile the Security Police had been called in. They examined the posters and questioned the arresting policemen regarding where the women had been standing, whether they had obstructed the traffic and whether they were standing together.

Having satisfied themselves that no law had been broken they offered the women transport, told them they could go and allowed them to take their posters. The whole incident lasted about 50 minutes.

### Black Sash deputation

**W**HEN Dr Piet Koornhof was appointed Minister of Plural Relations we decided to ask him to receive a deputation from the Black Sash to discuss such issues as squatters, housing, unemployment, citizenship, pensions and general bureaucratic behaviour. This he readily agreed to do.

We went armed with reports, fact papers and a wealth of information. Obviously we had no expectations of any dramatic change in policy. We hoped only that he would listen to us, and this he did.

His Deputy Minister Vosloo and two top officials, including the Secretary for Plural Relations, were present at the interview.

Dr Koornhof went through every item on our submitted agenda. He gave us the impression that he is a caring person, that he would take action on administrative matters such as pensions, but that anything he did would have to fall within the framework of National Party policy. However, he is approachable, and he assured us that his door is always open to us providing we do not discuss politics.

Our very knowledgeable Advice Office Directors could not help but make a convincing impression, and we were glad of the opportunity to give the Minister first-hand information and to express our fears regarding the growing anger and resentment amongst black people.

**JOYCE HARRIS**

# Institutional violence

**O**VER the years the police, partly because of the nature of their role in enforcing apartheid legislation and partly because of the social and racial attitudes prevalent in South Africa, have been heavily criticized. They come under particularly heavy fire on two highly emotive issues: the enforcement of the Pass Laws, and the incidence of assault by police with the alarming number of people who, every year, die in their custody.

The Pass Laws and the police force's role in implementing them are perhaps the most bitterly felt grievance among the black community. It has been repeatedly stated over the years by senior police officers that policemen have been instructed to use discretion in dealing with offences of a purely technical nature. As far back as 1970 the then Minister of Police told the House of Assembly that the police had been instructed to afford Africans, who were not carrying their reference books with them, the opportunity of getting in touch with their employers and/or of fetching their books. Newspapers, however, continue to highlight cases where this instruction is flagrantly violated. In February 1979, for instance, a Johannesburg female office worker was arrested in Hillbrow during her lunch hour. She was taken to the police station and released only when one of her white colleagues came to her assistance.

It would appear, too, that far from taking a more lenient approach in applying the Pass Laws, police activity is in fact being stepped up. 'Crime Swoops' and 'crime prevention exercises' would often appear to be pass raids by another name. During May 1978, for instance, the police undertook 'crime swoops' in Hillbrow and various areas of the Reef. Of the approximately 3 000 people arrested in these exercises, more than 2 000 were held for pass offences. During June 1978, especially during the period before the June 16th anniversary of the Soweto unrest, more than 5 000 people were arrested in raids and roadblocks throughout the country. Of this number more than 4 000 were arrested for pass offences.

In the Johannesburg area, at least, the figures for pass arrests have grown alarmingly. In November 1978, 3 958 people were arrested, of whom 1 279 were convicted. In December 1978, 2 382 people were arrested, of whom 828 were convicted. The figure then takes a dramatic leap, with 4 084 people arrested in the period January 15-31, 1979. Only 1 592 of these people were convicted. Most of these, more than 4 000 people, spent a night in jail before being freed by an Aid Centre, convicted or set free by the Court. This figure refers only to the Johannesburg area, and only to the second half of the month of January 1979. It suggests that if other areas

and centres of South Africa are taken into consideration thousands of people are being arrested and brought before the courts for pass offences every week. The cost of all this in terms of human frustration and humiliation is impossible to assess, as is the effect upon the deteriorating inter-group relationships in our divided society.

Directly allied to this is the action taken by the police in the various 'squatter' communities. On the night of September 5-6, 1978, about 400 people were arrested during a raid on the Crossroads squatter camp. Police in camouflage, in standard uniforms and in plain clothes took part in the raid. Community workers went into the camp after the raid to help children whose parents had been taken during the raid. Later, in September a more serious incident occurred at Crossroads when what police described as a 'routine crime-prevention exercise' erupted into a battle between the community and the police. One newspaper reporter wrote: 'I saw docile squatters, men and women, dragged by their clothing and beaten with batons and sticks during the second raid on Crossroads yesterday in less than six hours'. In this raid one man was shot dead and several women were injured. More than 300 people were arrested. Later in the year it was estimated that the Crossroads community had to pay R40 000 in fines following the September raids. The raising of this amount of money contributed greatly to later problems as many residents fell behind with service payments and so were faced with the demolition of their shacks.

Crossroads was not the only squatter camp to witness police harassment. Few, if any, such communities are immune. In October 1978 police and Eastern Cape Administration Board officials raided an East London squatter camp. Fleeing squatters were arrested and their homes set on fire. According to the Chief Director of the Eastern Cape Administration Board hundreds of squatters had been appearing before the Administration Board during the preceding six weeks.

Perhaps one of the most distressing and depressing features of Pass Law arrests and squatter camp raids is the amount of police time such harassment takes up. All this effort diverts the police from crime prevention and investigation of a more traditional (in Western countries) nature at a time when the crime rate proper is spiralling. Mr Kruger, the Minister of Justice, revealed in the House of Assembly on February 27, 1979, that during the year July 1, 1977, to June 30, 1978, there were 5 644 murders, 15 002 rapes and 125 772 assaults with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Such incidents may be characterised as 'mass', 'general' or 'institutional' violence. The counter-

part to this, individual violence, comprising assault and intimidation, at a more personal, individual level, is by no means uncommon. Reports in the Johannesburg papers during the latter part of 1978 reveal a sorry story. During August 1978 a Mr Michael Simon laid a complaint against the police alleging assault. He had been detained and questioned in connection with an alleged theft of sweets and was subsequently set free. During September 1978 a Mr Mhlatywa was awarded damages of R1 500, after evidence to the court that he had been accosted and arrested, his wrist had been fractured by a policeman and he had been left for three days without medical attention. Again in September a Mr Alvaro Nunes de Ressurreicao gave evidence against four policemen charged with assaulting him earlier in the year. He told the Magistrate that he had been beaten so badly that he had had to spend eight days in bed.

- In September two East Rand policemen, who threw two commuters out of a moving train after assaulting and robbing them of R38, were jailed for two years.

- In October 1978 two policemen were acquitted on a charge of assault and theft, having pleaded not guilty to charges of having assaulted a Mr Heinrich Stegman. The Magistrate found Mr Stegman 'trustworthy' and 'definitely did not believe' the policemen, but nevertheless felt he had to give them the 'benefit of the doubt'.

- During an inquest held in October 1978 on two men allegedly shot dead by police in New Brighton during December 1977, a witness told the Court that she and her boyfriend had been assaulted by the police after they had refused orders to have intercourse in the street.

- At an inquest held during November 1978 into the death of an 18 year old youth the Magistrate returned a verdict of justifiable homicide and that no-one was to blame for the youth's death. He had been shot and killed while running away from railway police who could not follow because the terrain was too rough.

- In December a 19 year old youth charged with arson told the East London Court that he had signed a confession about his involvement in the burning of a school, because a policeman told him he would be set free if he did so.

- A Soweto student was shot dead by police in early December. Speaking at his funeral Dr Nthato Motlana said that it had not yet been established why he was killed, except for reports that he had gone out of the country for military training.

- At a funeral of a Robben Island prisoner in Evaton during August 7 'instigators' were arrested. They were allegedly part of an illegal gathering after the funeral. Teargas was used when the crowd did not disperse.

- In January 1979 a 16 year old youth suspected of stealing R14 was shot dead by police while

resisting arrest. According to witnesses he was hiding under a car when he was shot. This last incident perhaps encapsulates a feature of South African society: the shooting of persons seeking to evade arrest is not an infrequent accident or incident, but when the injured or fatality is white there is a public clamour. The death of this youth appeared to go unnoticed or unheeded — except in the black community.

The extent of police violence and intimidation is probably underestimated. Reports in the Press can be regarded as only the tip of the iceberg. Many more incidents are heard of but not documented. This is for a variety of reasons. Such actions are mainly directed at blacks who are in any case intimidated by the great powers the police have over them as the police are the enforcers of the vast and intricate network of laws which regulate nearly every aspect of the black man's life. It is, therefore, unlikely that when incidents of assault and intimidation by police occur that victims will report the matter to the police. Other courses, however, are open such as reporting incidents to the Press or to organisations who would be prepared to take the matter further. But such is the insecure nature of the black's position that not many are prepared to risk taking matters further. The feelings of powerlessness felt by blacks in the face of white laws and regulations, discrimination, intolerance and often inhumanity are a national tragedy for South Africa.

More frequently reported are allegations of coercion and assault on witnesses and accused in security trials. These will be dealt with later.

