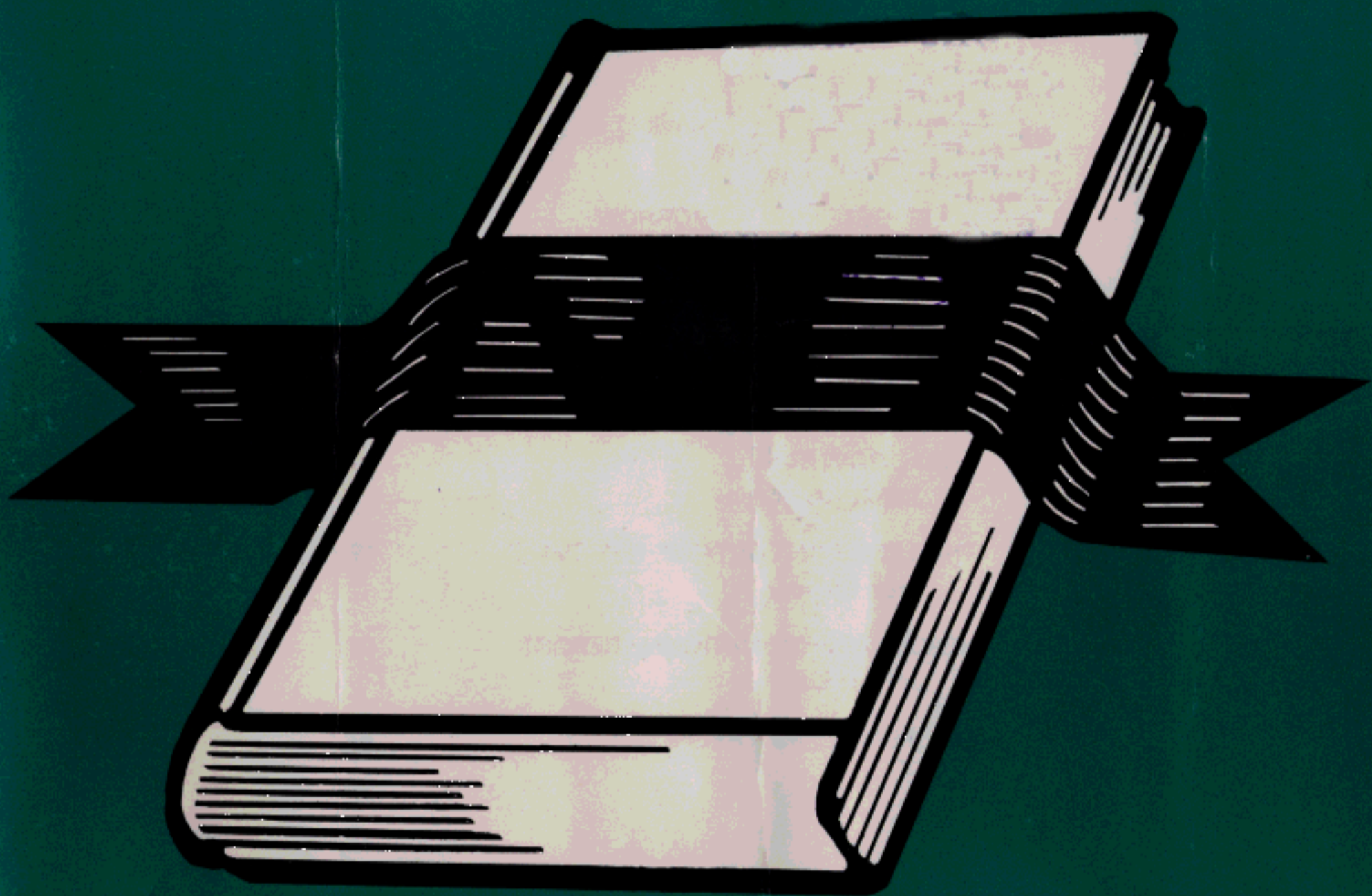


# SASH

Vol. 24 · No. 1

May 1981



**Conference  
Issue**

## **Contents:**

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS JOYCE HARRIS	1
A RIDE ON THE WHIRLWIND Sipho Sepamla	7
DON'T GET TIRED TOMORROW Monica Wilson	8
OBITUARIES	11
FINGER PRINTING Sheena Duncan	12
RURAL POVERTY Judith Hawarden	15
THE LIE OF 'VOLUNTARY' REMOVALS Prue Crosoer	19
HEADQUARTERS NATIONAL REPORT Jill Wentzel	22
THE BLACK SASH RESOLVES	27

# Presidential Address

Joyce Harris

---

*The National President gave this address before the General Election.*

---

**T**HE announcement of a general election changes nothing materially, either by its disruption of the Parliamentary session or by its results, which are a foregone conclusion. In fact it is difficult to understand why the Prime Minister could not simply have shifted to the right or, even more simply, altered his rhetoric without subjecting the country to the expense and inconvenience of a general election.

