

May 1980

Conference issue

SASH



Presidential address ... 1

JOYCE HARRIS

**Resolutions adopted at
National Conference . 7**

Regional Reports 9

**Polarised South African
society 20**

BISHOP DESMOND TUTU

**Prospects for peaceful
change in the 1980s . 24**

CARTER EBRAHIM

The Black Sash magazine

Price: 60c

Vol. 22, No. 1

Presidential address

Joyce Harris

IN MAY THIS YEAR the Black Sash will celebrate its 25th birthday. Whether or not this is cause for jubilation is a moot point.

Our founders were incensed by the immorality of the Senate Act in 1955, and since that time our aims and objects have always been to enlist support and aid for the observance of political morality and the principles of parliamentary democracy within the Republic of South Africa; and to strive to secure the recognition and protection by law of human rights and liberties.

That we should still be striving to achieve these aims after 25 years is a sad reflection upon conditions in our country.

Restrictive laws have increasingly circumscribed the methods of protest available to us and limited their effectiveness, but we have not lost heart.

For 25 years we have viewed the status quo as immoral, unjust, exploitative and excessively wasteful of money and people, and have therefore always striven for peaceful change.

At long last there appears to be a growing number of people who recognise the urgent need for change, including members of the Government, and it is about change that I wish to speak tonight.

The concept of change is not a simple one. It does not occur in a vacuum, but arises out of a specific situation. Motivation is an essential ingredient — the whole question of cause and effect, action and reaction.

There is the perception of change, for it often exists in the eye of one beholder



Mrs Joyce Harris

and not in that of another. There are the strategies of change, which can and do give rise to conflict. And there are the results of change which are almost impossible to prognosticate but which can never be uniform for all sections of the population.

The climate is one of fear — by the white minority of the black majority; by whites in South Africa of the growing pressures of liberated black countries on its borders; by all dissenting people in the country because of the loss of habeas corpus, and of confidence in the due process of law, which is not permitted to operate; and by all white people because they may reap the whirlwind they have sown and because they feel they have become expendable in the eyes of the outside world.

The conditions are those of a country tragically divided against itself, separated into racial and ethnic groups with in-group solidarity, out-group hostility, conflicting interests, mounting tensions. They are those of a privileged white minority en-

joying the accident of skin colour; of an economy in the grip of inflation which is aggravated by the very high cost of administering government policy involving the unproductive employment of a large percentage of the working force, and the under- or unemployment of a vast potential working force; and of an in-built, dissatisfied, potentially dissident majority.

Before discussing the various aspects of change it might be helpful to examine the changes which have taken place during Mr P. W. Botha's term of office.

The findings of the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions have been given qualified effect. More security, improved opportunities and a potentially better life style have been afforded that relatively small percentage of the African people who qualify under Section 10(1)(a) and (b) of the Urban Areas Act. But Section 10 rights are being phased out as homelands become independent and the concessions will apply to a diminishing number of people. Trade Union facilities have been made available to blacks subject to a variety of restrictions, which some trade unionists feel will weaken rather than strengthen black trade unions.

Some hotels have been opened to all racial groups, though with the retention of certain restrictions, and provision has been made for the granting of once-only permits for the admission of all race groups to hotels, theatres and restaurants but not to cinemas, residential areas and schools.

A three-months moratorium was declared in all areas with the exception of the Western Cape to counteract the immense distress caused by the implementation of the regulation decreeing a fine of up to R500 on employers of illegal labour.

Community Councils have been granted increased powers, and townships are to be opened to white capital providing blacks own 51 per cent of the shares. Recently the Prime Minister has spoken of a broadly representative President's Council to devise a new constitution.

The Prime Minister has expressed his willingness to consider alterations to the

Immorality Act to make its administration more humane, and to consider land allocation to the 'homelands' over and beyond the limits set by the 1936 Land Act, having appointed the Van Der Walt Commission to investigate the consolidation of the 'homelands'. He has also appointed a Cabinet Committee to examine the future of urban blacks.

Crossroads was not demolished and Alexandra is to provide family as well as hostel accommodation, though residents in both these areas must conform with the requirements of Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act.

The Schlebusch Commission was appointed to hear and examine opinions on a new Constitution for South Africa and the Rabie Commission to examine security legislation.

District Six is apparently to be finally lost to the coloured people despite protest from all sections of the Cape Town community.

Venda has become independent, swelling the ranks of those millions who have been forcibly deprived of their South African citizenship.

Unisa's Market Research Bureau claims that 78 per cent, R147 million of Bophutswana's residents' incomes was earned in South Africa in 1977 and most of the buying was done outside Bophutswana. Four-fifths of Venda's total income is earned in the PWV area.

The homelands average national income per capita climbed from R101 in 1970 to R253 in 1975. But of this only R32 in 1970 and R73 in 1975 was income generated within the homelands. The rest comprised the earnings of commuters and migrant labour, most of which was spent in 'white' areas... Only 14 per cent of all blacks found employment in the homelands between 1972 and 1975... An estimated 40 per cent or more of all economically active black men are migrant workers. Besides being socially harsh this practice deprives the homelands of the younger and better educated workers.

Assessments of black unemployment vary from little over 500 000 to over two million, requiring job creation at a rate of over 200 000 a year to contain it. 5,3 per cent of the South African labour force has completed secondary school and only one in five have completed even primary school.

While employers could still get away with employing blacks illegally, workers were able to benefit from urban job opportunities even if they had to go to jail as a consequence. A worker coming from Lebowa to Johannesburg improved his living standard by 255 per cent a year even if he spent three months in jail; by 170 per cent if he spent six months in jail; and by 85 per cent if he spent nine months in jail. (Dr Jan de Lange.)

Food consumption has dropped alarmingly since 1977. Despite a population increase of three per cent per year retail trade sales for the Department of Statistics show that the volume of food sales has been declining at an average rate of 5,7 per cent a year.

Dr Erica Theron has called for a review of the Group Areas Act. Up to the end of 1978 374 990 coloured people, 172 156 Asiatics and 8 299 whites had been resettled under the Act.

In spite of enabling legislation — Section 21.3 of the Group Areas Act — not a single permit has been granted to people other than white to live in central Johannesburg. More than 200 'non-whites' applied but the Department of Community Development has evidently seen no 'merit' in any of them.

An estimated 7 000 to 15 000 coloureds and Indians are on the housing backlog. Meanwhile there are an estimated 3 000 people in Johannesburg who could face prosecution under the Group Areas Act for living illegally in white areas and Act-stop has nearly 500 files of people facing prosecution, and this when accommodation in 'white' areas is either standing vacant or being occupied illegally.

The housing backlog in Soweto has worsened since the West Rand Adminis-

tration Board took over in 1973. The Urban Foundation has estimated that a staggering 32 000 dwelling units are needed immediately to eliminate overcrowding in Soweto. Population growth there has far outstripped the mere 2 743 houses built by WRAB since 1973. This means an average provision of 457 houses a year for an estimated population of 1,2 to 1,5 million, plus the natural increase.

Officials put the housing backlog outside the homelands at around 200 000. Just to get rid of this would cost over R1 billion. . . . David Dewar and George Ellis have estimated that in Durban there are 350 000 squatters; in Pietermaritzburg 265 000 blacks live in sub-standard conditions; and, in the Winterveld area near Pretoria, there are at least 250 000 squatters. Later estimates range from 250 000 to 750 000 non-Tswanas in Winterveld.

Detentions without trial, particularly of black leaders, continue unabated — the detentions of the PEBCO leaders being a recent example.

More than 300 people were detained and 78 others convicted under South Africa's security laws in 1979, according to the Institute of Race Relations.

Professor A. S. Matthews, professor of law at Natal University, has said that he opts for a definition of the rule of law as the legal protection of civil rights. 'It is quite clear in present-day South Africa that the rule of law is no longer honoured . . . Under the present dispensation it is the blacks who feel the need of civil rights and the rule of law. By the end of the '80s the rules could well be reversed so that whites rather than blacks will crave the protection that these institutions afford against the despotic tendencies of political man'.

In the opening salvos of the 1980 session of Parliament Mr Heunis said, 'Of course expectations have been created. But there is a qualification — that they must be reasonable. Not all can be fulfilled'.

Mr F. W. De Klerk said, 'The opposition is trying to make out as if the National

Party is moving away from its stated policies. This is in fact not so'.

Change, they say, must be possible and reasonable — possible and reasonable in whose eyes, in whose perceptions, in whose interests? The Government indicates it does not intend to deviate from its fundamental philosophy, yet that is precisely the point at which radical change is most urgently needed.

It would be wise to tune its antennae into black reactions rather than white backlash, for it desperately needs to establish its bona fides and its credibility in the black community.

I concede that peaceful change must of necessity be gradual, and that a start must be made somewhere, nevertheless in the absence of a firm commitment on the part of the Government eventually to scrap the Pass Laws and permit freedom of movement there can be no satisfaction for blacks in this token gesture.

Only threats to the status quo are likely to shake the haves out of their well-cushioned lethargy, and presumably it is the recognition of these threats which has prompted our present prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, to talk of the need for change, and to institute such changes as have already occurred. Until very recently Nationalist ideology has steadfastly turned its back upon all appeals for change, whether they have been reasoned and peaceable or have taken a more violent form.

On the other hand change is in the very obvious interests of the powerless and the oppressed. People whose lives are ruled by influx control and efflux enforcement; people who have been subjected to or are being threatened with enforced removals from areas where their families may have lived for generations in stable and well-established communities to some 'homeland' which is totally unfamiliar to them; people who are not permitted to sell their labour on the best market but are compelled to languish and starve with their families in the so-called 'homelands' until their labour is requisitioned on an annual contract; people whose family life is

broken up and disrupted; people who are deprived of their South African citizenship and their share in the total wealth of the country which they have helped to create; people who have no meaningful control over the manner in which they are governed; people who have been denied adequate education or the facilities to realise their own potential in skilled and well-paid jobs; people to whom the status quo offers little for their comfort; such people do not have to be mobilised to opt for change.

Coming now to differences in the perceptions of change, these give rise to widely divergent interpretations of what constitutes change — its meaning, its relevance, its value — which are in turn dependent upon the perception of goals.

Mr Stoffel Van Der Merwe, of the Rand Afrikaans University, has agreed that there are differing perceptions and goals, and that what is functional for some is not so for others. He has described the Afrikaner perception of significant change as that of one from Apartheid, which perceived blacks as inferior and without political aspirations; to Separate Development, which accepted black aspirations and provided for a horizontal rather than a vertical division, expressing itself in the homelands policy; to the recognition of the existence and permanence of urban blacks and of human dignity. He said that the Government could not 'fully' meet black political aspirations because if it did so the Afrikaner would lose power and his position would be taken by a black dictator.

At the Economic Conference he convened on November 22, 1979, the Prime Minister said, 'My Government is firmly bound to the ideal of freedom that can be attained only within a framework of order . . . it fully subscribes to the principles of free enterprise . . . The political will to co-operate is ultimately decisive in allowing co-operation to thrive fully'.

Reactions to the Conference displayed differing perceptions.

The Prime Minister said, 'I have made a good start today . . . The businessmen were most positive in their attitude'.

The New York Times reported that some executives expressed fears that Mr Botha was enlisting them in a strategy designed to bolster the white position in South Africa.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said, 'The Prime Minister did not answer the key question of what political changes he envisaged... Throughout his speech Mr Botha spoke as if separate development was a given and unchangeable fact of life...'

Mr Tom Manthata dismissed Mr Botha's speech as 'sweet talk' which had turned sour and bitter... 'The fact is, until blacks can be seen to be citizens and to have rights to property — whether urban or rural — all that talk means nothing. The proposed system is to keep blacks in their own areas which are economically viable. The infrastructure is based on cheap labour provided by black workers'.

These same differences in perception are reflected in the broader arena. Changes which possibly large numbers of whites in general and Afrikaner Nationalists in particular have viewed as sufficiently radical to undermine their confidence in the Government and in their own future have not excited similar reactions from blacks.