Public attention is frequently focused upon the deaths of security detainees. More 'non-security' detainees, however, die. In Parliament during April 1978 the Minister of Police revealed that 128 people died during 1977 while being held under non-security laws, 28 of them by suicide. During the same period 10 people detained under security laws died. Among them was Steve Biko. Looking at the deaths of security detainees an interesting pattern emerges: from late 1971 until early 1976 no detainees died. The last to die, on October 27, 1971, was Ahmed Timol who fell from the 10th floor window during interrogation. The next death of a security detainee was that of Joseph Mdluli who died in March 1976. Could it be that the tremendous public outcry that followed the death of Timol may have had some effect upon this pattern?

Among the total of 138 people who died in police custody during 1977 were:

- Mr NABOATH NTSUNTHA, who was found hanging in his cell on January 9, 1977. He had been arrested on December 12, 1976, and had been kept in solitary confinement. At the post mortem it was found that his body had already been opened. The pathologist who examined the body said that it was most unusual for a body to be cut open before the post mortem: he under-

stood that in this case it had been done by a policeman. The inquest returned a verdict of death by hanging, probably suicide, and that no living person could be held responsible.

- Dr HOOSEN HAFFAJEE, who died by hanging in August 1977, hours after he had been detained by security police in connection with an investigation under the Terrorism Act. The inquest found that the cause of death was consistent with hanging.

- Mr ELIJAH LOZA, who died in Tygerberg Hospital in August 1977, having been held under the Terrorism Act since May of that year. Police said that he suffered a stroke three weeks before his death. His family complained that they were refused permission to allow a private doctor to examine him.

- Mr BAYEMPIN MZIZI, who was found hanging from a cell window bar in August 1977. He had been held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act since July 1977.

- Mr STEVE BIKO, who died in September 1977. The circumstances of his death which caused much controversy, have been extensively reported. Biko's death, like Timol's, appears to have resulted in a reduction of the number of detainee deaths.

- Dr VINCENT FISHER, who died in his police cell on September 29, 1977. He had been detained on September 23, 1977, under the Drugs Act in connection with an alleged mandrax offence. The Drug Act provides for detention without trial and solitary confinement.

- Mr BONAVENTURA MALAZA, who was found hanging in his police cell during November 1977. At that point he was the 45th person to die in detention under security laws.

- During December 1977 the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the West Rand said that the death of Mr ELLIOT SALINGA was being investigated. Mr Salinga, who was being held in connection with a cattle theft, allegedly bumped against a door and fell backwards into a cell, and was thus fatally injured.

- PATRICIA MNISI died in hospital on November 5, 1977, having been admitted for extensive bi-lateral TB two weeks earlier. She was 16 and had been in detention from June 30, 1977, until August 25, 1977, when she was admitted to Tembisa Hospital. A Johannesburg District Surgeon said that on August 24 he had been so worried that he told the security police to send her to hospital immediately or release her.

- During 1978 there were two particularly horrifying cases of death in non-security detention. On March 19 Mr MATOBAKO died in hospital eight days after he and four others were arrested and charged with housebreaking. He and the four others had been assaulted, and details and descriptions of their injuries were documented in the Court records. These injuries, especially of

the dead man, are a dreadful and gruesome catalogue. Arising from this, six policemen and two civilians were charged with murder.

- In July Mr PAULOS CANE died in hospital of renal failure caused by multiple injuries. He had been arrested in connection with a theft of money. The Chief Government Pathologist in Durban told the court at the subsequent trial of three policemen for murder and assault that he did not think that he had ever seen such extensive injuries as those found on the body of Mr Cane.

- Also during 1978 Mr LUNGU TYWANTSE died in Mdantsane Hospital two days after being arrested. He had apparently been injured when he jumped out of a moving police vehicle. His father claimed that medical attention was refused. He was released by a Magistrate on the day of his arrest on his own recognisance to get medical treatment.

- In July 1978 LUNGILE TABALAZE fell to his death from the fifth floor offices of the security police in Port Elizabeth. The subsequent inquest lasted for ten days and generated a great deal of interest and concern. The Magistrate found that nobody had been responsible for his death.

- During November 1978 a Nigel Magistrate ruled that no-one can be held responsible for the death of Mr BENJAMIN NICHOLAS SCHOE-MAN. He was being held on suspicion of dealing in dagga and was discovered dead hanging behind a cell door.

Generally it must be accepted that only the more sensational incidents of police mismanagement hit national headlines. One such incident took place at Estcourt police station during 1978, and subsequently led to the conviction of two policemen on counts of *crimen injuria* and committing indecent or immoral acts with Coloured girls. They had forced children taken into custody — subsequently released — to have intercourse in a cell while watched by policemen.

At an inquest held during November 1978 the Commanding Officer of the Anti-Riot Unit in the Eastern Cape revealed that 14 rioters had been shot dead in Port Elizabeth townships between October 1977 and March 1978. The story of the unrest which began in Soweto in June 1976, police action and the numbers killed and injured was well documented at the time and has since been detailed at great length in an excellent book.

Only two facets of these events will be mentioned here:

1. It was revealed last year at the Kempton Park trial of 11 alleged former members of the SSRC that many documents relating to the unrest had been destroyed, in line with the general practice for the police to destroy notebooks after two years, and that there was no information available to ascertain which policemen were in Soweto on June 16, 1976, the day the unrest star-

ted. This would seem an extraordinary state of affairs, especially since when the situation is grave enough for the police to resort to shooting, there must be some anticipation that some of those arrested during or after such incidents will eventually be brought to court.

2. The other disturbing feature is that now, over 2½ years since Soweto erupted, the police in Soweto are still wearing camouflage uniforms. This is despite calls from community leaders for the police to revert to standard uniform. The presence of police in camouflage while carrying out their normal duties can be seen as intimidatory, and does nothing to improve police-community relationships. During the past nine months four policemen have been shot and killed, and a fifth policeman escaped death narrowly, in Soweto, which certainly points to community hostility.

Terrorism trials seem now to form part and parcel of daily newspaper fare. In May 1978 the Minister of Police stated that during 1977 108 people were charged with offences under the Terrorism Act. Of them 18 had been acquitted, 44 had been convicted of Terrorism and two of lesser offences, while at that point 44 were still awaiting trial. Of these Mr Kruger said that 38 of the 108 had been detained for up to 99 days before being charged, 44 for up to 195 days, 13 for up to 272 days and 12 for between 300 and 463 days.

Later on, in August 1978, the Minister disclosed in an interview with Mrs Helen Suzman, MP, that there were 55 security trials involving 151 people pending in the country. He further revealed that 144 people were being held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act; 77 witnesses in detention under Section 12b of the Internal Security Act, and 21 in preventive detention under section 10 of the Internal Security Act.

In June the Criminal Procedure Matters Amendment Bill passed through its final stages in the House of Assembly. This lifts the six-month limit on the detention for State Witnesses in security trials and empowers the State to detain such witnesses for the entire duration of the trial. Speaking during the debate Mr Kruger said 'I give members the assurance that from our side we will do our utmost to bring the accused in these cases before a court as quickly as possible to ensure that it will not be necessary to detain witnesses longer than is absolutely necessary.' He also gave the assurance that where it was possible to complete a case within six months, he would see that this was done. The detention of State witnesses, often for long periods, has serious implications, and must surely be anathema to all people who uphold the standard of equity, justice and 'western civilisation'.

Earlier in the year, in May, Mr Kruger was reported to have said at the South African Law Conference in Johannesburg that the government's stringent security laws were a great worry to him. Opening the Conference he also said that

government had passed security laws 'because we just do not know of other legal means to deal with the situation'.

Many aspects of the current situation in regard to security laws are the cause of grave concern: deaths in detention, long detention of both witnesses and accused, solitary confinement and the frequent allegation of assault and coercion by police interrogations. The Minister of Police appointed two 'detainee watchdogs' during June 1978 whose duties were to visit Terrorism Act detainees. These watchdogs have the powers to call for immediate medical examination, or bring matters to the attention of the Security Police.

The picture which emerges from a year's Press reports about security trials is stark and troubling:

At the start of the trial of 18 people in Bethal in January 1978, police armed with sub-machine guns stood guard. The Court heard that many of the 165 State witnesses due to appear were themselves detained under the Terrorism Act. The accused had been detained since December 1976.

6/5/1978 — Six accused at the ANC trial were released, three having served more than 15 months in detention. One of the six, a woman, had spent 17 months in a prison cell until her release. Three young men who refused to give evidence during the trial were detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act shortly after having completed six month jail sentences for their refusal.

24/7/1978 — Rashid Moosa pleading not guilty to a charge of obstructing the course of justice, or of perjury, or of statutory perjury, said he had made a statement to the police because he was afraid of being assaulted. His evidence given in court on June 5, 1978, against a banned journalist was alleged to have conflicted with a written statement he made last year. In his defence a letter written by Mr S. Randeria was handed to the Court. Mr R., another witness in the case, alleged that he had been assaulted by a member of the Security Police in November 1977.

13/9/1978 — Two men appeared in Court in shackles on charges of murder, attempted murder, arson, malicious damage to property and charged under the Terrorism Act. The shackles were removed on the orders of the Magistrate.