But perhaps he wanted to give himself an opportunity to change his disguise. Having spent so much time and so many words building up what he hoped was a 'verligte' image he may find it difficult to effect a change without first drawing a curtain of words across the political stage.

I shall therefore talk about the theme song of total onslaught and total strategy, and about what I consider to be the great delusion — or is it illusion?

Dictionary definitions do not disclose all that much difference between the two words. Both imply deception and the creation of false impressions, and neither specifically differentiates between self-deception and the deception of others. My thesis is that the Government is deluding itself and others by creating illusions for itself and others.

It is easier to create illusions for willing subjects who wish to retain the *status quo* or change as little as possible. It is therefore not at all surprising that the Government has been so successful at deluding itself, its followers and its hangers-on. Its opponents cannot be so easily deluded for the vast majority of them have been on the receiving end of discrimination for far too long not to be able to recognise it, whatever guise it might assume.

**By and large I would say that white objectives are to change as little as is consonant with the maintenance of white power and supremacy, while at the same time convincing blacks that the changes are material and meaningful. Black objectives are the achievement of black power or, possibly, shared power, by peaceful or reasonably peaceful or violent means. There is some white overlap into black objectives, but no black overlap into white, except for those relatively few blacks who co-operate with the establishment for whatever reason.**



● Acknowledgements to The Star.

The enormous danger in present Government policy seems to be that the very success of the delusion blinds those in power to the realities of the situation. Because they have apparently persuaded themselves that what they are offering in the way of change is adequate, reasonable and desirable, they are unable to perceive that other and larger sections of the community are not reacting in the same way and are totally dissatisfied by what is on offer.

The black community seethes with frustration and anger at what it views as the great white illusion that whites will remain in power for evermore, and that they are therefore able to choose how they will act, what concessions they will make and what concessions they consider non-negotiable.

The vast majority of white people appear to be totally unaware of the effects of Government statements and actions on black people. The ever recurring white euphoria is witness to this: be it the opening of each new session of Parliament

which invariably has liberal expectations unfulfilled by the end of it; be it the positive reactions of much of the white electorate, and even of the English press, to Ministerial statements which cannot sustain the glare of detailed examination; be it economic optimism.

### **Total onslaught/Total strategy**

When the Government refers to 'total onslaught' is it talking about the so-called communist menace, another of its oft-used phrases which has lost a good deal of its credibility, because of the wide interpretation given to the word, 'Communism'? To which particular communist menace is it referring? That outside the country in the shape of potential invaders — Cubans, Russians, Chinese, blacks — or that inside the country, if indeed anything remains of it after years of administering the Internal Security Act? Or is it the Russian spy, conveniently produced by Government sleight of hand to announce this election?

Is the Government referring to total onslaught from the Press, or the Opposition? What form is the onslaught taking? Is it dissidence inside the country, or outside, or both or neither?

Is it the threat of sanctions as a result of the inability to reach a solution to the Namibian issue, a threat which it professes is something it can contain if it has to? If it is, then the Government holds the solution in its own hands. It has only to settle the Namibian issue.

Is it the antagonism of almost the entire world to its policy of discrimination? If so, it has only to institute change which the rest of the world is able to recognise as a genuine intention to do away with racial discrimination.

'Total Onslaught' is a useful, all-embracing term. It becomes a simple matter to equate what should be justifiable dissent within a democratic framework with lack of patriotism, enabling the authorities to accuse all political opponents of being traitors to their country and part of the total onslaught upon it. This is a very convenient and emotive weapon for stifling all dissent while contriving to appear righteous.

The Government appears to be totally incapable of recognising that the total onslaught, if indeed there is one, is a direct result of its own policies, and that it has only to change them to disarm that onslaught. It is towards this end that its 'total strategy' should be directed.

Instead 'Total Strategy' is that which in the opinion of the Government will contain 'Total Onslaught'. It covers the entire gamut of Government action, inside and outside the country.

The Government's ultimate objectives remain shrouded in considerable ambiguity. Deeds frequently contradict statements. The words are the illusion, the deeds are the facts. But confusion is created in the minds of the people, many of whom then opt for taking the words at their face value,

ignoring the deeds, and castigating those who point out the inconsistencies. Thus is the great illusion nurtured.

### **PM's Twelve Points**

Take, for instance, the Prime Minister's twelve points which he presented as his blueprint for the future and on which he is purportedly fighting this election.

When initially propagated these points were received with euphoria in many quarters as an indication of the liberalising of National Party policy under a new Prime Minister and a new deal for all the people of our country. A more careful assessment led some observers to the conclusion that these points merely cloaked the old National Party policy of separation and the retention of power in different words. Each successive Prime Minister has found it necessary to make some adjustments and alter some labels, but the mixture remains very much as it was before, and undoubtedly tastes as bitter to those who are forced to swallow it.

Let us look at Mr. Botha's deeds within the context of his 12 points. This should give us a good idea of what he meant by his words.