For instance, the Editor of Post has said, 'At least we seem to be moving... But problems like influx control, the continual erosion of black rights through homelands, equality in pay and opportunity, equality in education, the right to freehold title are the issues Mr Botha ought to be looking at... In our view this (change to date) is what we would term removal of "petty apartheid". The black people of this country have outgrown that kind of "concession". Real, meaningful change is now what is required'.

Dr Motlana, Chairman of the Committee of Ten, has warned that the country would be torn apart because of the citizenship issue... Black anger was mounting because the Government ignored the existence of blacks in South Africa. The Government was instead forcing homeland leaders to opt for independence so that in the long run it could say there were no blacks in South Africa.

After meeting with the Prime Minister, the Rev. Alan Hendrickse, leader of the Coloured Labour Party, said he and other members of the executive had been 'insulted, intimidated and treated like children... The talks exposed Mr Botha's attitude towards our people. He wants to consult in his way. He just wants us to do everything he suggests, instead of being prepared to negotiate properly with us'.

All these disparities have thrown whites and blacks, government and opposition, into varying degrees of disarray.

Whether changes to date are considered valid or not there is movement on the political scene, more than there has been for the past 31 years.

The black people have had more experience in this regard than other sections of the community. The development of the homeland policy, as part of the Nationalist-perceived process of change, occurred many years ago and unsettled the black community, causing deep schisms as a result of differing reactions. Now the rest of the population is being faced with varying degrees of the same dilemma because of change in other directions.

The problems being created within the National Party are its own affair and need not concern us too much, except the remark that some Afrikaner-Nationalists are at long last beginning to recognise the need to find a way out of the impasse they have created through their pursuit of the policy of apartheid. Suffice it is to say that their acknowledgement of the need for adjustments, at least, if not for radical change, is creating difficulties for them as a result of their long-term indoctrination of their followers with the indisputable and unchangeable rightness of their cause.

But the opposition, too, has been unsettled. It does not know which strategies to pursue, whether to encourage the Government to change still further in the hope that an avalanche of change will be created which the Government will be unable to control — or to have nothing to do with Government strategies.

The opposition's dilemma would appear to be whether to opt for participation or non-participation in the Government's projects. Fundamentally this is at the root of all the present dissent within the opposition, this and, of course, ultimate goals.

The visible white opposition is in Parliament, but the whole question of participation or non-participation does affect extra-Parliamentary opposition groupings. The decision on whether or not to give evidence to the Schlebusch-Le Grange Commission of Inquiry into certain organisations is a case in point.

We all participate in Government policy. We live in this country, most of us obey the laws, most register whatever protest we may have through officially recognised channels. Difficulties arise when different people draw their lines in different places and decide that they are prepared to participate thus far and no further.

Nor has the Government been either able or willing to make that 'giant step' from consultation to real negotiation. Consultation leaves the Government with its options open. Successfully concluded negotiation would bind it. The suspicion has been created that it is prepared to consult only with those who will fall in with all its plans.

There is merit in talking, in presenting points of view, in having them written into the historical record, in registering protest which, incidentally, has been the motivating force behind all Black Sash activity for 25 years. Even our Advice Offices, which give service, are essentially instruments of protest.

But there is merit, too, in non-participation; in registering absolute and total dissent until such time as it is possible to participate on one's own terms. In this context we understand the disaffection of black radicals for white liberals whom they feel are disarming them with just the kind of reasoning that favours participation.

Both contenders have valid arguments. There are advantages and dangers in both strategies.

But the biggest and the most potentially

lethal danger of all is that opposition to the Government should be made impotent by internal fighting over strategies based on lack of recognition of what may well be valid strategies and lack of acknowledgement of common goals. All are more or less agreed that their common goal is change to produce a just society where all will enjoy equal opportunity to develop their full potential as human beings and all will have a say in the manner in which they are governed; where all are free to make their contribution towards society as a whole and all are enabled to participate in its benefits.

The form such a society should take has still to be agreed. I do not believe that any political or economic system has yet been devised which would best meet the needs and aspirations of all the people of our country. But that is the challenge which faces us — an exciting challenge which should be spurring us on to strive to reach a consensus.

This will never be achieved peacefully unless there is full and free negotiation between all participants on an equal basis — either in the form of a National Convention or as on-going negotiations.

Some might view the Government's present willingness to consult — albeit on its own terms and albeit drawing its own lines at consultation and not at negotiation — as a beginning which, given encouragement, plus pressure, might still develop into on-going negotiations which could lead to peaceful and generally acceptable change. For peaceful change can never occur overnight and must inevitably be a slow process.

Only confrontation and violence can bring about dramatic change, but it is also uncontrolled and uncontrollable change, causing bloodshed, destruction and bitterness, and providing an unlikely foundation on which to build a stable, peaceful society.

The Government has its own problems. I do not believe that it either intended or foresaw that, in dealing with the pressures upon it which have sown dissent within

its own ranks, it would at the same time fracture the opposition. But it will be quick to take advantage of such schisms — in fact has already done so in threatening to ignore those members of the Coloured Labour Party who would not fall in with their plans and to find other Coloured people who would. All those who are working for change, by whichever method, should be aware of and guard against this very real danger.

I trust and believe that the Black Sash, which will inevitably be subjected to the same divisive pressures as any other opposition grouping, will resolve whatever problems may arise as it always has — through agreeing to disagree where necessary, and through accepting the will

of the majority if consensus cannot be reached.

I can only express the hope that all opposition groups, and eventually the Government, too, through the concerted pressure of these groups acting in unison even if employing different strategies, will eventually get together to solve the deep and divisive problems of our country peacefully. I hope they will employ the techniques of discussion, consultation, negotiation, and not those of confrontation, to achieve a mutually acceptable way of life for all in this potentially wonderful land we all love and share. We need hands clasped in friendship and trust as we all move together into the future.

Resolutions adopted at 1980 conference

MASS REMOVALS

Conference notes:

- 1 the uprooting and resettlement of whole communities is an integral part of the apartheid plan and until government has been forced to abandon its policy removals will go on;
- 2 that the possible extension and final consolidation of the Bantustans will necessarily accelerate further mass removals.

This organisation, therefore, acknowledges the futility of calling on Government to stop resettlements and commit itself to:—

- (a) Documentation of all population removals in order to expose the so-called 'resettlement' policy as an integral part of the strategy.

- (b) Supporting communities and individuals affected in their stand against forced removal.

EDUCATION

Bearing in mind that those who do not have the vote are inclined to get second class facilities, this conference calls upon the Government to introduce as rapidly as possible, one uniform system of free and compulsory education for all South Africans. The Black Sash gives notice that working toward this objective is one of its aims in 1980.

POOR RELIEF

That this Government institute immediately an emergency poor relief programme as a fore-runner to a proper national welfare system, thereby, recognising the ordinary responsibility of a government. By National,

we mean National, that is: inclusive of rural areas, so-called 'homelands', and so-called 'independent States', all of which are suffering from desperate poverty, largely caused, by the implementation of the apartheid policy.

PENSIONS

This Conference asks the National President to draw the attention of the Minister of Co-operation and Development to the scandalous inequities, ineffectiveness, and inadequacies in the payment of pensions and grants to African people, and to ask him to take immediate steps to ensure that the statutory rights of aged and disabled people to receive pensions is honoured, both in the common area and the so-called 'homelands' in the Republic of South Africa.

'ILLEGAL WORKERS'

The Black Sash, believing that it is totally immoral to deny a person the right to continue working in a job he or she has found, resolves to support in any way legally possible, any member of our organisation or any member of the public, who has decided on principle to refuse to discharge any 'illegal' worker and to go to prison rather than pay any fine imposed as a result of prosecution.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Conference notes Cabinet Ministers' statements that racial discrimination does not exist in South Africa.

It cannot reconcile such loosely disproved statements with the blatant discrimination still existing in the right to:—

- live together as a family;
- sell their labour on the best market;
- freehold land ownership;
- live in areas and/or suburbs of their choice;
- participate in government at all levels;
- free and equal education;
- enjoy all cultural, sporting and other amenities.

We challenge the Prime Minister to ex-

plain such discrepancies between Cabinet Ministers' statements and the real state of affairs.

NATURAL LEADERS

This conference demands that the Government stop banning, detaining, harassing and persecuting the country's natural leaders.

Conference points out that by destroying overt community protest inside South Africa, our security laws are making it preferable to organise violently than non-violently. Conference further points out that suppression of public protest, leads to a rejection of peaceful change, by those, who are oppressed, and to wishful thinking that there are no legitimate grievances, by those who oppress them.

All kinds of community protest, organisation and trade union activities are the only alternatives to violent confrontation on our borders and internally.

BISHOP TUTU

This meeting calls upon the Government to return Bishop Tutu's Passport and to desist from all arbitrary and punitive actions against the natural leaders of Opposition in South Africa.

CENSORSHIP

Noting:

1. the increased number of publications of a political nature banned over the past year;
2. that people have been charged and found guilty of editing and producing publications which were subsequently banned;
3. Conference condemns this arbitrary form of political debate.

RESTAURANTS

We protest against the government's refusal to open all restaurants to all races. The Black Sash will encourage its members to patronise those restaurants who have made it clear that they object to discrimination on the grounds of colour.

HEADQUARTERS

LAST year Sheena Duncan tried to circumvent Joyce's eagle eye by slipping a tribute to Joyce into everyone's file. Because Joyce pays so much attention to detail she discovered this mild deception, so I will not attempt to bypass her but begin this report by saying how fortunate we are to have at the head of the Sash such a devoted, determined and hard working President. In addition to her natural flair for writing and her quiet thoughtfulness, she has an eye for detail and a devotion to duty which is remarkable. She does not spare herself at all, she steps into the breach whenever and wherever it occurs. She is a most worthy public representative of our cause.

MATTERS ARISING FROM THE 1979 CONFERENCE CONSTITUTION CAMPAIGN

The appointment of the Schlebusch Committee to investigate the Constitution of South Africa, shortly after our last conference, took some of the urgency out of our campaign plans. We prepared handouts, envelope stickers and car stickers but decided not to use them as the issue was 'cold'. We await the Schlebusch Report.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

In accordance with a conference resolution, Joyce wrote to the Secretary for Labour asking that it be made obligatory for employers to keep full names and addresses of employees. The Department replied that the problem was not so much failure to keep records,

to a common service contract. The original contract is kept by the attesting officer and the employer retains a copy which on demand must be produced to a labour inspector. It would, therefore, not be possible to issue each worker with a contract of employment'.

Among items for discussion at this conference arising from the last conference are a Bill of Rights and rural poverty on which there are fact papers. The most recent issue of the magazine is on rural poverty. As the paper on Police Violence and the role of the police was banned we were unable to publish it in booklet form.

Joyce's Constitution Group continues to meet nearly every month and has had a series of interesting speakers and discussions.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE YEAR'S ACTIVITIES

During the debate on the Advocate Generals' Bill we attempted to run a 'Lights on for Freedom' campaign by keeping our headlights on while driving in the daytime. Although a small amount of press publicity was received we had little public support and ended up with battery problems.

We submitted a deposition to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on the Constitution of South Africa.

Sheena Duncan wrote and spoke extensively on both the Riekert and Wiehahn Commission Reports. Hers was the first voice pleading for caution and her predictions of the results of implementation, so lauded originally by so many, are unhappily only too accurate.

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF THE CHILD

Mrs Harris managed after considerable difficulty to get her statement on the Rights of the Child accepted by the Johannesburg IYC committee. As yet it has not received publicity but this has been promised for March this year. We have decided to remain on the Continuation Committee in Johannesburg. The legal status of the Child sub-Committee included a deposition by the Sash in a

Regional reports

She is willing to go anywhere and everywhere on Sash business and doesn't complain that she is overworked. We are grateful to her for her courage, her tenacity and her dogged hard work, as well as for her quiet and determined leadership.

Again this year we have been hampered by the continued imposition of clauses of the Riotous Assemblies Act from our traditional method of demonstration protest. Although we have continued to mount one woman stands we have not received the press publicity which would make these small protests more effective.