14/9/1978 — The Judge ordered Security Police out of the courtroom in the interests of justice, while a witness in a terror trial in the Maritzburg Supreme Court gave evidence. The Defence Council asked for the Security Police to be excluded during the testimony of a priest, because there were allegations that he had been assaulted and he would talk more freely if they were not in Court.

17/10/1978 — During the trial of 13 people from Queenstown for terrorist activities, it was alleged that statements by three of them had been made

under duress. The prosecution said that welts on the back of one of the accused were consistent with his being hit with a baton during arrest. For the defence it was pointed out that it was peculiar that all three statements were virtually identical.

18/10/1978 — Mr P. Pilusa, charged with sabotage in a Pretoria Regional Court, told the Court that he was forced to make a written statement by his police interrogators. He described to the Court how he was severely beaten while in detention, and his shirt torn and 'White power' written on it. He was told that this was in reply to the 'Black power' salute he was alleged to have made during the riots.

23/10/1978 — Six of the 13 accused in the Terrorism Act trial in Grahamstown were released after an application for the discharge of all 13 accused. The application came at the start of the eighth week of the trial.

26/10/1978 — One of the accused in the Bethal Terrorism Trial claimed that he had been assaulted by four policemen during questioning. He said his hands were tied behind his back to a bench and that the policemen hit him until he fell to the ground. He said a policeman told a doctor who came to treat him he had been assaulted, and that he informed a Magistrate in Pietermaritzburg about the assault and asked for protection. He was advised to lay a charge but did not because he was still in police hands. The Prosecution said the claim was unfounded and that all previous witnesses had denied being assaulted.

31/10/1978 — A witness in the Bethal Trial removed his shirt to show marks he said had been caused by police assaults. He acknowledged he had signed a statement produced in Court, but said that he had at first refused to do so because the contents were incorrect. He said he had finally signed because he was afraid of the police.

1/11/1978 — A witness in the Bethal Trial claimed that he had been kept standing and awake for three days on end, and that when as a result he complained of trouble with his eyes he was told he was suffering from excessive gall and told to take more exercise and was given epsom salts. He also told of various handwritten statements he had made to the police. He said that when making two statements in July he had been assaulted on each occasion. By September he gave in to the wishes of the police and made a statement in accordance with what they had wanted him to write.

2/11/1978 — A witness in the Bethal Trial said he had complained to a Colonel after having been assaulted during the first three days of his detention, but that the Colonel had treated the matter lightly and had not asked to see his injuries. This Colonel had also interrupted when

he wanted to complain to a visiting Magistrate about the matter.

3/11/1978 — A witness at the Bethal trial told the Court he was ordered to stand and left standing from a Friday until the following Wednesday, and was not allowed to lean against the wall or to sleep.

7/11/1978 — In the Kempton Park Terrorism trial a witness alleged that while he was in detention, Security Police threatened him with death on two occasions and once told him that if he did not satisfy the police they had the right to keep him in detention for 10 years or more. On one occasion when he was taken for interrogation he heard one of the accused crying and was told to 'listen well as such things could happen to me at any time'. He said that he had been beaten up on two occasions.

10/11/1978 — An accused in the Bethal Terror Trial described protracted assaults by white and black policemen in which he had been punched, kicked, butted with the point of a broomstick, threatened with a firearm and made to stand without food or sleep for long hours. He had also been thrown out of a fourth floor window after he had lost his balance after being assaulted.

16/11/1978 — A witness at the Bethal Terror Trial denied the entire contents of a sworn statement handed in as evidence and also denied he had taken the oath before signing it. He claimed the police had said they would hold him until he signed the statement, which he said had been manufactured by the police from incriminating statements made by other people. He was arrested when he left the Court.

30/11/1978 — A security policeman said, during the Kempton Park Terror Trial, that he was unaware that a District Surgeon had reported that one of the accused was extensively bruised.

21/12/1978 — An attorney told a Pretoria Regional Court Magistrate that the man he was to defend on a perjury charge had died in police custody the day before. The man had been arrested after giving evidence in an incitement trial, and had appeared to be in perfect health. The attorney was applying for bail for three women also charged with perjury who all alleged police assaults. Bail was refused.

24/1/1979 — A 15 year old youth alleged in the Johannesburg Regional Court that he was blindfolded and held by the legs out of a fourth floor window while he was being interrogated by Krugersdorp Security Police. The youth was appearing on charges of sabotage, attempted murder, arson and malicious damage to property. The defence was contesting the admissibility of confessions which are alleged to have been made by the accused to a Magistrate. It was contended that the statements were made under duress and the accused were told what to say.

This is a catalogue of horror. It is not nice. Too many white South Africans do not know — or will not know — about the increasingly damaging role that the police and security police are playing in the fabric of our society.

This catalogue has been compiled purely and simply from newspaper reports, and this highlights both its inadequacies and its implications. Newspapers suffer from lack of space, reporters are not omni-present, hence only the more sensational incidents make newsprint.

After the horrific death of Mr Paulos Cane, referred to earlier, a reporter asked a police Brigadier why information regarding the man's death was not released at a daily police Press conference soon afterwards. The Brigadier is reported to have replied that there were scores of unnatural black deaths every month in his division and these were not normally given to the Press. The implications of this scarcely need elaboration.

The role of the police is becoming increasingly sinister in our so-called 'western civilised society'. Their role in enforcing apartheid legislation is becoming daily more aggravating to the delicate balance in South Africa's inter-group relationships. And this role is emphasised in police training.

It was reported in June 1978 that the fourth edition of the Department of Police lectures on the introduction to criminology and ethnology states that in regard to separate development 'There is no other possibility. It is our only salvation'. And again 'Foreign missionaries and liberalism

brought the idea of voting rights and equality home to them. The developing black man in the cities does not not recognise the political functions of the tribal heads any more. Many of them now want democratic political rights and equality with the whites. This leads to the establishment of political, and often leftish-orientated organisations and makes them open to communism and Pan-Africanism.'

It is urgently necessary for the role of the police to be reassessed, but this can only be done by a reassessment of the laws of this country.

The police cannot assume the more traditional role (in the West at least) of guardians of life, rights and property, while they are the enforcing authority of legislation which appears to conflict with those very values.

It is possible that some of the allegations are imagined or exaggerated. However, the frequency of the allegations over a large number of cases throughout the country, involving on the whole similar techniques; frequent references to the same security policemen: the fact of damages and payments in settlement being paid on occasion; and the fact that the same allegations are made in 'non-political trials' where regularly confessions are excluded by the Courts, make it necessary for serious regard to be given to the allegations.

This paper in its documentation represents the tip of the iceberg. The tip is horrifying enough. The whole is probably to use some well quoted words 'too ghastly to contemplate'.

Compiled from Press cuttings by Transvaal Region  
JOYCE HARRIS, SHEENA DUNCAN, GITA DYZENHAUS

## The bliss of ignorance

Senator Owen Horwood, Minister of Finance, has consistently denied knowing anything about *The Citizen* project.



His most strenuous denials were made during the No-Confidence debate last month when he was questioned by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin. The debate went:

Mr Eglin: 'He knew nothing. When he had to provide that R14-million at the time of framing the 1976 Budget, he says he knew nothing.'

Mr Horwood: About what?

Mr Eglin: About *The Citizen*.

Mr Horwood: I knew nothing.

Mr Eglin: Right! In framing the 1977 Budget, whereby R2-million extra was added to the R15-million, the Minister says he knew nothing.'

Mr Horwood: Nothing.

Mr Eglin: The Minister says he knew nothing.

Mr Horwood: I knew nothing about *The Citizen*, and I said so in public.

Mr Eglin: In the transfer of all those loans by Treasury to Thor and all these other funds, in the whisking of money backwards and forwards to secret accounts to finance *The Citizen*, the Minister, who is in charge of finance in this country says he knew nothing.

Mr Horwood: Correct.

RAND DAILY MAIL, 26/3/79

# Censorship and the police

Louise Silver

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*Although not a conference paper, this article highlights aspects of the preceding one*

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THE concepts of obscenity, indecency and blasphemy referred to in s 47(2)(a) and (b) of the Publications Act 42 of 1974 are well known to Anglo-American jurisprudence, which consequently offers guidelines for their elucidation. These jurisdictions, however, yield no assistance when one is faced with material that is undesirable because of its political implications, viz because it 'brings any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt' (s 47(2)(c)); 'is harmful to the relations between any sections of the inhabitants of the Republic' (s 47(2)(d)); or, finally, 'is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare or the peace and good order' (s 47(2)(e)).

There is no direct prohibition dealing with criticism of the police *per se* in the definition section of 'undesirable' matter in s 47(2)(c), (d) and (e) of the Publications Act. Consequently it is necessary to examine the decisions of the Publications Appeal Board for the principles laid down on this subject.