### **Points 1 and 2**

Multi-nationalism, vertical differentiation and self-determination, are, to my mind, merely euphemisms for homelands, née bantustans. The Government may well be planning to allocate more powers to homeland governments, though its motivation for doing so is questionable. The end result could be to separate from the mainstream of South Africa even those homelands which are resisting independence and the fracturing of our country.

1980 has shown no deviation from long-established policy. On 1st September, 1980, Dr. Koornhof told a National Party Congress that during the 1978/79 financial year the Government spent R1 108 700 000 trying to make separate development work, and that the report of Benso, exposing the economic failure of the homelands, would not deter the Government from pressing ahead with its homeland development programme. (RDM 2/9/80).

In 1979 4 818 blacks were removed to the black states from Pretoria, Johannesburg, Cape Town and East London (Hansard 3/80), R29 406 590 was spent on buying land in terms of the Development Trust and Land Act in 1979 (Hansard 8/80). The Trust also bought property in the Transkei for R24 994 859 (Hansard 12/80).

The costs of the Homelands policy continue to escalate. These are not incurred to feed the starving women, children and old men in the homelands, or to provide jobs for those endorsed out of urban areas, removed under the Government's removal scheme or prevented from seeking work.

Only R133 745 of all those millions was spent

by the Development Corporation in creating 11 026 jobs for blacks in 1978/79 in the so-called black states (Hansard 12/80).

The costs are incurred in order to create so-called national states which are non-viable, geographically scattered, over-populated and under-nourished, but which conform to the Government's unchanged policy of separation and the creation of labour reserves for the white economy. The blacks concerned were given no voice whatsoever in their formation.

As for the so-called Independent Black States, the Government feels justified in affirming that blacks were consulted by way of free and fair elections or referenda. However a study done by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer at the behest of the Quail Commission into the desirability of independence for the Ciskei, found that 90 percent of all Xhosa-speaking blacks want a one-man-one-vote unitary system with black and white people voting together for one parliament. 70 percent would accept as second-best, but as worthwhile, a federal system of government. (RDM 13/2/80).

Thus when the Government pats itself on the back at the results of the referendum over independence for the Ciskei it should remind itself that the people, or most of them, were voting only for their second option, the first having been categorically denied them.

### Point 3

Point 3, which calls for the creation of constitutional structures by black nations to give them the greatest possible degree of self-government, has its obverse side, which is that it provides the Government with a self-created loophole to justify the denial of all political rights to blacks, both in the so-called white areas and in the totality of South Africa. In addition the degree of self-government has to be extremely limited for as long as the South African Government controls the purse-strings, which it will inevitably do for the foreseeable future.

The Homelands are totally incapable of financing themselves. They have insufficient land, natural resources, infra-structures, job opportunities, and trained personnel. Calling them the Black National States does not make them so.

### Point 4

The division of power among whites, 'coloureds' and Indians — has been given effect, according to the Government, through the formation of the President's Council, which also includes representatives of the Chinese people. Members of this Council have been appointed by the Government, the National Party is in the majority, and the powers of the Council are purely advisory.

The concept was roundly slated by the 'coloured' and Indian communities when it was first mooted, and the Official Opposition, the Progressive Federal Party, refused to have anything to do with it.

It is probably fair comment to say that those members of their communities who are serving on the Council cannot be considered to be representative of them.

An appointed advisory council may not talk authoritatively on behalf of the people it purports to represent, and is in an invidious position vis-a-vis those who have appointed it, who are the very people it is supposed to advise. Its ability to shoulder joint responsibility is extremely limited. In the no-Confidence debate on 26th January, Mr Botha replied 'No' to Dr. Slabbert's question whether he would accept a President's Council recommendation that blacks be included on the same basis as other groups (RDM 27/1/81).

Its estimated cost for the 1981-82 financial year is R4 284 500 (Hansard 2/81) P. 30.

### Point 5

Point five, the acceptance of the principle that each group should have its own schools and communities, shows no deviation from long-accepted Government policy. A dispassionate observer would be hard-pressed to find any significant difference between the scenario of 1976, when black children demonstrated over their educational grievances, and that of 1980 when 'coloured' children demonstrated over theirs.

Grievances have not been satisfactorily redressed. The figures speak for themselves, with an annual per capita expenditure of R640 on each white child, R297 on each Asian child, R197 on each so-called Coloured child and R68 on each black child. (Hansard 2/80, 3/80, 4/80).

And white education is precarious enough.

The same inequalities still exist in facilities provided for the different racial groups.

The Government has finally introduced compulsory education for blacks in certain limited areas, but this is being resisted by black spokesmen, despite the fact that blacks have campaigned for it in the past, because it is being introduced under a system that still differentiates between the racial groups and still provides for a separate educational policy. In addition this move is seen by many as being a Government ruse to make black parents carry the responsibility for breaking the schools boycott, thus aggravating the generation gap and sowing dissension in the black community.

### Point 6

Point 6 stresses that whites are willing to work with other groups as equals and consult them on issues of common concern, while maintaining a healthy balance between the rights of the individual and those of the community, and to remove unnecessary hurtful forms of discrimination. This is a very strange commitment indeed.