The Fund Raising Act has been promulgated adding to our domestic difficulties at a time when our costs of operating are rising very fast. However, despite all the restrictions on our freedom to act, we continue to do our best to uphold the ideals of the Sash.

but that when employees leave after accidents they do not keep their former employers informed of changes of address. We agreed that there was nothing more for us to do in this field, especially as the Department of Labour did its best to trace people to whom compensation is due.

MIGRANT LABOUR

Also arising from the conference and in the same letter, Joyce suggested that migrant workers should be legally entitled to their own copy of contracts, and that this should be written into the law. The Administrative Secretary of the Department of Plural Relations replied — 'When large numbers of workers are recruited, the terms of the common contract are read aloud by an interpreter before attestation, and those workers who are interested and agree with the terms thereof append their fingerprint or signatures

memorandum it presented to the Minister of Justice.

COMMISSION ON SECURITY LEGISLATION

A sub-committee under the chairmanship of Mrs Harris submitted a memorandum on this subject to the Rabie Commission.

REMOVALS

Mrs Harris wrote to Dr Koornhof in October about the enforced removals in the Batlokwa area near Pietersburg. He agreed to see her and on February 22nd she saw him together with his deputy Ministers and was accompanied by Joan Grover and Noel Robb. He promised to visit the area. Other items discussed were the Johannesburg Interim Advice Office Report which has created a furore and the Cape as a Coloured Preference Area. Transvaal Region meanwhile managed an effective lobby of the press, local and foreign as well as of members of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council.

Sheena Duncan attended an international conference of Women Leaders in Israel organised by a consortium of Israeli Women's Organisations. This was a signal honour for Sheena and the Sash.

ECONOMIC LOBBY

Several selected businessmen who attended the major conference held last November, attended by the Prime Minister received letters from us about black problems. Three delegates at least replied but the conference was so orchestrated that only 'desirable' elements were given a chance to speak.

Headquarters continued to keep in touch with other organisations, political parties and concerned individuals. Mrs Harris conducts a vast correspondence with government departments and individuals. Publicity details are given in the Transvaal report. She also writes regularly to the regions and to individuals in regions. There are frequent letters to the press on all major issues.

Mrs Duncan has visited most of the Advice Offices during the last year.

CONFERENCES ATTENDED

Mrs Harris represented Sash at the Golden Jubilee Conference of the Institute of Race Relations. She also attended the Conference of the Study Group on Internal Relations. She was invited too to a meeting of the Urban Foundation to discuss how to improve business opportunities for black people in Soweto.

Mrs Duncan attended the South African Council of Churches Conference at Hammanskraal.

PERSONNEL

It was with great regret that the executives accepted Janet Sahli's resignation as Managing Editor. She has done a splendid job and we all look forward to the time when her children are old enough for her to do the job again.

As usual the National Office Bearers are in great debt to Margaret Kirk. She had an especially difficult year what with the added work brought on by the Moratorium, the general growth of work at all times and the difficulties of the move. She has been a tower of strength in especially difficult circumstances, her devotion and hard work make her the Kingpin of the Johannesburg Office.

Gita Dyzenhaus

ALBANY

MEETINGS: Our main activity this year has been to provide educative and provocative meetings and these have had the result both of stimulating present members and attracting new members. In June, lively discussion followed a talk by Prof Michael Savage of UCT on the potential effects of the removal of discrimination in various areas with particular reference to the field of Health Services. As the NCW was to hold a one-day Health Symposium later in the year this talk and the ensuing discussion provided us with many ideas about investigating the state of the local Health Services. In August, Jenifer Hyman, a new member who, until coming to Grahamstown, was a reporter on *The Sunday Express*, gave a most

informative if alarming talk on the plethora of laws regulating the Press. In September Jacklyn Cock presented a slide/tape show and paper on Domestic Workers, giving us the fruits of her academic research into this sociologically fascinating, if emotionally rather disheartening, topic. Ravan Press is to publish her work this year. A round table discussion on the SACLA conference was held in November. In November, too, we were stimulated by a visit from Sheena Duncan who was down for the Anglican Synod, and who managed to squeeze in two hours with the Committee during her very heavy Synod programme.

PROTESTS

So much to protest about but we have held no protests this year mainly owing to the very negative attitude to stands held both by the Council and also by the Cathedral on whose property we were wont to stand.

GLENMORE

We have watched developments at Glenmore throughout the year and a number of our members have also served on the Glenmore Action Group. The Government eventually took over responsibility for the distribution of food to the indigent, something which World Vision carried out for months aided by local Grahamstown people and an inspiring group of elders at Glenmore itself. A large scale weighing of babies was also carried out to see who would be eligible for State feeding. News from Glenmore is still depressing despite the efforts of those settled there to make something viable of the horrifying conditions. The most recent move was a restriction on the watering of gardens and this came as a shocking blow to all who had striven to supplement their minute pensions or earnings with food grown on their small plots.

FINGO VILLAGE

Dr Koornhof's announcement that Fingo Village was to be kept for blacks was greeted with joy although much uncertainty about actual ownership of land still exists.

ADVICE OFFICE

This is our most gratifying activity. Gratifying only in the sense that the office is manned enthusiastically by a very small but dedicated group who achieve an enormous amount — but still a highly depressing activity as all Advice Office workers round the country must know. However many newcomers and visitors are impressed by the scale of our Advice Office activities given the entirely voluntary work force. We were delighted to receive the unexpectedly large handout from the Donaldson Trust this year especially as no money was received from Rhodes Rag this year.

Margot Beard

CAPE WESTERN

WE are happy to attend this National Conference here in Johannesburg. We pay tribute to Mary Burton who led this delegation for many years. We thank her for her great contribution and wish her well in her academic life.

The subject matter for our papers to be delivered later during the conference indicate our interests, concern and activities during the past year — housing, removals under the Group Areas Act (including District 6), Crossroads and the Cape as a coloured preference area. It seems likely that we shall be involved in these particular areas for some time to come. In a Press statement we made on the 14th anniversary of the declaration of District 6 as a 'white' area, we stated that the Black Sash had in fact been protesting for all that time.

MEMBERSHIP:

This remains just over 400. Most of the new members who have joined us fall into the under-35 year old age group which is encouraging. Unfortunately they are either working or involved with young families which is limiting. However, during the year on two occasions when we needed assistance with the Crossroads survey

and with collection of signatures for the District 6 petition, members responded very readily. For many of our newer members it was an initiation to be out among the public collecting signatures.

All eight branches continue to function individually, contributing in various ways to the activities of the region. General Meetings, held monthly, have been well attended.

Sadly we lose old members who have contributed so much in the past. Some of us recently attended the funeral of a foundation member, Margaret Ballinger, a truly great South African who we were privileged to have had with us for so many years.

COURT VISITING:

Court visiting plays an important part in our activities. Members have, throughout the year, attended in particular the Langa Magistrate's Court and have been able to report back first hand to the Advice Office. There has been a greater interest shown in these courts by the Press who now attend more regularly.

This is vital work and an area where we urgently need more participation. We are concerned about all we see and hear, and do attempt to follow up any adverse reports which come our way.

In September three members visited the Chief of Police in the Athlone area to make enquiries regarding the conditions under which prisoners are kept in police cells, and also to find out what the rights are for awaiting trial prisoners.

Our regular court visitors have established contact with the court officials and do report any changes for the good which may occur amidst the depressing surroundings of the courts.

COUNCIL VISITING:

We have regularly attended the monthly meeting of the City Council. The Sonnenberg Commission was of particular interest to us as it investigated, amongst other things, living conditions for domestic workers in the Sea Point area.

In May last year a request was made by the Regional Council for an interview with Exco, the executive committee of the City Council, to discuss coloured sub-economic housing. In December the Housing Committee granted us an interview and Mrs Robb was able to stress the urgent need for many more houses to be made available to people who have been on the waiting list from as far back as 1968.

Divisional Council monthly meetings have also been regularly attended and reported on.

REGIONAL CONFERENCE:

This was held in August in the Holy Cross Parish Centre, District 6. We had good Press coverage. Especial interest was shown by all in the excellent Advice Office report.

VISITS:

Many of us recognise the need to get out and see what we are talking about, so we were pleased to be able to visit District 6 and Murray and Stewart's headquarters in Cape Town. We were shown their 'bachelor quarters' in Guguletu where a very real effort has been made to make living conditions as comfortable as possible.

PUBLICITY:

One publication has been brought out this year — 'Law and Justice'. This was translated into Afrikaans and is still being distributed. We realise that ideally we should try to devote more time to publications of this nature.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS:

We have co-operated closely with other organisations during the year especially the Women's Movement for Peace which has a large membership in the Western Cape. We are represented on the Friends of District 6 committee and have supported their many activities.

The following organisations supported us in issuing the District 6 petition: the Civil Rights League, National Council of Women, S.A. Institute of Race Relations, Union of Jewish Women

C.T. Branch, University of Cape Town SRC, Women's Movement for Peace.

We were pleased to be represented on the committee organising the petition for prisoners to be able to continue education.

BANNINGS AND DETENTION:

We continue to be deeply perturbed by the large number of people punished in this way, though not convicted of any offence. We remember those who died in detention at the opening of our branch meetings — a sombre start but a necessary one.

ATHLONE ADVICE OFFICE:

A separate report is attached and in this it can be seen the enormous load staff and volunteers are coping with in these difficult times.

STUDY GROUP (now called Discussion Group):

This group met regularly before Christmas 1979 and discussed the implications of the Riekert and Wiehahn Reports and White Papers. Kate Jowell from the Graduate School of Business at U.C.T. addressed one meeting on these subjects.

Housing was a subject of several meetings at which 'Low Income Housing Policy in S.A.' by David Dewar and George Ellis was examined and reviewed in relation to low income housing policies in South America, Tanzania and Zambia.

RECORD OF MEETINGS:

Most branches hold meetings once a month and a general meeting is held each month. These general meetings are hosted by a different branch each month. Speakers have been:

May 1979 — Daphne Venturas on 'Patterns in Foreign Investment'.

August 1979 — Sister Margaret from St Francis, Langa on 'Black Education and the New Education Bill'.

September 1979 — Jane Prinsloo and Val West discussed Prof F. Wilson's inaugural address on the economist in society.

November 1979 — Brian Rees and Ronnie Levettan showed slides and discussed low cost housing.

March 1980 — Professor John Simpson discussed his recent survey of the attitudes of urban blacks to changes in labour legislation.

LETTERS AND STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS:

March 1980 — all Cape papers — Bishop Tutu.

February 1980 — Cape Times — PEBCO detentions.

January 1980 — The Argus — beach apartheid.

December 1979 — article in Cape Times — charter for women's rights.

December 1979 — Cape Times — removal of an Indian trader in Newlands.

November 1979 — Cape Times — detentions.

November 1979 — Cape Times — house arrest and banning of Eddie Daniels.

October 1979 — all Cape papers — detentions and bannings.

July 1979 — Cape Times — W.C. illegal blacks.

July 1979 — Cape Times — Langa courts.

July 1979 — Cape Times — banning of U.C.T. newspaper.

March 1979 — Cape Times — raids at Crossroads.

March 1979 — Cape Times — African housing.

J Grover

NATAL MIDLANDS

MEETINGS

NINE Executive Meetings and four General Meetings were held during the year. At one of these Bobbie Cluver reported back on the 1979 National Conference at which she had represented this Region. At the August meeting a tape was played of the speech made by Conor Cruise O'Brien at the University in Pietermaritzburg.

The membership of this Region is very inactive. General Meetings are attended by the Committee

and a handful of ordinary members. They seem hardly worth organising when they receive so little support. Perhaps it would be better to invite those who show interest to the Committee Meetings, and leave it at that. Matters have not been improved by the fact that no newsletters have been distributed to members this year.

CURFEW

The Chairman wrote to Dr Koornhof and asked for a detailed explanation of his reasons for announcing that the curfew would remain in this area. This letter received only an acknowledgement from Dr Vosloo. The Secretary then wrote pointing out that the Chairman's letter had been addressed to Dr Koornhof and not to Dr Vosloo, and asking for a detailed reply. A detailed reply was received — but from Dr Vosloo. Perhaps Dr Koornhof makes the popular statements and Dr Vosloo the real ones. Later it was announced that the curfew regulations would fall into disuse but would not be repealed — a wily move, this, because, at the time of the Ladysmith bus boycott, the curfew regulations again came into their own and were used against boycotters.