Criticism of the police that is non-political in nature does not seem to pose a problem. Thus in *Anonymous Avenger* (9/75) 4, which dealt with robbery, kidnapping and revenge, it is stated: 'Hoewel die polisie inderdaad as magteloos uitgebeeld word, is hierdie magteloosheid nie toe te skry aan eie swakheid nie, maar wel aan die probleem om mannekrag vir die polisie te werf en die omsettende omvang van misdadigheid in Italië.' So also in *Colt 38 Special Squad* (36/77) 5, in which the theme was urban terrorism for the sake of material reward, the Board declared: '...dit was ook gemene saak dat politieke motiewe geen rol speel nie. Dit het suiwer gegaan om finansiële gewin deur 'n rampokker, in 'n vreemde land, met 'n vreemde polisiemag teen hom'. Earlier in this same judgement it is stated that:

'Vir sover dit die kritiek teen die polisie betref, moet in die eerste plek in ag geneem word dat dit die polisie is van 'n vreemde land, dat die polisie in elk geval nie 'n bevolkingsdeel is wat beskerming geniet kragtens hierdie wet nie en dat indien die veiligheid van die staat ens nie *via* die aantasting van die polisie aangetas word nie, sodanige kritiek en die probleme van die polisie in verband met sodanige gevalle, nie ongewens is nie' (4).

Once, however, non-political criticism of police in foreign countries is not the point at issue, the problem becomes more acute. That such criticism

is, in principle, permitted is clearly set out in *Detention without Trial in South Africa 1976-1977* (91/77) 3:

'In considering publications of a political nature the Appeal Board has repeatedly stated that the Publications Act is not intended to stifle political discussion, or demands for the elimination of injustices or for reform... (The appellant's publication) may attack the acts quoted by it and the methods employed by the Government and the police... The Appeal Board must bear in mind that in the political field exponents of change and reform are apt to indulge in strong, often extravagant, language in stating their cases. The South African community accepts this as part of the freedom of speech which is inherent in a democratic State.'

(See, also, *Wits Student* Feb no 2 and Feb no 3 (15-16/78) 3.)

On the other hand, the Publications Appeal Board has indicated that it must ensure that both the freedom to criticize and the freedom of expression take place within the bounds of s 47(2)(c), (d) and (e) (*Detention without Trial in South Africa 1976-1977* (91/77) 3).

The police and the security police are not protected under s 47(2)(c), (d) and (e) of the Publications Act as being a 'section of the inhabitants of the Republic'. The Publications Appeal Board held, in this respect, in *The Dawn Comes Twice* (144/76) 35 that '...The Appeal Board has come to the conclusion that the police force cannot be regarded as a section of the inhabitants in terms of the Act...' This view has been reiterated in *Colt 38 Special Squad* (36/77) 4 and *Inkatha* (170/77) 22. Consequently the police are not protected by s 47(2)(c) from being brought into ridicule and contempt as a 'section of the inhabitants'. The police may, however, be regarded as a section of the inhabitants under s 47(2)(c) and (d) where they are seen as a symbol of the white power structure and their actions are described in such a way as to cause polarization between black and white and consequently to be harmful to race relations.

The prime protection afforded the police and the security police is to be found in s 47(2)(e), which deals with the 'safety of the State, the general welfare or the peace and good order'. Thus the Publications Appeal Board held in *Riot Police and the Suppression of Truth* (37/77) 2:

'The publication's purpose is an unlawful one. Furthermore the contents of the publication



are calculated to stir up feelings of hostility between sections of the inhabitants and towards the administration of justice. This is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare or the peace and good order. The import of what the publication avers amounts to a claim that the administration of justice has broken down and that the Black people of Nyanga are at the mercy of a lawless riot police force.'

The view that s 47(2)(e) is the main protective clause is again stated in *The Dawn Comes Twice* (144/76) 35:

'There is no doubt that the police, especially the security police, are made the target of ridicule and contempt in the book but it seems to the Appeal Board that this must be viewed as falling under paragraph (e) of the definition section. The police are charged with the important task of preserving law and order in the country and they do so under enabling statutes or at the direction of the executive. Consequently to so describe their activities as to ridicule them or bring them into contempt is to attack and undermine the authority of the State. It would therefore be more correct to say that in attacking the police force the book is doing something prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare or the peace and good order in terms of paragraph (e) of subsection 47(2).'

It thus appears that any strong criticism of the police on account of abuse of power or attempts to ridicule them by satirizing them or accusing them of ineptitude falls squarely within the ambit of s 47(2)(e).

According to Professor J. C. W. van Rooyen, Deputy Chairman of the Publications Appeal Board, it is not necessary for the publication to be effective in this regard, so long as it contributes to an attack upon the security of the State (*Publikasiebeheer in Suid-Afrika* (1978) 131).

According to the Publications Act, the motive of the person producing or distributing the work is irrelevant (see s 47(4)). Despite this, the Publications Appeal Board has apparently permitted motive to be taken into account. For example, in *Detention without Trial in South Africa 1976-1977* (91/77) 2-3 the appellant, the South African Institute of Race Relations, raised the following argument relating to the motive for its publication:

'...that the figures supplied by it and the allegations of brutality, torture and ill treat-

ment described in regard to persons detained have been put forward solely in respect of the demand made by it for the appointment of a judicial commission to enquire into the matter of detention, the abuse of power by the police, the alleged torture of detainees (especially during interrogation), the abnormal number of deaths amongst detainees, the use of detention as a means of silencing people whose only means of political opposition is extra-parliamentary action.'

The Board did not reject this argument under s 47(4). Instead, it considered the motive and found that the appellant had exceeded the limits of toleration laid down by s 47(2)(e) in that in agitating for a judicial commission of inquiry the appellant had done so 'in a manner calculated to have the effect of stirring up hostility towards the State and particularly towards its police force' ((91/77) 6).

Where the police are criticized, the Publications Appeal Board requires what it describes as a 'balanced picture' ((91/77) 6). In *Detention without Trial in South Africa 1976-1977* (91/77) 5 the Board declared:

'It is significant that the publication hardly deals with the reasons for the laws which it attacks, namely that they are aimed at unlawful organizations, terrorism, and subversive and revolutionary activities aimed at the overthrow of the government by violent means. Nor does the publication give any information of the activities which led to the detention of the persons detained or of charges brought against them. It makes no mention of the revolutionary unrest in and around the Republic and it makes no allowance for the duty of the State to take extraordinary steps in defence of its security.'

(See, too, *Wits Student*, Feb no 2 and no 3 (15-16/78) 9-10.)

Yet instances of abuse of power by the police do exist. In 1977, in reply to a question by Mrs H. Suzman, MP, the Minister of Police stated that a total of 236 members of the police force had been convicted of forms of assault, culpable homicide and murder during 1976 (*House of Assembly, Questions and Answers* vol 70 cols 707-9 (23 March 1977)). Do the standards enunciated by the Publications Appeal Board preclude any comment on these facts?

(*With acknowledgement to the South African Law Journal*, vol 95, part IV, Dec 1978)

The State has acknowledged liability for the death in detention of Mr Joseph Mdluli and has agreed to pay a R15 000 out-of-court settlement to his widow, according to attorneys acting on her behalf.

THE STAR, 18/3/79

'The Government has often stated that reports putting the police in a bad light harm South Africa abroad.

'What they don't seem to understand is that it is police action, rather than reports on these actions, that harm the country.'

Mrs Helen Suzman, quoted in the RAND DAILY MAIL, 19/3/79

# Regional Round-up

*These Regional Reports have been severely curtailed. All the regions run Advice Offices which do not feature in these reports but which constitute a large proportion of the work done. All run fund-raising events which are an absolute necessity in order to keep the organisation functioning. And all do a great deal more work than can be reflected here.*

## HEADQUARTERS

**T**HIS has been a difficult year for South Africa and for the Black Sash. In these troubled times the Black Sash has continued to make its presence felt, despite the restrictions on protest through the application of the Riotous Assemblies Act, and despite the domestic difficulties resulting from the terms of the Fund Raising Act. I have no doubt that it will continue to do so.

### National campaigns

#### 1 THIRTY YEARS OF NATIONALIST RULE

The Government celebrated thirty years of rule in 1978. The Black Sash saw little cause for celebration and organised a campaign to highlight the pass to which the Government has brought our country. A well-known cartoonist kindly designed a logo entitled, 'Kyk Hoe Lyk Ons Nou', and this, together with a handout, was circulated throughout the country by all Regions. Cape Western drew up its own series of informative handouts which it distributed together with the logo. Letters were written to the Press.

#### 2 CAMPAIGN ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The campaign on the New Foreigners was incorporated in the campaign on the New Constitution as it was realised that the two issues are inseparable. Information on the New Foreigners will be included in the updated Memorandum on the Pass Laws.

#### 3 CAMPAIGN ON SQUATTERS

This was a difficult campaign to organise on a national scale as the problems differ from Region to Region though they share a common origin in all the laws governing labour and in the Government's housing policy. Accordingly letters were written to eleven Cabinet Ministers, including an apt quotation from the Book of Micah: 'Shame on those who lie in bed planning evil and wicked deeds and rise at daybreak to do them, knowing that they have the power! They covet land and take it by force; if they want a house they seize it; they rob a man of his home and steal every man's inheritance'.

Headquarters Region also distributed a handout; built a simulated shack based upon those in Crossroads which it erected at the PFP Fete with the kind permission of that Party; was re-

presented on the platform of two public meetings, and organised a deputation to Dr Piet Koornhof.