**The use of terms such as 'unnecessary' and 'hurtful' forms of discrimination implies that some discrimination is both necessary and un hurtful. I**

**defy anyone who has ever been discriminated against in any way whatsoever to find such action unhurtful. All discrimination is hurtful. And if some discrimination is necessary, according to Government thinking, and if this necessary discrimination is always to be directed against the black people, as must be tacitly understood though not explicitly stated, then how will it ever be possible to 'work together as equals'?**

This is a typical example of the web of words the Government weaves in order to create the illusion that it is seriously contemplating change and is liberalising its attitudes towards the black people of our country.

#### **Point 7**

The recognition of economic interdependence and the properly planned utilisation of manpower are the objectives of point 7. I have always been under the impression that economic interdependence is self-evident — the white economy could never have reached its present state of sophistication and wealth without the black labour force — and so the recognition is somewhat belated.

Certainly there should be planned utilisation of manpower if this means optimum use of manpower's talent potential to the mutual satisfaction of entrepreneurs and workers.

But in the context of Mr. Botha's twelve points what does it mean? Admittedly the Wiehahn Commission has recommended, inter alia, vocational training and the absorption of the black work force into the negotiating machinery for wages, conditions of service and so on. And the Rieckert Commission has recommended the protection of the established urban black work force with more, albeit still limited, geographical mobility and more security of tenure, family life and so on.

In practice the conversion of these recommendations into reality has removed even some of the gilt envisaged, as the proposed countervailing restrictions have been imposed with full severity. Black Trade Unions are having to fight every inch of the way for non-racial unions, for registration which will not limit their activities, and for recognition from employers and already existing Unions. Vocational Training and Education are to remain separate and probably therefore unequal.

Worker's dissatisfaction with prevailing conditions is indicated by the Department of Manpower Utilization's disclosure in Parliament on 26th January, of this year that more than 130 000 man-hours were lost in 100 labour disputes involving 15 771 black workers during 1979. The number of man-hours lost rocketed to 62,5 percent, and there was an increase of 11,3 percent in the number of black workers involved. In 1971 there were 51 strikes involving 10 515 black workers and causing a loss of 110 511 man-hours. (RDM 27/1/81).

The Pass Laws are an essential weapon in the control of manpower. On 31st October, 1980, Dr.

Koornhof, Minister of Co-Operation and Development, launched his three Bills at a Press Conference, stating, "It is a genuine attempt to reform" (Natal Witness, 1/1/80).

Following an avalanche of protest from those who saw the Bills as inflicting even more arduous restrictions than before he has withdrawn them for re-drafting.

Of these Bills Mr. Steve Kgame, president of the Urban Councillors Association, which is accused in some black quarters of being a Government stooge, said, 'Our critics have the right to say: "We told you so" . . . The Government hit us below the belt because it did not take us into its confidence before the Bills were formulated.' (Star 12/1/81).

In introducing the Bills did Dr. Koornhof fail to understand their implications? Was he genuinely able to delude himself into believing that he was delivering the goods that the oppressed people of our country had been anxiously awaiting as a result of his promises of reform? Or was he simply creating illusions for the general public? We shall never know the answers, but this game of delusions and illusions is a dangerous one to play. The stakes are high — peace and justice in our country — and the frustrations of inevitable disillusionment will become increasingly difficult to contain.

#### **Point 8**

The peaceful constellation of states of Southern Africa with respect for one another's cultural heritage, traditions and ideals is point number 8. It was interesting to note in the speech of the State President at the opening of Parliament in January that he referred constantly to Southern Africa rather than South Africa.

It would seem that states such as Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda, and soon Ciskei, having been amputated from the body politic of the Republic of South Africa, have now become separate states in Southern Africa which are then incorporated into the constellation of states. Admittedly the intention of the Prime Minister has been to include in this constellation the Front Line States but at present this remains a pipe-dream. Hence the constellation of States as of now consists of states which used to be an integral part of South Africa until they were excised by Government policy. **Why, one wonders, is it so impossible to respect the cultural heritage, traditions and ideals of people while they are citizens of the same country, enriching it by their diversity? Why must they first be hived off into their 'states' so that they can be drawn back into a constellation of states within which they can then be respected.** All these people who are presently being drawn into the constellation are in fact bona fide citizens of the Republic of South Africa, who lost their citizenship when their states became independent, only to be subsequently encouraged to re-become inter-dependent.

## Points 9 and 10

The need for South Africa to defend itself against outside intervention and to follow a policy of neutrality in the confrontation between the super-powers (points 9 and 10) may never have arisen at all had National Party policy not been such as to arouse the anger of neighbouring states and lose it the friendship and support of the Western world. On the international scene it is persona non grata with almost the entire world.

## Point 11

Point 11, the State's maintenance of effective decision-making, founded on a strong defence force and police force in order to ensure orderly government and a sound and efficient administration says nothing new. The Government has always demonstrated its determination to retain all decision-making power in its own hands, and its major concession, the President's Council, does nothing to undermine this.