The Chairman visited Crossroads squatter camp and reported that she had been impressed: it is a splendid community, with well-constructed, tidy houses, and the whole place appears well cared for.

Franco Francesca showed his slides of squatter camps to a very small audience. The meeting cannot be considered a success because of the poor attendance, but this was largely due to the short notice given.

A committee was set up to get petitions signed demanding that prisoners be given education rights. P. Weinberg represented Sash on this committee. Members were given petition forms to fill. Ms Weinberg organised the manning of a table to collect signatures in the main street, and also advised members of a symposium on the subject which was held in the library.

Sash members helped take

lunches to the jail for the awaiting trial prisoners before and during the Treason Trial in Pietermaritzburg.

A rural action committee has been formed here. Several members of the Sash Executive serve on this committee and M. Dyer is the official Sash representative.

EDUCATION CHART

M. Clarke has drawn up an interesting chart. It was hoped to display this in the foyer of the Natal Society Library but the Chief Librarian felt unable to accede to this request. The chart is being used in the libraries of private schools here and it is hoped to display it in the African Art Centre later this year.

ADVICE OFFICE

A separate report will be given. The Committee is anxious about the office because pressure of work makes it impossible for Peter Kerchhoff to continue to organise it. He has made arrangements for this year, but there is no Sash member in charge, and only one senior Sash member works in the office. Our student volunteers are not at all conversant with the Sash attitude. Training sessions under D. Hindle will be organised, and Sheena Duncan, who is coming to Pietermaritzburg in March on church business, has also agreed to run some training sessions: we look forward to having her advice.

Peter Kerchhoff has done magnificent work for the office and has split it into various departments under some good workers. He will still keep a general eye on things. The Committee is very grateful indeed for Peter's work. M. Park Ross deals with Advice Office finance, and reports that funds are running low.

The fact papers delivered at the last Conference were distributed among Committee members for reading and discussion. Members wondered who really reads the mass of facts and figures that Sash members produce. Are we preaching to the converted, and generally wasting time and paper? Are the fact papers in the main produced only for the

benefit of delegates to Conference? It is suggested that fact papers delivered at Conference should be limited to those concerning matters of national importance, thus excluding those dealing with purely local matters.

Mary Corrigan

NATAL COASTAL

It is difficult to imagine that any annual report can be entirely satisfactory from the point of view of achievement and results. Least of all the report of a comparatively small organisation like the Black Sash with its socially unpopular terms of reference and the herculean task that it has set itself. A year ago our then Chairman, Solveig Piper, called for a membership drive. That this has never been successfully implemented may, in part, be due to the very nature of our organisation and of the society in which it operates. For it could be argued that either one is committed to fighting exploitation and social injustice or that, lacking any such commitment, a degree of cajolment or enticement, of 'selling' Sash or 'improving' its 'image' might, in the end, prove counter-productive. The fact that our image is, by and large, unacceptable is surely an indictment of the society itself rather than a symptom of any internal deficiency. The famous maxim that 'for evil to succeed it is sufficient that good men do nothing' might well have been coined with white South Africans in mind.

But, small though we remain, Natal Coastal obviously can admit to certain achievements over the past twelve months. And here I would like to reverse the trend and start this report by thanking my energetic and resourceful committee for having given so selflessly and tirelessly of their time. I would prefer not to single them out by name — while the report speaks for itself.

Following the excellent example set by this small, cohesive and effective group in the Highway Branch, it was suggested that Dur-

ban would form its own branch and that the requisite structural changes would be implemented early in 1980. The first meeting turnout was disappointingly small but the nucleus of a future branch might be there.

GENERAL MEETINGS

It was agreed upon at the outset that the format would be continued whereby a 'business' meeting and that with an invited speaker would alternate monthly. Amongst the speakers, it was hoped to include as much as possible of the 'Black' point of view but, however, what was lacking in quantity was certainly made up in quality, and Dr Ginwala with her long-standing connections with Mozambique, gave us a very revealing and thought provoking talk on the recent interesting developments in that neighbouring state. Prof Tony Mathews of Natal University was another of our speakers and, with reference to his recently published and very timely book, shared with us some of his insights into the sinister 'darker reaches' of South Africa's government. While the Durban advocate, Chris Nicholson, in introducing and then leading a lively discussion on 'terrorism' did much to clarify certain popular misconceptions vis-a-vis this very controversial — in Southern Africa certainly — subject.

PROTEST STANDS

Only one held and eighteen members volunteered. Mrs Florence Bayman, one of our staunchest and most respected members was, as always, the first to do so. Despite the restrictive conditions that currently apply we were permitted a one-man stand for a couple of hours twice weekly over a period of a month. This was in May/June. The posters 'approved' and displayed high-lighted some of the more flagrant injustices with which we are all too sadly familiar.

PRISONERS EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Solveig Piper was one of the prime movers in establishing this committee with its very laudable aim of restoring to prisoners their

right to study. The fact that, in 1979, its formation was necessary at all gives the lie to all who misguidedly believe in any amelioration of the system's vicious, authoritarian and inhuman laws. Members were involved in circularizing hand-outs and in obtaining signatures and an understandable amount of public sympathy was shown. Chris Nicholson, et al, were to present the petition to the Minister of Prisons in Pretoria but were refused permission on the spurious grounds that it would serve no useful purpose.

PHOENIX ANTI-AUTONOMY CAMPAIGN

Is still being waged although limited success has been achieved in as much as there has been a stay of execution vis-a-vis the arbitrary excision of the indigent community from Durban. Such racially based autonomy would clearly work in opposition to the interests of the people of Phoenix themselves as both they and local Indian Leaders have, in unambiguous terms, pointed out to Natal's Executive Committee. Sash's support for this campaign was enlisted through the offices of Jay Williams, Diakonia's representative on housing and herself a member of Sash.

FATTIS & MONIS STRIKE

Until the successful conclusion of the Cape Town based strike, I represented Sash on the local Action Committee under the Chairmanship of the Durban attorney, Mr Yunus Mahommed.

HOUSING CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE that Jay Williams was originally instrumental in forming has had, throughout the year, Solveig Piper as its Black Sash representative.

BEAD SELLERS AND COLOURED SCHOOLS

As far as the bead sellers' campaign is concerned, this has met with some success in that another twenty sellers have been installed making, in all, a total of forty who are now legally entitled to sell bead-wear on Durban's beach front. Regarding Coloured schools,

as the Coloureds themselves who, it was felt, should be taking the initiative appear reluctant to do so, this matter is in abeyance. Both these campaigns have been handled, in the main, by Margaret Ambler.

PADMRO

Following this very successful Pietermaritzburg project, it is hoped that Natal Coastal, and the Durban branch in particular, will be able to co-ordinate, locally, a similar programme, but as yet this has not got past the discussion stage.

RICHMOND FARM

Under Solveig's and Gill Nicholson's supervision a survey on Richmond Farm was drawn up, whose findings were then computerized by Prof Laurie Schlemmer of Natal University's Social Research Department. And both the survey and its analysis were sent to Dr Koornhof from whom no reply has as yet been received. Based on the proven viability of this community the strongest recommendation was thereby made that it be allowed to remain in situ and intact. Ingrid Stewart undertook the compilation and general distribution of a pamphlet.

AFRICAN PENSIONS

Arising out of the deplorable state of affairs that exist with respect to African pensions, Mary Grice wrote an article for the April, 1979 edition of 'SASH' which Dr Madide of the KwaZulu Government took as a personal attack on himself. Despite a lengthy — and, as it turned out, abortive — meeting intended to put the record right, Dr Madide remained seemingly and totally unconvinced. Nor has there been any improvement in the situation since as a separate Fact Paper on the subject will reflect. At the same time it must be mentioned that urgent appeals for an investigation by a Commission of Inquiry have, finally, met with an affirmative response from the South African government.

DEPENDENTS CONFERENCE

Patty Geerds and Sarah Burns have been responsible for making

contact with those who, within the Durban area, have been silenced and isolated and with the help, hopefully, of others will continue to do what they can to alleviate the plight of the banned. Humane and invaluable as this work is it should nevertheless go hand in hand with ever increasing efforts to question the whole iniquitous practice of bannings, detentions without trial etc., and to expose by whatsoever means these grave injustices.

'TERRORISM' TRIAL

I attended the trial of originally seven, subsequently four, Africans charged on two counts under South Africa's Internal Security Laws that was, in terms of evidence led and given, one of the longest on record. We feel that it is right that Sash should monitor these and other trials in which the victims of an unjust system, the Blacks, are accused of violating the laws of the land in whose making, of course, they have had absolutely no say whatsoever, and which deny them every channel for the realization of their aspirations.

PRESS PUBLICITY AND LETTERS

There has been no slackening in the amount of editorial letters and once again Beth Franklin has been our most prolific writer. While certain articles have been published such as the one in the 'Sunday Tribune' on Richmond Farm. We shall miss the co-operation and services of Ingrid Stewart, a member of both Sash and the Daily News, when she leaves to live in Grahamstown.

The following official letters have been sent to:

The MEC in Charge of Hospital Services — re: the conditions of black nurses.

The Town Clerk, Durban — re: the integration of Durban's beaches.

The Hon Minister of Justice — re: detention and bannings, with particular reference to the continued and arbitrary restriction of certain young trade unionists.

The Hon Minister Dr P. Koornhof
— re: Richmond Farm.

The Secretary of the Natal Provincial Administration — re: Phoenix.

Senator the Hon O. P. F. Horwood
— re: South Africa's gold bonanza.

The following have received letters and/or telegrams: Johnny Halberstadt, Phyllis Naidoo and the Rev David Russell.

And lastly, the practice has been continued of despatching monthly news-letters. This, for perhaps too many of our members, would appear to be the only contact.

FUND RAISING

Amongst Natal Coastal's activities in this regard, and once again the Highway Branch has led the field, a project was launched that has helped considerably to keep us financially viable. The concept of a 'pledge' — a stipulated amount donated monthly/quarterly or annually — was suggested to us in a very forthright letter from Kate Gray and the 40 per cent of our membership that were able and willing responded most generously.

CONCLUSION

If we meet at Conference not only to review the past but, more importantly, to debate guidelines for the future then, to return briefly to my introductory theme, I would like to make one plea. And this is that amongst the many resolutions to be adopted — resolutions born, it goes without saying of wide experience and knowledge, I would ask that we don't overlook what Andre Brink has perceptively described as the real and most insidious enemy of South Africa, which is, and I quote from the jacket of his recently unbanned book 'A Dry White Season', '... not outright brutality, but the ordinary decency, goodwill and christianity of people who fail to acknowledge the evil in their midst.

Ann Calvin

TRANSVAAL

THIS was a year of great publicity for the Black Sash and public recognition of its role in identifying the extent of influx control cruelty. It was the year of the Advice Office. Before, during and after the moratorium our advice office volunteers and staff carried the burden of dealing with the queues of people who by 8.30 am already filled the offices and corridors and spilt out into the foyers, down the stairs and onto the pavement outside. Our case-work kept press and public informed and gave the lie to any ideas that change had begun to make itself felt in black lives, or indeed had taken place at all where influx control was concerned.

The Star asked us to man an office in their building during the moratorium. There Beulah Rolnick did a magnificent job both for us and The Star.

PREMISES

We had to leave our premises in Victory House, Harrison Street, because of the strain our clientele put on the lift and, as usual, because of the complaints of fellow tenants. We are due to move in to the SACC's new premises in the old AA building, now called Khotso House in de Villiers Street on 1st June this year. In the meantime we have offices in Voortrekker House, 18 Hoek Street.

HUMAN AWARENESS PROGRAMME did a film of advice office work which was shown at a general members meeting. Sheena will take it with her when she gives talks on advice office work.

VISITORS

During the ten months' period of this report there were 120 visitors whose names we remembered to record. Of these 86 were foreign tourists, students, journalists and diplomats, 34 were local.