### Information scandal

When the Information scandal broke the Black Sash was deeply perturbed. A letter was written to the Press in praise of the courage of Judge Mostert and he himself received a letter of appreciation from the Black Sash. Our two vice-presidents and I personally delivered a letter to the Prime Minister into the hands of his personal secretary. Letters were written to SABC and TV on biased reporting and to newspapers and reporters congratulating them on their courage and action. A one-at-a-time demonstration was held in support of Judge Mostert and against cover-up.

### International Year of the Child

The Black Sash is now represented on two sub-committees for this and will consider further involvement.

### Bantu Welfare Trust

An allocation of R3 500 was received from the Donaldson Trust. It would be impossible for the Advice Offices to meet their running costs without the continued generosity of the Trust, to whom the Black Sash is extremely grateful.

### Advice Offices

There are seven Advice Offices in operation in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Pietermaritzburg, Durban, East London and Grahamstown.

### Cape Eastern Region

Although this Region regretfully decided to disband as a region it has since resuscitated itself as a branch of Albany, which is exceedingly good news.

### Mini Congress

Albany Region has organised a mini congress to be attended by Border and Cape Eastern on February 24, which I have been invited to attend. Such a display of enthusiasm from smaller Regions, which often find it difficult to function, is most encouraging and praiseworthy.

### Addresses by Headquarters office bearers

By virtue of her special knowledge and special ability Mrs Duncan receives the vast majority of invitations to speak in public.

She has addressed, among others, the Wits Law Students; the Institute of Race Relations; Johannesburg North Central Rotary; the Industrial Aid Society; Johannesburg South Rotary; Ghandian Centenary Committee Annual Meeting; Witkoppen School PTA; Human Awareness Programme; Nusas; Women for Peace; Woodmead School; and the Union of Jewish Women.

I have spoken to a public meeting in Cape Town when I launched Barbara Waite's map of removals, to Westerfield school at the same time, and to a group of American investors on the Black Sash, in addition to Black Sash meetings in other Regions.

### Public Relations

Headquarters is frequently in touch with organisations, individuals and members of the Government and other political parties on various issues. In addition to correspondence with the Prime Minister and other members of the Cabinet over the Information and Mostert affairs it has been in touch with the President of the Chamber of Mines over plans for riot control in mine compounds; with Mr Kruger over the banning of Dr Motlana; with Mr Marais Steyn on evictions under the Group Areas Act; with Dr Koornhof over squatters and the general problems of the black people; with the leaders of all opposition parties on a number of matters; with the French Embassy which requested information and with the Jewish Board of Deputies over the use of the word 'non-white'.

It has been in contact with the Cape Women's Movement; the Women's Legal Status Committee; Quaker Services; the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa; the Free Market Foundation; the Centre for Continuing Education; the American Information Office; the Leadership Exchange of America; the Youth Advice Bureau; the Open University for Education, Technology and Human Awareness; the Human Awareness Programme and the International Conference on Human Rights. It always works in close co-operation with the Institute of Race Relations.

Visits to the office by members of the overseas Press have resulted in articles in the Wall Street Journal, a Miami newspaper and the Christian Science Monitor. There may have been more.

The local Press is always co-operative and the Black Sash is deeply indebted to its members for constant support.

### Personal and personnel

The Black Sash mourns the deaths of *TERTIA PYBUS* and *BARBARA BROCK*, two very special ladies, who gave unstintingly in dedication and devotion over all the years the organisation has been in existence.

*BARBARA WAITE* — Barbara spent two very unhappy months in gaol for refusing to give evidence as a matter of principle. Members gave her

whatever support was possible and welcomed her warmly on her release. The Map on Removals for which she was responsible is now practically sold out — a real and very well-merited tribute to her.

*SHEENA DUNCAN* — Sheena was invited by the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute to visit Germany and participate in the conference on the possibility of peaceful change in South Africa. This was a remarkable tribute to a remarkable woman, whose knowledge regarding the laws affecting black people must surely be unique.

Joyce Harris

## ADDENUM TO THE HEADQUARTERS REPORT

Joyce has helped the National President in office for many years by writing the Headquarter's report. It is typical of her first year of office as President that she should have been landed with doing it again with no one to relieve her.

For one reason and another she has had a very heavy year and she has carried us all along with her usual dedication and efficiency, pushing us into action and doing it all herself when we refused to be pushed.

We are all very lucky to have her to lead us and we owe her our admiration, support and gratitude for all she has done to advance the work of the Black Sash.

Sheena Duncan

## ALBANY

Membership — about 38 paid-up members and about 10 non-members who help at the Advice Office

**WE** often feel that we are banging our heads against stone walls: an intractable government; a dull, uninformed, conservative and often frightened white electorate; an inaccessible, largely uneducated black and 'coloured' population here. We still have special problems in Grahams-town — the threat of removal of the Fingo villagers, an enormous backlog of housing, lack of industry and jobs, and very poor wages, BAAB which operates from Port Elizabeth and shortly will go through East London, and a very active and vigilant Special Branch.

Port Elizabeth has continued to be under our wing, but the time seems to have come to break away again. They have achieved several useful projects and have a good rapport with the Press. We are delighted to hear that there is an enthusiastic group in Alice who may start a small branch.

### Protests

Because of our need to obtain permission in advance we have had to stand singly on private property. Since August last year we have had

only one effective stand, on the steps of the Cathedral when a young man, Tabalaza, threw himself out of the window of the Security Police in Port Elizabeth. Our 'Death in Detention must stop' drew response from many passersby. We sent a suitable telegram to the Prime Minister over the scandalous Information affair. We also volunteered helpers to man the 'Charge van den Bergh' petition, but felt the issue should be handled by the Bar Council as it raised a legal issue of the first importance.

### Meetings

We aim to hold about eight meetings a year at which an informed paper is presented and discussed. We hope that by producing well-informed members, this information will filter through to others. Perhaps the most exciting achievement is the really expert knowledge now accumulated by the regular workers at the Advice Office who have dossiers on all aspects of maintenance grants, unemployment funds, etc. The most significant papers presented during the year were given by:

Mervyn Frost — on South Africa's position in world politics

Marian Lacey — Labour problems in South Africa can only be resolved when the Africans have bargaining power

Professor M. Whisson — Crossroads

Val Sullivan — Duncan Village removals, and a slide-tape show

Nancy Charton — Experiences in an Israeli Kibbutz — the merits of their socialism linked to Zionism

### Advice Office

This has become the most important of our activities. It started in a small way more than two years ago, and has become a very busy Saturday morning office, handling this year more than 1 600 cases — nearly 40 a day. The group of about 20 workers, led by Peggy McCoy and Rosemary van Wyk Smith, meets monthly to co-ordinate the operation, and the Saturday workers meet weekly on continuity of cases. It is a thankless and tiring job, especially as most of the workers are women with full-time jobs and homes to run. We hope to enlist some men soon!

### Detainees

I would like to tell you of the watchdog work done on the detainees we have had in the Grahamstown prison. Let me make it very clear that this has been done by a group who, though they are members of the Black Sash, were working as individuals, supported by the organization but independently funded. I would like to make a special mention of Kathy Satchwell who, sadly, has left us now. At one stage there were 16 detainees in the Grahamstown prison — the entire Black Consciousness leadership — and the last of these, Peter Jones, was released only this month. These prisoners were sent at least

one hot meal per week, a daily newspaper, magazines, books, games, radios, a TV set, film shows, regular pocket money for personal needs, and arrangements were made for private study. Kathy developed and maintained a regular correspondence with some, though she had never met them personally. This is surely a project which other branches could think about.

**Betty Davenport**

## CAPE WESTERN

**T**HIS has been a very busy year for us, and has been characterized by a greater involvement than ever of many members. This was due partly to the willingness of members to respond to calls for help among the squatter communities.

Practical help, like transport, work on surveys, the petition, the photographic exhibition, and their presence to monitor activities of police and inspectors have been an important contribution.

### National campaigns

This Region has played its part in three national campaigns during the year.

1 The first was the launching of the Map of Removals, the painstaking work of Barbara Waite, of Transvaal Region. We invited Barbara Waite to come to Cape Town to speak on the removals which have taken place in the attempt to implement the grand plan of apartheid. She was unable to do so and instead we asked Joyce Harris, as our newly elected National President, to visit us. Into the space of three days we crowded a general meeting, a public meeting, when Joyce was able to speak on the map and the removals it portrays, a lunch-hour talk to a school group, a Regional Council meeting, some time at the Advice Office and at Crossroads, a quick drive to Mitchell's Plain, and an interview with the Press.

Thanks to Sue Joynt, we produced an additional fact sheet on Group Areas Removals in the Cape. This and the map were reprinted in *Outlook* (May 1978), the map was reprinted in the *Argus* on March 14, 1978, and also in *Isilili* (Vol 2, No 1, July 1978), a quarterly journal on Architecture and Human Settlements produced by the School of Architecture of UCT. There continues to be a steady sale of copies of the map.