Disproportionate amounts of the country's resources have been spent in maintaining a strong defence force. It is to cost R2 505 million this year. (RDM 18/2/81).

While the police force remains underpaid and under-strength, it is yet a force to be reckoned with, particularly by blacks, who are subjected to raids and road blocks manned by the army as well as the police.

It is interesting to note that this point, makes no reference to justice, the Rule of Law or the restoration of habeas corpus but only to 'orderly government' and 'sound administration'.

These can and do thrive in the most unjust of societies.

The Government's track record in this regard speaks for itself and shows no significant change in direction.

At least 956 people were detained by security police and 14 people were issued with banning orders in South Africa and the independent homelands last year. Those detained included 341 pupils, 117 college and university students, 32 lecturers, school principals and teachers, 67 political leaders, 39 community workers, 10 journalists and 21 trade unionists. (IRR, RDM 12/1/81).

35,912 people were tried, 29,861 of these were convicted of offences relating to influx control and identity documents and 143 cases were heard per day in the Commissioner's Court, Market Street, Johannesburg, in 1979. (Hansard 15/80). In the same year there were 203,000 pass law prosecutions.

150 persons are presently detained in terms of Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, Sections 10 and 12B of the Internal Security Act and Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act (Hansard 1/81).

## Point 12

The final point, 12, supports the maintenance of free enterprise as the basis of our economic policy. The Government has not yet been able to find a satisfactory answer to the question of how it can equate adherence to the free enterprise system with the total control it exercises over the mobility and use of labour. There can be no free enterprise economy for as long as the rural areas remain reservoirs of cheap labour from which no black may escape unless his labour is requisitioned.

**Simply saying that the Government is dedicated to the free enterprise system does not make it a participant in it. Here is just one more glaring example of the discrepancy between words and deeds.**

These, then, are the twelve points which gained for Mr. Botha the reputation of being an enlightened reformist — Reality or illusion?

It might be a salutary exercise to examine some of the other actions and legislation of Mr. Botha's Government during 1980, which do not fall directly within the ambit of his 12 points but which must surely be part of his 'total strategy'.

## Democracy — quo vadis?

Constitutionally, in addition to creating the President's Council, the Government abolished the Senate. Thus it removed a check on the House of Assembly without replacing it. The President's Council is not an alternative. As the Government has an unassailable majority in the Assembly it has given itself a total mandate to govern as it sees fit.

It has also introduced appointed members of Parliament. This is something totally alien to the whole concept of a Parliamentary democracy and the principle of elected responsible representation, and their term of office is now to be extended beyond the dissolution of Parliament. (Star 19/2/81). Democratic government has received a blow which could eventually prove to be fatal. Once the principal of nominated membership has been accepted the day could easily dawn when there will be no more elections.

## Press

The Press has been increasingly controlled. Post and Sunday Post have been silenced. Black journalists have been banned. Black people have been still further denied a medium for the expression of their views and blacks and whites have been denied access to these views.

**This has actually been done while the Government-appointed Steyn Commission into the Mass Media has been hearing evidence.**

Mrs. Mtimkulu, the wife of banned journalist, Phil Mtimkulu, said, 'My husband does not know, and may never know why he is being punished'. (Sowetan 2/2/81), and Bishop Tutu said of the

bannings that 'it was clear the Government regarded black people as the enemy when it spoke of the total onslaught'. (Sowetan 2/2/81).

In discussing the banning of Post and Sunday Post its acting editor, Mr. Joe Latakomo, said, 'We at Post tried to reflect black society as we saw it. We believed in fighting for a just society for all and supported in our columns those black organisations which reasonably reflected the views of the majority . . . The Government's so-called changes were not changes at all . . . **In no way can we be party to the Prime Minister's total strategy. The Government seems to forget that we keep it informed as much as we do our black readers**'. (Star 23/1/81).

The Police Amendment Act and the Key Installations Amendment Act further restricted the right of the Press to publish the imposition of restrictions and the names of people on whom they are imposed, and information about police methods, together with any information about key installations.

### **The tentacles of Government**

A Labour Bill was introduced designed to control strike action and to allow for treaties with the Homeland governments to enable the repatriation of migrant workers.

There should be no surprise at this development. It is totally in keeping with the Government's total strategy of concentrating more and more power and control in fewer and fewer hands. The administrative changes introduced by the Prime Minister — the Security Council, the Cabinet Committee system, the high-powered secretariat, the appointed Members of Parliament, the inclusion of high level army personnel in the machinery of government — are all specifically designed to entrench Mr. Botha and his henchmen in power.

This having been achieved, the next move is to make control easier to exercise: through censorship, sanctions, silence, military and police strength and efficiency. **Everywhere there has been an actual or intended tightening up process: in justice, in the Press, in Trade Unions, in Education, in the Constitution, in population control — all concealed behind a curtain of liberal-sounding rhetoric and all part of the total strategy.**

When the chips are down there does not appear to be all that much difference between Mr. Botha's so-called reformist policies and those of the Nationalist diehards. Speaking in the No Confidence debate this year Mr. Botha made it clear he would not put his reform policy ahead of Nationalist unity. He said, 'There are no differences of principle in this party'. (RDM 28/1/81).