SHEENA DUNCAN'S TALKS

Cathedral Lent Series at St Albans; Seminar on UIF at Wits, Student Research Group on Labour Bureaux, HAP Businessmen's

Group on Riekert and policy; St Peter's Priory Shoe Party; attended Southern Africans Council of Churches in Botswana; SACC on Situation in SA; Rotary Anns on Israel; Zionist Federation on Israel; Johannesburg North Central Rotary Club on Riekert; Diakonia Durban on Squatters and legislation causing them; Sarlengu Group — SA Seminar; Market Theatre Actors Group; TUCSA on legality and employment of blacks in urban areas; CAB Advisors on work of Advice Office; Union of Jewish Women on Riekert and After the Moratorium; Rockefeller Commission; Race Relations Council meeting — panel on Riekert in Cape Town; Cathedral Evensong; workshop in Port Elizabeth for Church and Sash advice office workers; DWEP Employment centres; IBM meeting with top personnel officer from America; Roedean School.

PASS RAIDS/FINES/RURAL POVERTY

After our last conference there were an increasing number of pass arrests. On 27th March Joyce Harris wrote to Dr Koornhof asking him to intervene with Jimmy Kruger to put a stop to these raids. He replied, 'I am giving my full attention to all the problems mentioned in your letter and I hope that my endeavours will soon meet with success.'

Increased fines of up to R500 for employing people illegally were gazetted on 13th July, 1979, and employers began to fire their unregistered workers in panic. The suffering caused to rural 'illegal' people surfaced dramatically out of exposures from the Advice Office and the whole question of rural poverty became even more desperate.

We specially telephoned members to come to the July general meeting to discuss, immediately, the suffering caused by the imposition of the increased fines and generally the poverty in rural areas and homelands.

Members responded, as they always do, when there is an emergency; but it was difficult to channel the concern and energy of our members into any mean-

ingful campaign. Members at this meeting felt we should try to keep the public aware of poverty, to press for a dole for the unemployed, to alert businessmen. We should encourage overseas visitors to visit rural areas and try to play a major role in emphasising the dispossession of the black man's land.

Arising out of this meeting, Joyce wrote to Dr Koornhof on the increased fines for employing illegal workers, and the consequences, warning on rural poverty, suggesting a dole and unemployment programmes. Months later, in February this year, she received a reply from Deputy Minister Morrison — a long defensive letter which didn't even mention the dole or attempt to deal with our plea that the government deal with the situation as a matter of national urgency.

We were relieved when Drs Selma Browde and Ntatho Motlana called a meeting of over 100 organizations and individuals on August 23rd in the Senate House basement to discuss the crisis in the rural areas.

The best and most sensible speaker was Dr Trudy Thomas (Black Sash — East London) who prevented the meeting from bogging down on talk of health education and improved agricultural methods by pointing out that jobs were the short answer to all this. People knew very well how to feed their children, they just needed money to do so; and no amount of agricultural improvement would solve the overcrowding caused by removals and unemployment in the cities.

We joined the follow-up committee on 20th September at which representatives of interested organizations, doctors and other individuals thrashed out the problem of mounting an effective hunger campaign. It was agreed that Human Awareness would establish which were the worst-off areas of the Transvaal and what resources, both public and private, were available and whether or not they were fully extended. Meanwhile World Vision would cope with areas of famine and Black Sash members were en-

couraged to take part in their 40-hour fast in October.

Our best contribution to the publicising of the extent of rural poverty and the unpleasantness of life in the homelands came from our advice office work.

Daily publicity of advice office cases during the moratorium left the newspaper-reading public in little doubt as to the hardships suffered by all those who cannot get permits to work in urban areas.

Sheena Duncan's various Rieker analyses vividly illustrated how, far from addressing itself to the desperate rural situation, the government intended allowing less people into the towns. Sheena addressed dozens of meetings, gave major interviews in the local press and broadcast three interviews with the BBC, one with the Voice of America and one with Swedish Radio.

HOMELANDS

We protested against **Venda Independence** at one of our morning stands and wrote letters to the press.

Ruth Imrie, Sheena Duncan and Joyce Harris gave evidence to the Quail Commission into Cis-keian independence.

REMOVALS

In the middle of the year rumours filtered through of massive unseen removals taking place all over the country and in 'no-go' areas all over the northern Transvaal. Then came the dramatic removal of the Makgato tribe and official statements that the neighbouring Batlokwa were next. We felt that people in public life should be encouraged to meet this organised and creative community on their land where they have been for over a hundred years, and from the Transvaal Regional Conference of October 31st we sent this telegram to all members of the Prime Minister's total strategy economic sub-committee, asking them to meet the Chiefs of the Batlokwa tribe. The Director for Economic Co-operation and Strategy replied that removals were irrelevant to the work of this committee, but Prof Hupkes

agreed to meet the Batlokwa. Anglo American lent us an aeroplane which took the Batlokwa's lawyer, Raymond Tucker, Prof Hupkes and Mr Grosskopf, former editor of Beeld and Africa editor of Nasionale Pers, and Rupert Lorimer, MP to meet the Batlokwa. Everyone was shaken and moved. The contrast between exquisite villages of the Batlokwa and the devastation of the Makgato village was dramatic. Apparently neither Dr Koornhof nor the local Commissioner had ever visited these villages.

Equally moved were New York Times and Reuters correspondents who visited the area at our suggestion, and articles appeared worldwide. The New York Times in particular carried a long article and photograph, followed by an editorial.

We hope that this tribe at least can be saved. Local publicity has been good: but the chiefs have always been reluctant to 'go to the press' because they feel this to be discourteous during negotiations with the government.

The Batlokwa have sent a deposition to the Van der Walt Commission into the consolidation of the homelands.

TRADE UNIONS

Some members of our committee feel we should interest ourselves more extensively in work supportive of trade union activity. Others believe this is difficult to do when one doesn't have direct contact with the workers.

NELS DAIRIES

The committee decided to support the work that Betty Nicol did together with the dismissed Nels workers. Members responded to an appeal in the newsletter and lobbied their local shopkeepers and public representatives.

We distributed a leaflet at shopping centres attacking the migrant labour system and showing how Nels was able to exploit the system. Nels claimed the leaflet was sub judice and libellous with which our lawyer did not agree. However, in order not to prejudice the worker's case against Nels we agreed to suspend distribution.

Now that the case is over, Nels having agreed to pay R25 000 towards the workers' costs, we must review the situation, possibly in the light of conference discussion. The workers, after all, have lost their jobs.

FATTIS AND MONIS

We asked our members to note that Fattis and Monis had not behaved well towards workers attempting to press for better conditions. We were represented at both meetings of interested bodies held at Auden House.

PUBLICITY

In the 10 month period of this report our minutes record 105 statements, letters and reports in the local press either written by or mentioning the Black Sash; but this is a haphazard figure as we are not all that diligent at remembering to record every mention of the Black Sash. Sheena gave about half a dozen overseas broadcast interviews.

DEMONSTRATIONS

We continued with our weekly demonstrations standing one-woman-at-a-time during parliamentary sessions, from 7.30 to 8.30 am at the Fountain outside Wits. The committee is divided as to whether these demonstrations are effective or counter-productive; but last time we had a vote the demonstrations won.

The press seldom takes any notice of these stands — and so we are grateful for diversions, which always have publicity value. There were three diversions.

On 10th April Eileen Mendelsohn was temporarily arrested while demonstrating against the Police and Inquest Bills. Story published in The Star that night.

Star and Post reported the incident when on 22nd May during our Wiehahn stand, one of our posters was snatched by a group of five young men in tackies, blue jeans and striped T-shirts. On 29th June we sent the name and address of the car's owner to the police and asked that the culprits be charged with robbery, whereupon Merle Beetge was telephoned by the police to fetch our poster, which they had recovered. The

police told her the Attorney General had 'declined to prosecute'.

Coffee was poured over Joyce Harris and Cathy Satchwell when they were demonstrating against the banning of Ms Sisulu, which ensured press reporting of the stand.

ADVOCATE-GENERAL BILL, JUNE 1979

We sent our objections to the Select Parliamentary Committee pointing out that it is for Cabinet Ministers to respect the public and its press, not vice-versa.

HOUSING/SQUATTERS/ EVICTIONS

Rents in Soweto: When Soweto rent rises were announced in August we wrote a letter to the Rand Daily Mail and a statement to Post calling on the Prime Minister to consult with the real Soweto leaders and produce a scheme for the proper and fair financing and administration of the area. We called for an emergency government subsidy for Soweto services while a better scheme for the government of Soweto was worked out.

Housing campaign. We began a programme of sending to the Minister photographs of housing conditions around Johannesburg together with explanatory information — and copies to the press.

Gita Dyzenhaus and Judy van Velden took photographs of housing in Griffith and Steytler Streets, Newclare and sent these, annotated, to Minister Marais Steyn with a letter suggesting priority be given to cleaning up places like this rather than prosecuting people for living in 'white' areas.

At Pageview's 'Stop the Bulldozers' campaign launched on Saturday, 23rd June, Gita drew applause for her appeal for unified opposition. Five members attended this meeting at which Sash undertook to make representations to the Minister to hand Pageview back to the Indians. This we did as part of our photographic onslaught sending our letter together with Pageview photographs highlighting conditions there as a result of unnecessary bulldozing and pointing out the

potential beauty of the buildings. The Minister merely replied that housing schemes in Lenasia would be complete by 1981.

Actstop. We remained represented on this committee of tenants, landlords and interested organisations and individuals which had been called before the last conference to protest against evictions of coloureds and Indians living in 'white' areas around Johannesburg. We provided a lot of the organisational slog when support groups were necessary to maintain vigils at the homes of families under threat of eviction. Latterly protest activity has centred around the Courts and some 500 families await the result of an appeal on a point raised by John Dugard. We attended Court hearings.

Winterveld. In June a group of the committee visited Winterveld with Father Fausto and Pretoria members who are involved in the Winterveld raids, prosecutions and evictions. During a recent visit our member Annica van Gylswyk, an American research analyst and a black journalist were taken to a police station in Makopane by plain clothes Bophutatswana police and questioned there for an hour.

JUSTICE

SSRC Trial, 'The Soweto II' at Kempton Park. We provided lunch once a week for the awaiting trial prisoners during this trial, and members attended regularly. Four of the accused were imprisoned for four, three and two years for their part in the education protests that led to the protest march in June, 1976. The rest received suspended sentences. Our acquaintance with these lively, scholarly and open-minded youngsters vividly revealed to us the tragedy of a situation in which their talents have to be punished rather than harnessed to the benefit of us all.

Solomon Mahlangu. In April, moved by a Post leader which pointed out that Solomon Mahlangu would not have taken up arms if society had not forced him to do so, we decided to at-

tend an all night vigil in St Albans Cathedral, Pretoria on the night before he was to be hanged. As it turned out very few people were present that night in St Albans. Most people gathered outside the Pretoria prison and at the Mamelodi home of the family.

Study Rights for Prisoners. Cathy Satchwell and Ruth Imrie represented the Black Sash on the Johannesburg committee of the national body based in Durban to campaign for study rights for prisoners.

LOBBYING AND MONITORING

We attended Coloured Management Committee and City Council meetings throughout the year. As Coloured Management meetings are not well covered by the press I reported on these meetings in the monthly newsletter. These meetings are far more entertaining than the City Council, for angry and frustrated though they are, CMC representatives don't lose their senses of humour and are skilled and witty speakers. The theme at all these meetings was the uselessness of this consultative committee. Councillors never failed to point out that people who don't have the vote get second class treatment.

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF THE CHILD

We were represented on two of the Johannesburg Mayor's sub-committees, Day Care and the Legal Status of the Child.

In an effort to get across a feeling of urgency to the committee Joyce Harris in conjunction with the Day Care Committee drafted a resolution on the apartheid based hardships of black children which was presented to the Johannesburg Co-ordinating Committee; and although passed by the committee for submission to the main body in Cape Town and summarised in the IYC newsletter, this seemed to take a whole year to accomplish, and meanwhile nothing much happened in the way of dramatically publicising the plight of black children in this country, which one had hoped would be the core of the year's work. My criticisms, made

at the August Co-ordinating Committee meeting were publicised in the Sunday Express with some inaccuracies. However, the people and organisations who joined the committees were made more aware than they had been, and Mrs Bramwell chaired the Johannesburg Co-ordinating Committee with tact and great distinction, making firm and leaderlike speeches, reports and statements. We should like to congratulate and thank her. There is talk of a continuation committee on which we shall probably serve.