2 The next National Campaign, which followed immediately after the first, was the Black Sash assessment of where the Republic of South Africa stood after 30 years of National Party rule. We drew up a pamphlet on *The Price of Apartheid* and a series of fact sheets to back it up. 10 000 pamphlets were distributed by our members in the space of a week starting May 23, when we held a lunch for representatives of other organizations and the Press. As a result, I was invited to speak at a lunch-hour meeting of the Students' Liberal Society at UCT on May 30.

3 The third National Campaign proposed at National Conference was on squatter communities.

Black Sash members from all branches were involved in helping and supporting the homeless squatters after the demolition of Unibell camp which took place January 16-20, 1978. Crossroads remains and members continue to support the community in their effort to remain where they are.

Pockets of squatters exist in various parts of the Peninsula and people from these areas are among the large number of squatters who visit the Athlone Advice Office.

The overall situation of squatter camps both African and 'coloured' is being watched by the Veritas committee which includes two Black Sash members.

### **Local government**

We continue to have members in regular attendance at City and Divisional Council meetings and at the courts in Langa, and believe that this often boring and depressing task is an important one. The presence of our members at the Langa court appears to have had directly measurable results. When they reported the appearance in court of minors who had been detained awaiting trial, this was taken up with the authorities, and for a considerable time no further arrests and detention of young teenagers appear to have taken place.

At the first meeting of the Cape Peninsula BAAB (as it was then still called) meeting after the demolition of Unibell, a delegation of Regional Councillors was present and received permission from the chairman to make the following statement:

'This meeting of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board (Peninsula area) takes place in the wake of the Unibell squatter camp demolitions, in which some 2 000 families were uprooted. The prosperity of Cape Town as a whole and therefore of the "Coloured" people who are meant to be protected by the "Coloured" Labour Preference Area Policy depends on the contribution of African workers whose wives and families are not allowed to live with them.

We believe that this policy towards Africans in the Western Cape is neither morally justifiable nor, in the long run, economically viable.

We are therefore compelled to register our protest against the policy and to you as an instrument for implementing that policy.'

### **Deaths in detention**

Announcements are placed in the *In Memoriam* column of the Press on the anniversary of each known death in detention. The book of remembrance is in St George's Cathedral for signatures on the Sunday nearest to each anniversary.

### **Contact with other organizations**

We value highly our continued contact with other organizations — the Civil Rights League,

the Institute of Race Relations, the Women's Movement, the National Council of Women, Nicro, and the Cape Flats Committee for Interim Accommodation which has now ceased to exist, but which filled a vital role. We are glad that many of its staff joined the Veritas sub-committee of the Western Province Council of Churches and are doing important community work. The Institute of Race Relations' co-operation was greatly appreciated when we decided we must move the Athlone Advice Office out of the ex-Christian Institute building. We have been made welcome at No 5 Long Street and the new arrangements are working smoothly.

### **Activities**

We held a public meeting on October 21, 1977, jointly with other organizations to protest against the detentions and bannings, and held a one-woman stand at the same time. On October 19 this year we held one-woman stands throughout the Peninsula, holding posters reading 'October 19th — Remember the Banned and Detained'.

We participated in a meeting of concerned organizations to discuss the Fund-Raising Bill, the Welfare Bill and the Social Workers' Bill (now all Acts).

### **General meetings**

December 1977: Dr Robert Schrire of the Department of Political Science at UCT on 'Political Trends'

March 1978: Ilse Treurnicht, Willy du Preez, Nick Fine and Karel Jooste of the SRC of Stellenbosch

May: Paul Andrew (with Joyce Harris as a guest)

June: Daphne Venturas on 'Economics for Beginners'

August (morning): Mr Talipe and Mr van Biljon on the work of CAFDA

August (evening): Mr Tony Robinson of the Cape Times, and Mr Clive Keegan, candidate for City Council election, on municipal affairs

September: Dr A Borraine, on South Africa and International Relations

October: Prof J. van Rooyen of Nicro and Department of Criminology of UCT.

### **Branch meetings**

Some of the speakers at branch meetings have been:

Anne Field on the work of Tembaletu centre for handicapped African children

Janet Graff on 'Crossroads Upgrade — a housing alternative'

Dr Simon Bekker, of Stellenbosch University  
Christopher Saunders — history of African residence in the Cape.

Rondebosch branch held one meeting at the Maryland Centre to see its work at first hand.

### **Conclusion**

A draft Education and Training Bill (to replace the Bantu Education Act) was published last year, and after considering it, we submitted a

memorandum to the Secretary of the Department.

We continue to be perturbed at the high cost black parents face for their children's education. It appears that in fact children are receiving free text books, though there may be an inadequate supply, but stationery, set books and uniforms are a heavy expense.

The Athlone Advice Office has Susan Philcox as organizer since Barbara Versfeld resigned at the end of January. We miss Barbara greatly, but feel she has more than earned her respite from this demanding work, and we are glad to know we can continue to rely on her as a member.

An important decision taken recently was to lodge an Appellate Divisional appeal for the Komanani case. This may and probably will entail very heavy expenditure (we have already had to deposit R2 500 with the Appellate Board) but the Regional Council decided it was too important a case to let fall at the last hurdle.

As from this week I have resigned from the chairmanship of the region, and I am happy to announce that Joan Grover has been elected by the Regional Council to take over. I am sure all members will give her the same help and encouragement as I have been able to depend on. It has been a great privilege to represent the Black Sash for these past years.

**Mary Burton**

## **NATAL COASTAL**

**Membership** — 89 ordinary, 3 associate, 3 honorary  
**I**T is very difficult to analyse the past year's activities in terms of effectiveness or real achievement. Perhaps it is time for Sash to do an in-depth analysis of its aims and objectives and of how best to use the people power we have.

Perhaps we have in the past devoted too much time to trying to persuade members to change their attitudes and life style in preparation and by way of example for the just society we hope to achieve. By virtue of their membership they have indicated a desire to work for change and thus we should set about harnessing their talents and commitment to the numerous projects and interests that Sash is involved in. To make our organization more dynamic and forceful we need to embark on a membership drive.

### **The Highway Branch**

The Highway Branch has submitted its own report.

### **General meetings**

General meetings were held in April, June, July, October and January 1979. The attendance at these meetings has been disappointingly poor. It would seem that there is a need to cater for

working members and those who have small children. At our April meeting, Beth Franklin gave an excellent paper on the 'New Criminal Procedures Act' and Jay Williams did a slide tape presentation on 'Housing in the Greater Durban Area'. This set the tone for our housing campaign. In July Paddy Kearney of Diakonia gave a talk on 'Self-taxation' and put forward a whole new concept of alternatives and sharing.

### **Evening meetings**

Evening meetings are always addressed by an invited speaker. These have had better attendances but as no Sash business is discussed, members who cannot attend the morning meetings are unable to become fully involved in Sash's activities. We have had some excellent talks and discussions at these meetings.

In May Alec Erwin, from the Dept of Economics, Natal University, spoke on 'Different Economic Systems', which was followed by a working programme lead by Tony Morphet of the University Extension Unit. We experimented in group dynamics and it proved to be a very stimulating evening.

In July we had a combined meeting with the Institute of Race Relations where Professor L. Schlemmer and Mr Dhlomo spoke on the Freiburg Conference on 'Peaceful Change in South Africa'.

In August Mr D. Grice addressed us on 'Disinvestment — for or against', which gave a good balance to our previous talks and provided much food for thought.

In September Dr J. Moulder spoke on 'Conscientious Objection'.

In November Mr Ray Swart, MP, talked about his recent trip to the USA.

### **Campaigns**

1 The campaign on the 30 years of Nationalist rule was not very successful in our region. As Sash, we had no Press support on this, although we did distribute a good many pamphlets and logos everywhere.

2 The Housing campaign involved a much fuller and lengthier programme culminating in a photographic exhibition which was the result of a combined effort by Sash, WPCN, NCW, Diakonia, and the UF and the University of Natal. This ran for two weeks from November 12, 1978, and Paul Andrews, Stephen Barden and Errol Haarhoff presented some excellent material by way of slide tape presentations on spontaneous settlements and there were also talks by a City Councillor, the Phoenix Working Committee and the KwaZulu Minister for the Interior, Dr F. T. Mdlalose. The exhibition was not supported as well as we had hoped. However, in retrospect, it certainly was educative and with the Clermont removals 'blowing up' at that time, I think public awareness was created.

3 We have not as yet done very much on the New Constitution.

## Housing

Jay Williams was instrumental in forming a Co-ordination Committee involving Sash, WPCN, NCW and Diakonia. This group met fairly regularly to formulate programmes for action in crisis situations, to discuss strategies and to delegate involvement in housing issues in the Greater Durban Area so that the organizations represented do not overlap and duplicate their activities. We have met Dr Jan Marais, MP, various officials, and written numerous letters of protest. We hope to continue this committee in 1979.

- The Richmond Farm demolitions resulted in our discovery of the Squatter Court procedures in Durban. We tried monitoring these sessions but were unsuccessful because of the 300 odd summonses issued, only a few came to court and by the time we became involved and managed to muster legal assistance for the people being charged, their cases were already finalized. However we have drawn up a questionnaire 'guide line' for future squatter court cases and have kept a watchful eye on these courts.