### **Black reactions**

This is born out by black perspectives. Writing in the Race Relations News in December, 1980, Mr. Aggrey Klaaste, who was an assistant editor

of Post, said: 'If whites wish to delude themselves that these principles (of opposition to government, the Rule of Law and a free press) are still part of the political reality, we blacks have seen through the artifice. We are especially apprehensive because intelligent people have been fooled into believing these things are still part of our heritage, when the truth is that the country is steeped in deceit and self-deceit'. (RR News, December 1980).

In discussing the concept of a constellation of States Chief Mangope, President of Bophuthatswana said there was a real danger of South Africa acquiring a 'sinister big brother image . . . For any form of constellation to succeed the onus is on South Africa to prove that the structure is not a cloak under which is hidden a bid for South African dominance and hegemony'. (RDM 9/12/80).

The attitude that Government policies has nurtured in black people, with or without the so-called reforms of Mr. Botha, is typified in a letter to the Press by Mr. Shadrack Lekotoko, who says 'The hell with society, if it does not want me, I do not want it'. Coupled with this goes a sense of helplessness, of 'inability to influence the course of one's own life or of the world'. (RDM 26/1/81).

The editorial in the first issue of the daily Sowetan said, 'This Government has been a government of contradictions. While, on the one hand, the rest of the world was told that we are moving away from discrimination, the opposite was true back at home . . . The Government consciously made every 'new deal' so ambiguous that anybody could read into them whatever they wished'. (Sowetan 2/2/81).

At the opposite end of the pole the Government has apparently deluded the Kappiekommando into believing that it is introducing such drastic changes as to be 'going against every ideal and moral the true Afrikaner represents'. They have received the 'call of God to save South Africa against a government that was ready to give in to the blacks'. (RDM 12/1/81).

**It seems to me that total strategy means that within the non-negotiable confines of white privilege and power, the Government is prepared to concede only what it considers to be the minimum sufficient to satisfy its own view of black demands and aspirations — political, social and economic. Anything that is believed to threaten its total strategy is interpreted as part of the total onslaught, internal as well as external, and is to be suppressed and subjected to total control.**

Our country is presently embroiled in a general election which appears to have been called to mend the rifts within the National Party, with total disregard for the urgent problems facing us or the silent majority in the sidelines, who listen, who read, who recognise their consignment to appa-



rent irrelevancy in white eyes, and who must wonder at the ability of whites to delude themselves and each other about the real relevancy of their own election and the political games they play.

What ought to be concerning the country right now is the urgent necessity to find ways and means of enabling all the people of our country to get together to devise a constitutional plan which would be acceptable to all the various groups which comprise our society.

It will make little difference to the future of our country if the Nationalists are returned to power with a larger or a smaller majority. Either way they will continue to rule as they see fit. It is therefore over to the white opposition, and the far larger

black opposition, to indicate to the Government its determination to participate, sooner or later, in a negotiating process, that the sooner this happens, the better, and that the longer it takes the more likelihood there is of escalating violence.

The Black Sash has always endorsed such a solution to the problems of our country. We shall continue to do so, to work towards it, to try to reinforce the teetering bridges between the various groups in our country, and hopefully to help to build a bridge into the future.

JOYCE HARRIS,  
National President.  
The Black Sash.

March 1981.

---

## **Publisher's Notice**

# **A Ride on the Whirlwind**

**By SIPHO SEPAMLA**

**S**IPHO SEPAMLA, poet, playwright and novelist, was born in 1932 in Krugersdorp and has published three volumes of poetry ('Hurry Up To It', 1975), 'The Blues Is You In Me', 1976 and 'The Soweto I Love', 1977) and a novel 'The Root Is One', 1979. He was trained as a teacher. Presently he is director of FUBA (Federated Union of Black Arts).

Sipho Sepamla's new novel, 'A Ride on the Whirlwind' is set during the 1976 June riots in Soweto, and provides a powerful and moving account of the tensions and turbulence, intrigue and confusion which enveloped the township and rocked the nation. While the story and characters are entirely fictitious, the circumstances and events which form the framework are only too real. Sepamla sets out to explore the psychology of terrorism and the environment that fosters it: the grim reality of living and dying in an atmosphere of fear, suspicion, bitterness and uncertainty.

The action centres around Mzi, a terrorist who has received his training outside the country and who returns to Soweto with a mission: to eliminate the much hated policeman Andreis Batato. The fact that he arrives in the township just as the riots are erupting is an accident of fate, which both plays into Mzi's hands by providing a cover for his activities, and at the same time involves him with

a group of student activists, who are themselves prepared to use violence to gain their objectives. Mzi, the ruthlessly efficient trained revolutionary, is at first reluctant to join forces with this lively group whose youthful enthusiasm is tempered by a somewhat naive and amateur approach to the deadly serious business of revolution. However, Mzi cannot accomplish his mission alone and the leader of the student group, Mandla, becomes his accomplice. Together they embark on a series of assaults against the police, the symbol of oppression. The police are baffled, but the inevitable network of informers leads them to a crackdown on the student group. Mzi and Mandla escape the raid, but their comrades, together with their 'mother', the loving and protective Sis Ida, end up in detention.