SATURDAY CLUB

The Saturday Club met every month as usual. Members of the club prefer to know each other's opinions in an informal way and to have occasional talks. Discussions centred round the Year of the Child, rural poverty and frustration in the townships, and education. The club 'adopted' children in foster care by bringing food parcels to meetings — and had a large party for foster mothers and their children: 40 mothers and 100 children.

EMPLOYMENT CENTRE

Lesley Hermer had a hard time of it running the DWEP centre at the Temple Emmanuel on Monday mornings, both through lack of volunteers and lack of jobs for those seeking employment. It is admirable of her to battle on. Jean Sinclair does similar work at St Columbas, where the Presbyterian Church runs an employment assistance bureau.

SANDTON CIVIC CENTRE DESIGNATED

Originally we booked the Sandton Civic Centre for this conference and because of my practice of signing documents without reading them, we found we'd contracted to have no black participants or observers. We told Hazel Edges, who is a Sandton Councillor and Black Sash member, and the Sandton City Council immediately put this right.

REGIONAL COMMITTEE

All the Region's energy went into the Advice Office this year. The

outside structures suffered a malaise, for we began the year, from the first meeting after the AGM, with no viable sub-committees. The younger members who had manned these committees nearly all left to take jobs. I wish we were in a position to employ members who have to earn extra money. We were sad when Dora Hill felt she had had enough of committee work, for she was one of the original instigators of the Black Sash who worked long hard years thereafter as National Treasurer for many years, as Transvaal Chair off and on — and she and Mary Walker, with the publicity and education committee, wrote much of the early publicity material including the first pass laws booklet.

FUND-RAISING

With a minimum of fuss Robin Harvey and her convenors raised over R10 500 and a combination of their efficiency the charm of Mrs Harvey's garden and her own enthusiastic and welcoming nature, made it an especially delightful morning — so much so that a group of lawyers and their wives have offered to help prolong the pleasures of meeting everybody one wants to meet by running for us a beer and wine garden and lunch.

We held three book sales at the City Hall kiosk (R225); a cake/book sale in Rivonia (R80) and another cake/booksale in Parkhurst (R150).

Erica McNulty ran regular jumble sales for us, raising roughly R500.

We received substantial support from a few businesses with whom we have ongoing relationships — that is, enough to continue on our low budget of R3 000 per month.

A sub-committee is in charge of major fund-raising.

CATALOGUING OF GOVERNMENT GAZETTES

Ethne Meyer's efficient cataloguing of Government Gazettes and acts makes it possible for us to be familiar with the details of legislation and proposed legislation.

PROPOSED NEW CONSTITUTION FOR SOUTH AFRICA

At our last conference we resolved not to 'waste our resources on criticising and opposing details of a refined apartheid plan for entrenching white power and privilege'.

Nevertheless Joyce Harris prepared an analysis of the proposals for a new constitution which was circulated to other regions and published in the magazine. Joyce also submitted a deposition to the parliamentary joint committee on the Constitution of South Africa.

The Constitution Group, a unique forum for our diverse political organisations, continues to meet monthly.

Jill Wentzel

HIGHWAY BRANCH

THIS year Lucy Melouney and I have shared the office of Chairman, and once again our main activity seems to have been fund raising!

FUND RAISING

We held two book/cake sales in Pinetown, raising over R200. Various jumble sales were also held, the last one raising R70. Our '60' club continues, with grateful thanks to Marcia Slaughter, who helped run it and to Kay Gaynor who manages it so capably, as well as being Regional Treasurer. We make enough money this way to pay the salary of Jill Nicholson, the Advice Office Supervisor. Many thanks to all members of the region for supporting this.

We have also been able to donate R50 to the Hillcrest Advice Office, run by Mary Grice.

DISCUSSION GROUPS

Two groups are functioning, run by Mary Grice and Lucy Melouney and seem very popular with white and black schoolchildren. They enjoy a purely social evening perhaps even more than having a speaker.

In April last year four members

of our branch were conducted round the St Wendolin's area, due for clearance as it has been declared an industrial area, by the Chairman of the Residents' Committee. A report was written by Greta Lockey and appeared in 'Sash' and in our local Pinetown newspaper. Following a letter we wrote to our MPC raising questions about this area, we have been invited to meet with him to discuss the issue.

We hope to be taken round Clermont township by the Chairman of the Ratepayers' Association, bulldozing of shacks is still being done here.

After Solveig Piper addressed one of our meetings on a Communal Bulk Buying Group she started in Umlazi we had discussions with a group of black women in Clermont and told them of the project. They formed a similar group and we have been able to arrange for them to do bulk buying at a Pinetown wholesalers. We assist with transport and they do the rest. This we feel is a worthwhile project as it helps us maintain contact with the Clermont women while not organising them!

Sarah Burns has obtained lists of families of banned people in

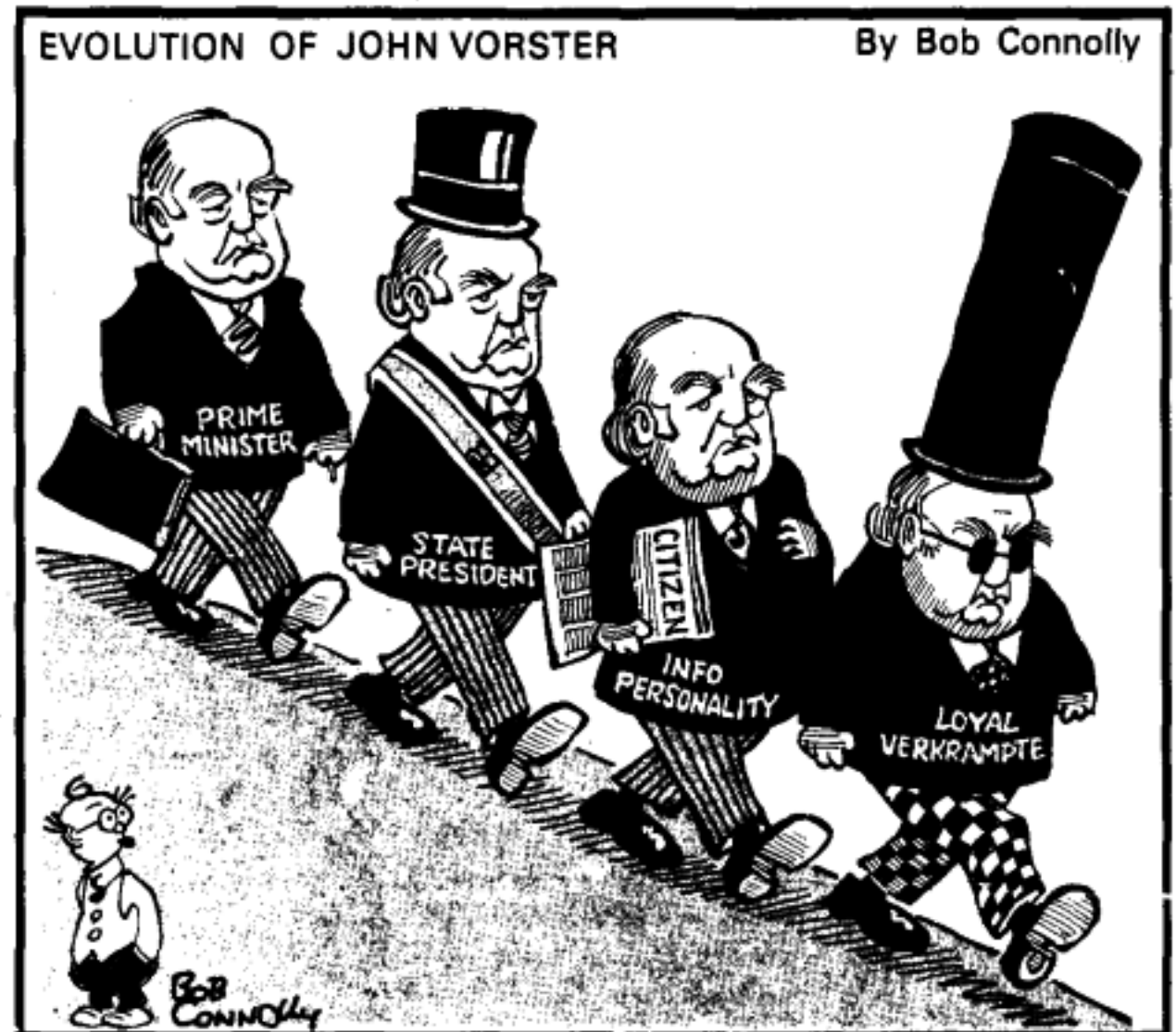
our nearby Hammarsdale and Clermont areas and we have visited them and in one case been able to assist a banned woman obtain a Hawkers Licence to sell her sewing. We like to keep up a contact with these people and are always so surprised and humbled at the pleasure they express at our visits and concern.

Our members also assisted the region by manning a petition table in Kloof to collect signatures with regard to Prisoners Education.

Throughout the year we have been collecting magazines, wool, knitting needles, etc. for King Edward Hospital. Those are distributed through the Ladies Hospital Society.

Our last meeting of 1979 was addressed by Doreen Hindle (formerly Patrick) from Natal Midlands Region. It was lovely to have her with us again and to hear of the subsidised milk feeding scheme (PADMRO) in Pietermaritzburg district. Mrs Hindle suggested we might be able to undertake a malnutrition survey in co-operation with King Edward Hospital Durban or nearer to our Highway area in Pinetown. We could use the same forms they

— to Page 26



POLARISED SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

Bishop Desmond Tutu

THERE are those of us in South Africa who will go into ecstasies about the changes that have happened. Is the government not removing all discriminatory signs; don't we have multi-racial sport? — people can now go to so-called international hotels and restaurants (never mind the embarrassments when you don't know which of these facilities are available for all races or not), and the Prime Minister has himself with considerable courage, veritably bearding the lion in his den, made those pronouncements about adapting or dying and about improving the immorality and mixed marriages acts (whatever improving might be construed to mean) — all these and similar facts surely point to change happening in South Africa? Such people, those who see change around, get a little annoyed when others with equal vehemence and conviction declare that there has really been very little significant or fundamental change. They make the first lot quite hot under the collar when they say that nearly all the much vaunted changes are only superficial or to use their favourite term 'cosmetic'. (I think most of the second lot would be among the first to give credit where it is due). They would commend Mr P. W. Botha for what I referred to as his courage and his realism. I believe we must be thankful that

he is influenced or advised by the military because he must then be aware that there is no way in which South Africa can win a war, conventional or unconventional, with nearly 80 per cent of her population disaffected. Hence his willingness to shed his rightwing (to some extent) and to try and woo other allies such as the business sector.

Some of the business and other leaders were wowed by Mr Botha at his meeting with them last year so that they hardly asked him searching questions about the ordering of our society. They have been out in the cold so long they can't believe that they are now being invited to walk the corridors of power. I know that some or perhaps many of these leaders were distressed that they let a golden opportunity slip on that occasion. I myself think those who see little change would tend to be positive in their assessment of the Wiehahn Commission and the government's response to it especially with the extension of the meaning of worker or 'employee' to include the so-called commuter and migrant. Some would be uneasy about the greater control of the unions and the tardiness about encouraging non-racial unions. But as I say they would regard Wiehahn as a significant step in the right direction.