- Crossroads — After the police raids and shootings at Crossroads in September, we staged a one-man stand on the Post Office steps with a poster reading 'Crossroads today — SA's solution? Guns'. This was a very successful demonstration in which Archbishop D. Hurley, Rabbi S. Franklin, the PFP, WPCN and the SRC all participated. Our members made use of the Crossroads slides wherever possible and we responded to all negative reports on Crossroads, either by letters or personal visits to newspaper editors.

- The Phoenix anti-autonomy campaign resulted in our sending a memorandum in support of the Phoenix Working Committee's stand to the Administrator of Natal. Sash is also legally represented in the hearings which are still taking place. (Phoenix is a township for Indian residence. The authorities suddenly decided that the area should be autonomous without consulting the residents.)

- Clermont — The demolitions which took place in November sparked off a whole series of action by many different organizations and people. After Jay Williams and I, with the assistance of the Press, had highlighted the plight of the people, we were able to step back and watch everyone else take over! The response has been fantastic from MPs, MPCs, Service Organizations, employer organizations, churches and the Pinetown Municipality, etc. Hopefully, something positive and permanent for Clermont residents will result from this.

- Malukazi — There is only one tap with four outlets serving this community of 20 000 people. We have made representation to the KwaZulu Government about this and the pending demolition of the squatter dwellings, but to no avail.

## The Discussion Groups

The discussion groups between high school children and members of the Highway Branch continue to

be held periodically. These have a great deal of value and potential, even if at times they seem unsuccessful.

## Stands and protest

We have held only one one-man stand this year, on Crossroads. In November 1978 we applied for 'blanket' permission to hold stands daily between noon and 2 pm for four weeks on housing injustices. Prior to this the Durban City Council had passed a resolution extending the period of notification of protests, stands, etc., from seven to 14 days minimum. We went to see the Town Clerk on this issue and were assured that our applications would be dealt with speedily from the City Council's side. However, he could not account for delays once our applications had been passed onto the Magistrate and the South African Police. We then paid Brigadier Smit of the SAP a visit and he proved to be totally uncooperative and very belligerent, so it is quite obvious that any chances of staging emergency stands are extremely remote. I have asked counsel for a legal opinion on our ability to hold one-man stands spontaneously. The opinion is seemingly in our favour though somewhat inconclusive.

Sash participated in a service of Intercession for the people of Crossroads and in a special Mass offered for the 19 detained Young Christian Workers. Those were both held at the Emmanuel Cathedral.

## Detainees and trials

In May 1978, Margaret Ambler and Patty Geerdts visited Col Stadler (head of Security Police in Durban) about people being held in detention without trial etc. While they felt at the time that it was a depressing and fruitless interview, we have resolved to repeat this exercise again in 1979, bearing in mind that we must use all means available to us to continue protesting about the injustices of our society.

- In October 1978, Mrs Ann Colvin monitored the trial of the three policemen convicted for the murder of Mr Ncane while he was in detention awaiting trial on a charge of theft.

- Patty Geerdts arranged for Sash members to provide food parcels for Mr C. Khanyi, an awaiting trial prisoner, until his conviction in August 1978.

- Patty Geerdts and her sub-committee have been maintaining contact with families of detainees and with banned people in Durban and the surrounding areas. We had hoped to liaise with Dependents' Conference on this issue, but have not been successful so far.

- A Prisoners' Education Committee was formed in January 1979, with representatives from various organizations including Sash, legal bodies, education and church groups, etc. This group is hoping to launch a campaign at National level on the 'Prisoner's Right to Study' without his having first to make application to the Commissioner of Prison, who has the power of veto.

## Unemployment

Sash was represented on the Durban Unemployment Relief Association which eventually petered out.

As a result of the Clermont Crisis, a Crisis Employment Committee has been formed, on which Sash is represented. This is still in the embryonic stage but, hopefully, having learnt from DURA's mistakes, something positive will come out of this committee.

Diakonia has an ongoing consultative unemployment committee on which Sash is represented.

In December 1978, the beach-front bead-sellers were arrested and fined for trading without licences. Margaret Ambler and Ingrid Stewart have been instrumental in forming an action committee with these workers and other organizations.

We sent a telegram to Dr P. Koornhof congratulating him on his portfolio as Minister of Plural Relations and urging him to consider the housing crisis as a priority.

**Solveig Piper**

## Highway branch

Membership — 20

AS usual, we have been engaged throughout the year on fund-raising activities to support the Durban Advice Office.

Discussion Groups for pupils from schools for three race groups have continued to be most successful and worthwhile. Speakers have been arranged on some occasions and on others a social evening.

The Branch has visited townships in the area to see conditions. Members have attended the Squatter Court hearings and also helped at the Photographic Exhibition on Housing in Durban in November.

In September last year we sent a cheque for R100 to the Crossroads Relief Fund.

**Sarah Burns**

## NATAL MIDLANDS

Membership — 5 associate members and 64 ordinary members

### Meetings

FIVE general and six executive meetings were held during the year. At a general meeting in October Mike Hickson of the University Economics Department spoke on Economic Alternatives. This was a very successful meeting which resulted in vigorous discussion.

### Demonstrations

1 The Region demonstrated about 30 years of Nationalist rule. 500 pamphlets and logos were distributed. Our polystyrene lady stood opposite the City Hall with a poster reading '1948-1978. The Great Trek Backwards'.

2 On September 22, 1978, the Region demonstrated about Crossroads with a one-woman-at-a-time stand. The poster read 'Don't Destroy Homes and Families, save Crossroads'. A picture appeared in the Press. A uniformed policeman informed Mary Park Ross that the stand was illegal and said he had received a complaint. He said a bye-law was infringed. Having ascertained that this was incorrect Bunty Biggs and then Peter Kerchhoff continued the stand.

3 When Natal Coastal were demonstrating about removals at Clermont the chairman contacted that Region to offer our help. We then wired Piet Koornhof and wrote an official letter to the Chief Commissioner of Bantu Affairs, Mr van der Watt. Individual members wrote to the Natal Witness.

### Curfew

This subject has become a perennial. The chairman made a statement to the Natal Witness about it. Members have written to the Press on the subject. Mr Nel, who is to take over the Bantu Affairs Board in April, has said he will review the subject.

**Mary Corrigan**

## TRANSVAAL

THE Transvaal General Purposes Committee is composed of a mixed bunch of women, welded together by the common purpose they have found in the Black Sash. It operates in an informal — some would say chaotic — fashion, and yet produces not only some results, but strong bonds of affection and friendship, a willingness to step into other people's shoes, and a great deal of sympathy and understanding for the foibles and weaknesses of the current chairman. It is invidious to select one of these many people for special mention but Jill Wentzel has been 'master of all trades' under particularly harrowing personal circumstances, has been secretary, chairman, vice-chairman, office organiser and chivvier. Without her little would have been achieved this year. Joyce Harris is a continual source of inspiration to us all. Sheena Duncan, together with Elizabeth Rowe, continue to head the advice office. Would that their work were given the recognition in South Africa that it has abroad. Fortunately Sheena and Elizabeth have some new helpers who are able in part to take some of the burden from them.

### Office

We have been asked to find other premises and are battling to find accommodation large enough and cheap enough to house both the Advice Office and national and regional offices. It is a sad reflection on the white South African property owner that no one seems prepared to house this very necessary service. Our office staff with the addition of Bridget Phakathi continue to function in a friendly and efficient manner despite



the ever-increasing length of their hours and the continually greater pressures under which they work.

### **Pretoria Branch**

A separate report is being tabled. We can do no less though than express our admiration for this gallant small band who run an information service and endeavour to keep together despite the climate of hostility in the capital.

### **General meetings**

The annual general meeting was addressed by Mr Tom Lodge on 'The History of Black Leadership in South Africa'. In May, Mr Benjamin Pogrand spoke on 'After Thirty Years of Nationalist Rule'. In June, Mr Jaap Strydom, Regional Director of Bantu Education, spoke on 'Education in Soweto'.

The July meeting was addressed by Mr Leon Louw of the Free Market Foundation.

Helen Suzman addressed the September meeting on 'South West Africa'. Two regional conferences were held, one in November and one in February. In addition, a special national conference took place in Johannesburg in July. General meetings are on the whole well attended.

### **Action groups**

These have somewhat sadly fallen away. Unfortunately many of our younger members have been forced by economic circumstances into taking jobs and the work of the groups is done by the committee as a whole.

### **Saturday Club**

Esther Levitan reports that the club meets as always on the second Saturday of every month. Membership of the club has grown considerably over the last year and ties of friendship have been strengthened. Meetings take place in the homes of members — one this year in Eldorado Park, a 'coloured' area, one in Soweto and one in Daveyton, a black suburb of Benoni. At meetings in these areas new members come out of curiosity and remain steadfast members of the club. Speakers at meetings this year have included Sheena Duncan on the Freiburg Conference and Percy Qoboza. A group of young entertainers visited the club and have asked that they be invited again. Every third meeting includes the children of members and a happy picnic took place at the Zoo Lake. The club collects money at every meeting, more and more every time, despite the cost of living, and sends parcels to detainees or political prisoners at Christmas.