Sepamla presents the story in a series of dramatic episodes, weaving and developing the plot through a variety of scenes which reflect different facets of township life. Sepamla's prose is crisp and refreshing, studded with marvellous insights and images and penetrating observations. Here is an author who, like Solzhenitsyn, has himself experienced the circumstances he depicts. The result is a powerful and compelling novel of great relevance to every South African.

**A. D Donker, publisher.**

# Don't get tired tomorrow

MONICA WILSON

---

*Monica Wilson was formerly Professor of Anthropology at the University of Cape Town.*

---

**T**HE importance of continued resistance to tyranny was drawn to my attention recently by a Swiss friend who sent me her translation of a statement made by a Russian dissident living in England. The dissident is Boukovsky, and this is what he said:

'As for us, we are far from being guinea pigs who die silent and resigned. We have understood a great truth: it is not the gun, it is not the tanks, nor the atomic bomb, which give power; power does not rest on them. Power is born of the docility of man, from acceptance of authority, from obedience. That is why all of us here (in the Gulag archipelago) refuse to submit to violence and thus reduce it to a quarter of a millionth part. We act in this way out of respect for human rights. We have learnt a lot in the camps. We know the great strength of man's refusal to submit. And the powerful know that too. For long they have neglected their calculations and the dogmas of communism. They have thrown them over. They do not need men who believe in a radiant future. They need men who submit. And when we die of hunger in the camps, when we rot in our cells, it is not so much an act of faith towards communism which is required of us, but our submission. Or, at least, a compromise.'

Docility and submission is exactly what the SASH has rejected since its inception twenty-six years ago, and that rejection indeed diminishes power.

I watch the effect of the constant hammering by the SASH on the evils stemming from the abrogation of the rule of law, particularly of banning or detention without trial which has expanded and extended so that we almost come to take it as a matter of course. To take these things for granted is very dangerous and I salute the SASH for the way in which it has continued to draw attention to the identity of those banned, those detained without trial, and those who died in detention, especially the 45 who died between 1963 and 1977. Such bannings and detentions are still going on all the time here in the Eastern Cape, and now it is often teenagers, or those in their early twenties who are being held.

I think back to the 17th century in England, when, in a period of bitter civil strife, the Act of Habeas Corpus, preventing just this — detention without trial — went through Parliament in 1679. It has become embedded in the legal thinking of English-speaking people. Ten years ago, when I was working in a 'Think Tank' in the United States, my colleagues there would hardly believe me when I told them that habeas corpus no longer operated in South Africa. Violent as American society may be, it is still taken for granted that detention without trial is intolerable.

Secondly, I watch the SASH hammering at the evils of migratory labour: the unjust and totally un-Christian prohibition of a wife joining her husband at his place of work. As an anthropologist, I see very clearly how South Africa has been living on social capital: the patterns of behaviour established in previous generations when blacks in this country had a very strong family system. But that system has been shattered by the separation of families: by children growing up without their fathers; by the separation of husbands and wives; and we have begun to reap the whirlwind. I see worse to come. A strong family system is not re-established overnight.

Perhaps the worst thing of all is the uprooting of long established communities, treating people as if they were cattle which may be moved from one camp to another, as if ties between neighbours, and ties between men and the earth, and space, were of no account whatever. It is so **stupid**, so totally disregarding of what makes for a sense of security in a child growing up, what makes for an integrated responsible person. Maybe even cattle suffer from removals — I rather suspect they do since they have their regular beat on any extended pasture — but man surely suffers more. And the **stupid** men who think they can dispose of people as if they were **things** bring down disaster on us all.

Don't think it is wasted breath fighting these things as the SASH is doing. When one is fighting a long war of attrition as the SASH has done since 1955, it is easy to begin thinking:

Is it worth while?

Is anything gained by all this opposition?

Three hundred years ago John Bunyan wrote from prison about the hazard of Giant Despair confining travellers to Doubting Castle. He wrote **The Pilgrim's Progress** in the jail on Bedford Bridge, a jail so damp that he spoke of the time when moss would grow on his eyebrows. He was confined for twelve years for preaching without a licence — 'maintaining unlawful assemblies and conventicles' it was called. He was released seven years before habeas corpus was passed.

The hazard of Doubting Castle is still there, but my reply to 'Is it worth while?' is YES and YES!

**'It is not the gun which gives power. Power is born of docility.' To refuse to submit to violence is to reduce it to a quarter-of-a-millionth part.'**

So in the familiar Xhosa proverb one must say to the SASH:

**'Don't get tired tomorrow — Ungadinwa nangomso.' Keep going. It's worth while! More effective than we commonly realize.**

An occasional straw in the wind indeed suggests this as when the extreme right copy SASH tactics with black kappies. Or occasional bouquets are thrown by blacks to those whites who do oppose detention without trial, separation of families and forced removals.