They would be a great deal less

enthusiastic about Riekert which on the surface seems a good thing — seeking to increase the mobility of labour provided a job and accommodation are available. We will refer to the Riekert Commission and its consequences more fully later. Those who see little change would, I am sure, be willing to commend, say people such as Dr Koornhof, for creating goodwill by his reprieve of Crossroads, Alexander Township, the Fingo village in Grahamstown etc. I generally send him congratulatory telegrams for all these splendid acts. I don't want to seem to give backhanded compliments but Sheena Duncan has pointed out that it is a strange coincidence that Dr Koornhof almost always makes the positive announcements and leaves it to his deputy, Dr Morrison, to make the nasty ones. For instance, Dr Koornhof will say: 'The Fingo village will stay Fingo in Grahams-town!' Hurrah! And Dr Morrison will say more lugubriously 'Their freehold title will be converted to the 99 year leasehold!' Boo! Never mind! The Financial Mail has noticed this and calls it the good guy/bad guy syndrome.

And they might be willing to concede that once you have begun on the road of change, then you often reach a point of no return. Change generates change, it creates a climate for further

change and begins a process which gathers a momentum which cannot ultimately be stopped.

Having said all that we are back where we started with two sets of people in South Africa — those who say there is change and that things are changing and those who say that the changes that have happened and are happening are peripheral and cosmetic. They do not affect the structures of the unjust apartheid society in any significant way at all. Perhaps change like beauty is in the beholder's eye.

The point I am making is that I am really distressed at the degree of polarisation that exists in our country. Last year I was working away until about midnight one Saturday night when the quiet of Soweto was shattered by car hooters blaring and general pandemonium of the sort we also associate with New Year's Eve in the townships and then I remembered. 'It was the big Tate-Coetzee fight'. I said to myself: 'I'm sure Tate has won.' And my guess was confirmed. Most blacks in South Africa were thrilled to bits that Tate had won. They were thrilled because Tate was black but also because he had made a South African white bite the dust. Now most white South Africans were wallowing in the slough of despond as a result of that defeat.

I could go on to give a whole sorry catalogue of issues on which we are sadly divided, largely on racial lines — with most blacks on one side and most whites on the other side of whatever is the great divide. For instance on the matter of foreign investments — you will agree with me that most whites are in favour of further and increased such investments whereas I suspect (you can't speak about this openly) that in keeping with my thesis most blacks would wish to use this as a means for exerting pressure for real and meaningful change.

Most whites are delighted that the British Lions are coming; not so blacks. Most whites were overjoyed that Margaret Thatcher's

Conservative Party came to power and you can be sure most blacks were saddened by this election result. Actually you could become a kind of Euclid and propound an axiom: **Whatever pleases most white South Africans is almost certain to displease most blacks and vice versa.**

You name any subject or issue and you will find my basic premise to be true; take the so-called free enterprise system. It is lauded to the skies by most whites; it is execrated by most blacks; blacks regard certain people as freedom fighters or guerrillas and most whites regard them as terrorists. (As an aside, I still want to appeal to newspapers to reconsider their use of the term **terrorist**. Your readership is not just white and blacks may one day prove that you do depend for your high circulation figures on them. The Financial Mail tends to use the more neutral term 'guerrilla' — it is possible that some of today's terrorists could be tomorrow's negotiators and even government).

I suppose the divided state of our nation is showed up nowhere more dramatically than in the whole area of defence and so-called patriotism. Are we destined to be almost always on opposite sides of the divide of this chasm? I remember how as small boys during World War II we would rush to cheer on the convoys that were going 'up north'. It was a matter of considerable pride to have someone you knew in uniform even though our 'boys' had to face the Italians and Germans carrying assegais. Many Afrikaners then were opposed to the war effort including high ranking Nationalists today, some of whom as we know, were interned for their subversive activities. The white D.R. churches often turned away anybody white who was in uniform in those days. Actually I find it galling in the extreme that people with such a dismal record of loyalty to South Africa should today be reading us lessons in patriotism. Today things are otherwise. Most whites especially Afrikaners, but not only they, are cock-a-hoop about defence. They believe they are

defending South Africa against the onslaught of communism. Many blacks are quite sure they find very little to defend about present day South Africa. I am totally opposed to communism and Marxism (actually also to capitalism). I can't stand atheistic materialism just as much as I can't stand the unbridled licence to selfishness and materialism which are my experience of capitalism and the so-called free enterprise system. I would be willing to defend South Africa against communism but that is not my priority concern. Communism is a potential enemy. **My priority concern is the present state of injustice and oppression of which I and fellow blacks are victims in the land of our birth.** There is nothing potential about that — it is a brutal actuality and that is what most blacks want to defend themselves against here and now and the whole matter is hardly helped by the fact that we really are beginning to experience a civil war situation, because most whites speak of 'our boys on the border' and most blacks also have 'our boys' on the border on the other side.

I think I have said enough about the divided state of our beloved Motherland. I want to add something else which is a sobering fact. I believe that the polarisation I have been describing is a very serious matter and that it seems to be getting worse by the day. But you know it is not a new feature in our national life. I recall many occasions going to Ellis Park or the Rand Stadium where overseas teams were pitted against our Springboks or some other local side. And in those days — in the forties and fifties blacks would invariably be rooting for the visitors whose victories were a kind of vicarious shot in the arm for blacks. I remember too with sadness my days at a teacher training college called The Pretoria Bantu Normal College (I think it was a precursor of the University of the North). We had to develop along our own lines in those days and so we were housed in rondavels, because any other architectural style would be Western and alien and would do untold damage to

our self-image as Bantu. Well, I remember that we would often gather to listen to SABC (I did in those days). And whenever an announcement came over the air about the death of a white South African in for instance a car accident, then the students would cheer and shout, 'one oppressor less!' This in an apartheid institution and this among those who were going to be teachers with the sort of potential influence on young people that teachers sometimes exercise over their charges.

Now that was in the early 50's and spoke of a level of bitterness that is frightening and if, as I believe to be the case, the situation has in many ways deteriorated then we might imagine how student blacks (at the very least those) in fact do fast quarantined in their segregated institutions with little chance of a warm personal relationship with their white peers. We are reaping the whirlwind due to the success of apartheid which the somewhat dated Cillie Commission has so roundly condemned in a searching indictment of our traditional way of life.

WHAT CAN WE DO?

That is almost always the cry from many whites when they are faced with the stark realities of our situation and they are sincere people who do want to change things. I know there are others who want change as long as things remain much the same, as long as their high standard of living remains unaffected. There always tends to be some sense of impotence because they are faced with what seems to be a colossus. I am very sympathetic with my white fellow South Africans but I have no real sympathy with what I believe is an imagined impotence. You do after all have the power of the ballot box. When the Indians in India were incensed with Mrs Indira Ghandi, they got rid of her. Very recently the Canadians did not like what the Clark Government intended doing and although the Canadian Conservatives were in power for only six months after 11 years in the political wilderness of opposition politics, they were booked out and Mr Pierre Trudeau re-

called triumphantly. So if South African whites really mean business then they have the remedy in their own hands. I know that they will say most of the power lies with Afrikaners — well, they too are white South Africans and others must woo them.

Do you recall a strange case a few years ago when we had a colossal butter surplus? By some convoluted economics the Dairy Board decided that since there was a surplus the price of butter should go up. I used to think that the free enterprise system decreed that if there is oversupply then the price has to go down to increase demand. Never mind — I'm no economist. What I want to remind you is that women decided they were not going to buy butter until sanity was restored. For a while they succeeded in getting the price of butter reduced. And I don't think that there was much lobbying for this to have happened. The Government does often take note when strong feelings are aroused about this or that. They certainly took note when nearly all the newspapers protested against some of the provisions in the proposed Advocate General Legislation.

Another point to be made is this — don't look for spectacular achievements. Do what you can in your little corner — 'Bietjie, bietjie maak meer'. You know, don't you, that the sea is only single drops of water collected together. If there were no single drops of water there would be no sea.

Basically I want to issue an appeal to the white community and to the white government — but a friend suggested that I address specific appeals to definite groups and so here goes.

To the Government I want to say what I have said times without number — **Nobody expects all the changes to happen overnight.** Rome we are told was not built in one day. Politics in the art of the possible. You don't want to alienate your supporters and so erode your power base. We are prepared to exercise some patience provided you de-

monstrate your commitment to real change.

First of all — say clearly and unequivocally that you are committed to an undivided non-racial South Africa. That for us blacks is quite unnegotiable — **Our citizenship in an undivided South Africa.** If we get this commitment we are ready to tell our people to hold their horses because these chaps are now talking business.

At present no one in Government has repudiated Dr Mulder's statement (quite breathtaking) that the logical goal of apartheid is that there will be no black South Africans. If that be the case, then I want to issue a warning as responsibly and as dispassionately as possible — it is this — if South Africa is to be balkanised and blacks stripped of their South African citizenship, then you can kiss goodbye to any chances of a peaceful solution. In South Africa, when you issue a warning and the thing happens that you warned about you are criticised or detained because it is said you caused what you predicted. When I was Dean of Johannesburg, I warned two months before Soweto erupted in 1976 that the citizenship issue as represented by the spurious independence of Transkei was highly explosive. My letter was printed as a frontpage Saturday editorial by the Rand Daily Mail. Now the Cillie Commission has shown that the citizenship issue looms large on the list of black grievances.

Secondly — abolish the pass laws, for nothing is more hateful to blacks than this feature of an iniquitous and hateful system. The atmosphere would change dramatically overnight — race relations would be as they never have been if that were to happen. You can do this gradually without encouraging chaos — because you must link it with a crash program to develop the rural areas so that people are not attracted to the towns. Enable them to farm on a small scale so that they are not forced to be wage earners, so that they can feed themselves.

Thirdly, halt immediately all po-

pulation removal and dislocation schemes and I underline **immediately**. Just as the Afrikaner finds it difficult to forgive and **certainly difficult to forget** what the British did to them in the concentration camps, so we will find it difficult to forgive and **certainly difficult to forget** what they have done and continue to do to us with their diabolical population removal schemes.

Fourthly — please get rid of bantu education, i.e. this obsession for differentiated and discriminatory education systems.

Fifthly — please abolish the provisions for detention without trial and lift all banning orders or lay charges against those so banned. And then call a national convention. God is good to us — He says 'I want to give you an object lesson on how **not** to solve a political crisis.' And he has provided us with Rhodesia.

A former prime minister asked the Namibians to sit down at a conference table, and sort out their differences and so we had the Turnhalle negotiations. And the same prime minister was instrumental in persuading Mr Smith to talk with his counterparts at the celebrated Victoria Falls talks. Why should this way of dealing with a political crisis be only for export and not for domestic consumption.

All the current black political leaders who are acknowledged as such by the black community are ready to talk. It is no use engaging in what appears to be a charade with leaders whom most blacks repudiate. Look at what has happened to Bishop Muzorewa. Our real leaders are eminently reasonable men and I include those on Robben Island and those in exile. Percy Qoboza pointed out that these were the last generation that will be ready to negotiate. Please let us talk whilst we can, whilst there is the real possibility of an orderly evolution to a shared society. I have dedicated myself to help bring this about and yet when you hear some references to people such as Dr Motlana or Percy Qoboza or myself, you could be forgiven for thinking that we were fire-

spouting radical Marxists who were touting Russian made guns.

To the white community in general I say — express your commitment to change by agreeing to accept a redistribution of wealth and a more equitable sharing of the resources of our land. Be willing to accept voluntarily a declension in your very high standard of living. Isn't it better to have lost something voluntarily and to assist in bringing about change — political powersharing — in an orderly fashion than to see this change come with bloodshed and chaos when you stand to lose everything. Change your attitudes. Know that blacks are human beings and all we want is to be treated as such. Everything you want for yourselves is exactly what we want for ourselves and for our children — a stable family life where husband lives with his wife and children, adequate housing and proper free and compulsory education for our children and all the social services you take for granted — electrification, paved streets, parks, lighted streets, swimming pools and don't say you have earned them and pay for them because we are victims of a cheap labour system and are quite willing to pay for these things if we are paid the rate for the job.

I have not given up hope for the S.A.B.C. As a heavensent opportunity to help change attitudes in South Africa and to help pave the way for change. If the S.A.B.C. stopped being a propaganda machine (not even for the Government but for a political party, it would begin to educate whites for change.

To our so-called white universities — you have a very good record for standing up for academic freedom. But why don't you tell the Government that you are not going to be dictated to in this matter? You could easily be sent to Coventry internationally if you really don't stand up to the authorities more effectively. Would they close you if you all said you are agitating for openness? It is after all a very important part of the meaning of university — universal in its membership. Yes,

please negotiate for this right, but please forget about permits. They are an abomination.