### **Education**

After a talk by Mr Jaap Strydom his invitation to visit Soweto schools was accepted and several members visited Soweto in October. Attempts were made during the year to keep in touch with black teachers, especially in view of the draft Education Bill. Unfortunately, internal politicking among the teachers has made it increasingly

difficult to obtain a balanced view of Soweto objections to the draft bill. We sent a telegram instead of a memorandum as comment on the draft bill as we in the Transvaal feel strongly that there should be only one education policy for all the children of South Africa.

### **Housing**

Joyce Harris wrote to the West Rand Board about conditions in the Dube Hostel, especially in view of the large income from rentals. Only an acknowledgement but no explanation has been received.

### **'Coloured' housing**

The survey presented at last year's conference created a furore at a meeting of the City Council this year. We had long-awaited comment from the Department of Coloured and Asian Affairs on



*Mr and Mrs Naidu on the pavement after their eviction*  
THE STAR, 9/3/78

our survey, when a Prog-Fed City Councillor used our survey to illustrate a point in her argument about 'coloured' housing. Dr Jammie, the retiring head of the department, was officially forbidden to communicate with us by the chairman of management.

### **Evictions: Hillbrow, Mayfair and Pageview**

Several coloured and Indian families living in white areas were evicted, some convicted and fined under the Group Areas Act and evictions are still taking place almost daily. The National Front

played a leading role in instigating the Hillbrow evictions and many people were thrown out by panicky landlords. City Council are able to help 'coloured' but not Indian families as Community Development controls Indian housing in our area. The head official of the Department of Community Development was visited by Mrs Harris and Mrs van der Knaap. Unfortunately he passed the buck to Pretoria. Mrs Harris wrote to *The Star*, comparing the aims of the Broederbond and the National Front, and pointed out the similarities. We have lobbied City Councillors and Women for Peace on this matter and together with Actstop (an action committee headed by Mr Saloojee) have maintained a vigil with the Naidu family and families threatened with evictions.

### **Unemployment**

Attempts have been made throughout the year to focus public attention on the grave unemployment situation. Not surprisingly SABC TV resisted Mrs Harris' suggestion that a programme focussing on the problem be screened. Attempts have been made, too, to persuade City Council to employ people on relief work but without success.

### **Justice**

The Sash has fed people in detention in the Fort and also the accused in the SSRC trial.

A section 29 court roster was instituted and the court monitored in the first week of July.

### **The one-month ban on Dr Motlana**

A letter was sent to Minister Kruger protesting this banning and a one-at-a-time demonstration organised.

### **SSRC trial**

This was monitored when possible. The accused are always delighted to welcome the Black Sash and indeed sent us a hand-made Christmas card expressing their feeling for the Sash.

### **Publicity**

Literally dozens of letters by Sash members have been published in *The Star* and the *Rand Daily Mail*. The Sash receives frequent mention in the *Financial Mail* and in *Post*. Overseas papers have published articles about the Sash. Statements have been asked for and published on a variety of issues : foreign investment, housing, bannings, and evictions as well as UIF, Workmen's Compensation and unemployment. We have even been mentioned in articles in English popular women's magazines. We are investigating the making and use of a videotape on the Advice Office with the cooperation of the human awareness programme.

**Gita Dyzenhaus**

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## **Court attendances**

**W**HILE court visiting can be monotonous and at times very depressing, we do feel that it is important to know what is happening in the Bantu Commissioners' Courts. During the last two years we have had four regular observers. Ideally there should be volunteers attending daily but this has not been possible.

In July 1978, the court moved to a new building situated on the outskirts of Langa. The building is a vast improvement on the very dilapidated old one. A new black prosecutor was appointed, as on busy mornings there are two courts in operation, and as a result more time can be spent on each case, although it is still possible for cases to go through at the rate of one every two minutes.

Most people are charged under :

### **Section 10(4) of the Bantu Urban Areas Act No. 25 of 1945**

with being illegally in the prescribed area. (i.e. For remaining for longer than 72 hours without permission.) Transkeians are allowed to remain 14 days from the date of entry. Sometimes there is no endorsement in the Travel Document of a Transkeian. In these cases the charge is withdrawn and the date stamped in by the prosecutor. The usual sentence is R50 or 50 days. Relatives or friends may pay the fine at the court any time before the prisoners are taken to jail, usually at about 3.00 p.m.

### **Section 15 of the Abolition of Passes Act of 1952**

The charges under this act are not producing a Reference Book or Travel document when asked to do so. The fine is R5 or 10 days.

A number of juveniles (under 16 years) have been appearing at Langa. These cases are stood down and heard *in camera* after the court has risen.

### **Section 10 of the Bantu Labour Act, No. 67 of 1964**

Men are charged with failing to register within three days of becoming unemployed. The usual fine is R30 or 30 days. Most people plead guilty and are then asked if they have anything to say. They prefer to pay the fine and get back to their families rather than have the case remanded, nearly always in custody at Pollsmoor and in some cases up to 14 days if fingerprints have to be sent to Pretoria.

On a busy day there might be 80 to 90 cases and on other days only a dozen or so. The increase in the number of women appearing has been very noticeable — some of them with babies and looking very distressed.

Various reasons are given for being in the Western Cape. Mainly to look for work or for a wife to live with her husband. Often it is to bring a sick child to hospital or to attend a

clinic or see a doctor. Sometimes it is to visit or fetch a relative or attend a funeral.

The latest official statistics that I could find regarding court appearances are from Hansard No. 9 of 1978. 12 006 persons were tried and 10 074 persons were convicted of offences relating to influx control and identity documents in the Langa Commissioner's Court in 1977. This was an average of 46 a day. There is no indication as to how many of these were women.

We had a busy time during the two raids on Crossroads in September 1978, when over 800 people were arrested and appeared in the court in droves. We also had observers in the Athlone Court where 58 men were charged with 'harbouring' their wives. Crossroads residents were transported to and from the courts and food was provided for those being held. It is estimated that this community paid about R40 000 in fines and underlines the appalling waste of money — money taken from those people who can least afford it.

All observers feel that there are many reasons why it is important for us to visit the courts:

- to represent the public in the courts, which are open.
- to educate ourselves about the operation of the courts and the laws involved.
- to inform the accused of assistance they might receive from the Advice Office, after the completion of the case.
- to give moral support to attorneys when they defend Advice Office cases.
- to inform the Advice Office of any irregularities which need looking into, such as prosecution of juveniles.

We remain convinced by our own observations that the overriding concern remains the laws which apply to one section of the population only and which give rise to perpetual insecurity, financial loss, harrassment and humiliation.

**DIANA RATCLIFFE**

## **Dossier of deaths in detention since 1976**

JOSEPH MDLULI  
MAPETLA MOHAPI  
LUKE MAZWEMBE  
DUMISANI MBATHA  
CALEB MAYEKISO  
EDWARD MZOLO  
WILLIAM NAMODI TSHWANE  
ERNEST MAMASILA  
WELLINGTON MLUNGISI TSHAZIBANE  
GEORGE BOTHA  
DR NANAOTH NTSHUNTSHA  
LAWRENCE NDZANGA  
THELO MOSALA  
ELMON MALELE  
MATTHEWS MABELANE  
TSWAFIFENE JOYI  
SAMUEL MALINGA  
AARON KHOZA  
PHAKAMILE MABIJA  
ELIJAH LOZA  
HOOSSEN HAFJEJEE  
BAYEMPIN MZIZI  
STEVE BIKO  
BONAVENTURE MALAZA  
LUNGILE TABALAZA  
JACOB MASHABANE  
FENUAL MOGATUSI

## **Education Administrator for Rural Learning Centre**

Mdukatshani, an agricultural education and development project bordering on KwaZulu, is looking for somebody to administer and co-ordinate its Education Programme.

The Programme is wide-ranging, covering both elementary and adult education and includes agricultural, general education and literacy courses.

The job will involve helping to develop the programme, general administration and co-ordination, fund-raising and public relations. Experience in development education and ability to speak Zulu would both be recommendations. Maturity, the ability to work well with people, enthusiasm and a willingness to commit oneself to the job and contribute actively to the development of the total project are essential.

Applicants must be prepared to make a minimum commitment of one year and live on a farm labourer's wages. Fringe benefits are less tangible but substantial — interesting people to work with and learn from, beautiful surroundings and the opportunity to experience at first-hand the problems and priorities of the rural areas in South Africa.

The job needs to be filled as early as possible. Please write, stating qualifications, to:

THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE  
MDUKATSHANI  
P.O. BOX 37, WEENEN 3325, NATAL

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SA ISSN 0036-4843

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.

All political comment in this issue, except when otherwise stated, by J. Sahli, of 56 Victory House, 34 Harrison Street, Johannesburg 2001. Cartoons by courtesy of Bob Connolly and the Rand Daily Mail.

Published by the Black Sash, 56 Victory House, 34 Harrison Street, Johannesburg 2001, and printed by Pacific Press, 302 Fox Street, Jeppestown 2094, Johannesburg.

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