To the Chambers of Commerce and Mines as well as corporations and other business undertakings I ask for only three things:

- (a) That you will insist that your workers are housed in family type accommodation as families near the place of work of breadwinner — out goes the evil of the migratory labour system.
- (b) Recognise black unions — out goes the evil of the pass laws and influx control. Unionists should be able to sell their labour everywhere.
- (c) Massive investment in black education at every level.

All of these items that we have discussed in this section of my paper comprise what could be the harbingers of change. I want to add just one more — the possibility of free discussion of various options politically, religiously, economically and socially. We are inhibited in our land from canvassing various possibilities. Let us hear about Marxism and communism. If democracy is superior to them as I believe it is, then they stand no chance of being tempting. Part of their attraction lies in that they are forbidden fruit. Let us discuss an alternative to a violent solution and so let's talk about sanctions openly and responsibly. You know my experience after Denmark. I have never been so vilified and become the object of so much white hostility and vituperation (I have also been comforted by the support of many).

Let us talk about alternatives to capitalism. I will want to see that form of socioeconomic ordering of society changed. The Riekert Commission wants to help in the creation of a highly privileged black middle class who are surely going to be some of the best defenders of a status quo that provides them with such benefits and privileges. Riekert is ruthless in its intentions about

— to Page 25

Prospects for peaceful change in the 1980's

Carter Ebrahim

Deputy Chairman, Labour Party

THE very fact that we are now entering a new decade, is in itself a stimulus and in many respects, a justification to weigh the political approaches and strategies of the 1970s in the light of results and achievements, if any, and ask ourselves: Are the approaches of the past decade really adequate to meet the demands of the 80s? Do we not need a fundamentally new strategic approach to break the existing political logjam in order to move forward quickly to the desired goal of full citizenship rights for all South Africans?

This question arises with the greatest urgency out of the present situation in Southern Africa. ZIMBABWE is writ large over all our thinking and acting. There is a palpable impatience among the overwhelming majority of non-Afrikaners to fulfil themselves as free and equal citizens in the land of their birth — NOW. This impatience is being given a new impetus by the awareness — again induced by Zimbabwe — by blacks of the intolerable fact that they are the only people on earth who still do not determine their own destiny nor that of their own country.

In other words, while pressures build up externally and internally which inexorably move in the direction of the elimination of racism in South Africa, the govern-

ment, contrary to the pronouncement of Mr P. W. Botha and other spokesman, are moving at a snail's pace — if at all — towards change. Non-violent initiatives among blacks are therefore being dangerously frustrated and demoralised. It is a glaring fact that nothing has been achieved during the past decade — not even a declaration of intent by the powers that be — that holds out any real hope for a genuine and acceptable restructuring of South Africa; that will lay the groundwork for peaceful development and progress in the 1980s.

All that has happened is that the protagonists of violence are finding that government intransigence is strengthening their arguments in favour of that option, and those who still continue to cry: 'Let us exhaust all political options and means', find that they now have to battle with a rising tide of despair — that peaceful change is a dream. The argument goes that the Afrikaner power structure has a vested interest — not in peace, but only in the instrument of power, in 'institutional violence'.

Does this all mean then that the advocates of peaceful change are pursuing a lost cause, or even, as some say, standing in the way of the only real solution — violence? If Zimbabwe teaches us anything at all, it teaches us that

adversaries in war still had finally to COMPROMISE — which is what politics is all about — around the negotiating table. That the war in Zimbabwe was a cruel waste of precious time and lives and was brought about mainly, if not solely, by white intransigence.

The lesson of Zimbabwe then, is not one of the efficacy of violence but rather that of a spur to greater effort to bring about peaceful change — because it is eminently possible. Instead of despairing of success we must look to our approaches and strategies and change them if we must.

The first fundamental error of democrats in South Africa, going back far further than the past decade, was their failure to question the right of the Afrikaner power structure to call itself nationalist. Nationalism in essence is defensive and protective of a distinctive political and cultural existence within a clearly defined geographical area, the integrity of which is universally acknowledged. The sanctity of nationhood and the inviolability of its acknowledged territory is so strongly a part of world values today that even the mighty Soviet Union has to justify its invasion of Afghanistan by claiming that it is there by 'invitation'.

The last the world saw of Afrikaner nationalism was when it was fighting a desperate, glorious but vain battle against a rapacious British imperialism at the turn of the century. What for? In classical language, for the inalienable right to national independence and self-determination within the two republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

Today, in Cape Town, a thousand miles away from the Transvaal, Marais Steyn, without 'invitation' and with grasping selfishness, declares that no more living areas for 'coloureds' will be established in the Cape Peninsula. Without a by your leave, his government removes the last vestige of representation from the coloured people and impose another dummy council of 30 muzzled stooges on them. Standing astride the whole of South Africa, Afrikaner 'nationalism', so-called, 'in-

vites' millions of blacks to accept its brand of 'independence' which, according to the Quail Commission established to investigate Ciskei independence, South Africa will reap the benefit of the work of its able-bodied men, without the responsibility of seeing to the welfare of Ciskeian children and the aged.

Is this Afrikaner nationalism? On the contrary! What we see at work here is a form of imperialism being practised by the Afrikaner which he believes is essential for the preservation of his identity, his survival and his privileged position. The hallmark of imperialism is its rapacious forays into the territory of others, far beyond its own national borders. Its *modus operandi* is domination of others by means of exclusive rule, and the exploitation of the material and human resources of the areas under its domination, for the enrichment of the imperial homeland. If others do not, I personally see tremendous significance in the fact that all real economic development is deliberately concentrated in the Transvaal by this government. Every other province has a cinderella status in comparison.

Whether Afrikaners in particular or whites in general like it or not, the only genuine nationalism in South Africa today is black nationalism. It is with this force that the Afrikaner will have come to terms. But more of this later.

The second fundamental error committed by democrats is to base their political strategy almost exclusively on the possibility of a decisive split in the Nationalist Party, whether imminent or inevitable. This is a soul-destroying exercise. Afrikaner unity has been too dearly bought and will as dearly be sold. Indeed, the price has gone up immeasurably in direct proportion to the mounting threats to exclusive Afrikaner rule. Democrats must now stop falling for the old, familiar entry sign, 'Nat Party Splitting', knowing full well that at the end of this stra-

tegic blind alley, they will be met with the crushing information that 'Godot will come tomorrow'.

Political strategies for non-violent change in the future must be totally independent of domestic upheavals in Afrikaner political circles. Who can deny the frustration, disappointment and demoralising effect that Mr P. W. Botha's statement that he does not differ with Dr Treurnicht has had upon the people?

The prospects for peaceful change in the 1980's then, will depend heavily on the speed with which Afrikaners drop their imperialistic stance and the masquerade of being nationalists. I believe that this process of self-examination and resultant change in Afrikaner attitudes can best be assisted by frankly and openly looking at various alternatives that will satisfy the demand on the part of black nationalism to come into its own in its own country and also to accommodate ALL rational white demands.

Afrikanerdom must finally accept that if it will not forgo its right for whites to rule themselves, that is its refusal to share power, then it must share land. Then they must decide upon an area of South Africa the integrity of which will be respected by black South Africa. This is partition. It will have to be an area where whites are in the majority in order to accord with the world norm for just government — majority rule. I have no doubt in my mind that black South Africa will be far more magnanimous than the British imperialists of eighty years ago and concede to such a demand.

Such an option, mutually agreed upon, will certainly eliminate the threat of black/white conflict, and free the overwhelming majority of South Africans to get on with the job of uniting the whole of Southern Africa in a non-racial federation of states. This is the only workable reality for the southern continent as opposed to Mr P. W. Botha's 'constellation of states' idea. The latter is doomed to failure because it is an ill-disguised plan for the colonisation, once again of Southern Africa,

this time by Afrikaner neo-imperialism.

A sovereign white state will soon see the advantages of coming in with the rest of advancing Southern Africa and at the same time retaining a large degree of governmental autonomy as a federal state.

Another option which blacks would consider negotiable, in the light of the Zimbabwean experience, is a high percentage of white seats in a common parliament in a unitary system.

These three options of partition, a non-racial federation of states and a unitary system embodying a strong minority of white votes all make provision for the crucial condition of full citizenship rights for all. They also flow logically from the position that blacks take up today that the demand for one-man-one-vote in a unitary system is a **basis** for negotiation. It is a demand that need not precipitate conflict, provided whites are prepared to sit down as equals and negotiate an equitable settlement. This view is strongly supported by the facts: the Labour Party's own report on constitutional alternatives is clearly defined as a basis for negotiation and the call by ALL black political organisations for a national convention where solutions are to be JOINTLY worked out. There is no question, from the black side, of an **imposed** solution.

From the side of Afrikaner nationalism, so-called, imposed solutions are the order of the day. If South African democracy does not intervene decisively and take the initiative, instead of perpetually reacting to the non-initiatives of the Afrikaner power structure, the prospects for non-violent change in the 80s look very grim. On the other hand, if a new, independent approach based on the alternatives outlined above were adopted, new and far more effective strategic possibilities must follow and a breakthrough in the 80s will then be a certainty.

REGIONAL REPORTS

— from Page 19

use in Pietermaritzburg for collecting information of children admitted to hospital suffering from malnutrition. This will be a project which will keep us busy for some time.

On receipt of the Johannesburg Advice Office Emergency report we sent a copy to the Bishop of Natal and also succeeded in having it printed in the Kloof Anglican Parish Magazine.

Unbelievable as it may seem we are still battling to have our Highway libraries open to all races — we have been attempting this for four years now and believed we were successful with Kloof last year but to no avail — they have opened a separate

'mobile' library for blacks. However we have heard recently that another Highway library has opened to all races.

Our members are all very active and always willing to assist with any project. It has been a real pleasure to be in the chair and a big thank you to Lucy for always being happy to take the seat when I was away!

BISHOP TUTU

— from Page 23

those blacks who don't qualify. Get them out of the urban areas. It does not really matter where they go — they will be out of sight and so out of mind. It is a ruthlessly clever piece that —

in town people have the possibilities of making some effort of living whereas when you dump them as discarded things they are most likely to starve as they are doing.

Yes let there be more open and free discussions. I believe we still have a chance if we grab the opportunity God has given us. I am still committed to reasonably peaceful change and I am committed to work for justice and reconciliation. But the sands of time are running out quickly. Let's do something to avert the bloodbath, the alternative too ghastly to contemplate. That sounds pretty familiar. Will somebody take heed, please.

BLACK SASH OFFICES

HEADQUARTERS

510 Voortrekker House
18 Hoek St, Johannesburg 2001
Phone 37-2435/6

CAPE WESTERN

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

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 G. Dyzenhaus, 510 Voortrekker House, 18 Hoek Street, Johannesburg 2001.

Published by the Black Sash, 510 Voortrekker House, 18 Hoek Street, Johannesburg 2001, and printed by Pacific Press, 302 Fox Street, Jeppesstown 2094, Johannesburg.

COPYRIGHT: The copyright in all material which is identified by the symbol © is expressly reserved to The Black Sash. All other material may be freely reproduced provided that the source and the author are acknowledged.

OBITUARY

MARY FINDLEY

All Sash members will have been sorry to hear of the death of **Mary Findley** after a long illness. For many years she was a very active member of Gardens/Sea Point Branch and was chairman until she moved away from the area.

It was largely due to her initiative that a club for domestic workers was started at Sea Point. A capable and enthusiastic organiser, she gave a tremendous lot of time and thought to the running of this club. She is remembered with great affection by all its members.

Mary gave of her time and talents freely and she will be greatly missed.

M. Hoey-Jones

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
Theo Mosala

Elmon Malele
Matthews Mabelane
Tswafifene Joyi
Samuel Malinga
Aaron Khoza
Phakamile Mablja
Elijah Loza
Hoosen Haffejee
Bayempin Mzizi
Steve Biko
Bonaventure Malaza
Lungile Tabalaza
Jacob Mashabane
Fenuai Mogatusi