The second thing I have to say is that we should be thinking much harder about the effects of achieving the things the SASH has been fighting for. Here the first requirement is to know what the people most concerned really want. The late Z K Matthews, on whose staff I worked at Fort Hare, used to talk about the need to do things with people rather than for people, and he talked about this not only in South Africa but in places like Tanzania, when he was travelling Africa on behalf of aid for refugees.

So I see one of the roles of the SASH, particularly perhaps through the Advice Offices, but surely in other ways also, a constant listening, listening to what the dispossessed of this country really want. Women come to the Advice Offices wanting permission to remain in town with their husbands; men seek the right to remain; men and women seek jobs; they seek houses. All these are familiar.

What are the implications?

It is obvious that if the families of these employed in town are to move to town — and this is likely to be a gradual process as not all families will chose to move immediately — far more houses for blacks are needed. Thousands of houses are needed already to catch up with the back-log of families already legally in town, but in the next generation many, many more families must settle in town, and must find houses to live in. That means at least land and services — water, sanitation, refuse removal, light, roads, and transport. Architects and economists who have studied the matter seem agreed that the ONLY way to provide

sufficient housing is to permit Do-it-yourself building, governed by certain regulations, and indeed if one watches what untrained people can do for themselves in the country it seems obvious that Do-it-yourself homes and extensions are an effective means of achieving housing for many poor. People work gladly after hours, at weekends, and on public holidays, when they are building for themselves; there are no strikes or wage disputes to delay completion. But we, who vote, must be clear about priorities in land for building and money for services. In each city what sites are available? What are acceptable urban densities? We have all heard of the disaster of some high-rise building in Europe and America. What are the implications in space and distance from work of one-story building? District Six, packed as it was, was preferred by many to more distant houses with more space. How many people are houses to accommodate? A single family or other kin also? There are many choices to be made by the people concerned.

Then we should be considering the implications of demands of both pupils and parents about schools. Certain demands are quite clear:

that there be ONE department of education and ONE system of education for the Republic as a whole, not separate systems of white, black, and 'coloured' education:

that schools should be open to all, not legally separated by race, though it is plain enough that the majority of pupils in a given area are likely to be of one colour.

The financial implications of this are enormous with new school buildings in the poor parts of the cities and far more teachers needed. And what of teachers' salaries? Is the test to be qualifications and work done — the rate for the job — not race? Schools alone might swallow any bonanza from gold.

I have been editing the late Z K Matthews papers and he spoke of the satisfaction he had of working on the Union Advisory Board on education from 1935 to 1950, because he found himself working with educationalists not politicians, people who knew what the needs in a school were, and what sort of funds were required. Under Hofmeyr a new system of financing African education from the general revenue of the country was established, but in 1953 the Bantu Education Act not only reverted to the old system of paying for African education out of 'Native' taxation, but also set up a scheme for a special sort of education for blacks — Bantu education. The opposition from blacks was long and bitter and the fruit has been the present disorders in our schools. These disorders are indeed the nemesis of refusing to listen, refusing to admit that blacks should have a say in the education provided for them. The whole sorry story up to 1960 is there in Z K Matthew's autobiography. It dragged on after that and a generation later men ask why school children strike.

There are many problems in education other

than the financial ones. For example, what should be the language of instruction at various levels. What do people whose home language is a local, not an international, language want? The issue was indeed the immediate cause of school disorders in Soweto in 1976 and it has long been a thorny issue in South Africa. We are not alone in facing language difficulties: every State in Africa is facing them and policies vary.

The crux seems to me to be to leave choice to parents: not to compel children to attend one school — or one university — or another. The pupil or student working in a foreign language is always at some disadvantage, as I was well aware as a child at school in Lovedale, where the medium of instruction from the time I started in Std. IV was English, but very few of us were English-speaking. Many English-speaking students have found themselves at a disadvantage when they chose to go to Stellenbosch, or Afrikaans-speaking students who chose to go to Rhodes or Cape Town, and so on, but if the choice is that of the family and the child, or student, then progress is likely to be fast.

To provide mother-tongue teachers of English for African schools is one of the most useful things the English-speaking people of South Africa could do to help up-grade African education. It might be organized partly as a South African equivalent of VSC (Voluntary Service Overseas), university students undertaking such work at minimum salaries for a year or two years after graduating.

I think we should also be doing much more about language teaching in nursery schools since, at the babbling stage, a child learns to speak another language so quickly. I should like to see some mixing of children by language in nursery schools, and songs and stories in different languages. With tape recorders this should be possible even though the teachers are not good linguists themselves. It's the sort of field in which we mothers and grandmothers can initiate small experiments.

Think of the choices made a century ago in Europe; many upper-class English or Russian children had a French governess and grew up fluent in French; many French or German children had an English governess; and many white South Africans have learnt Xhosa or Zulu or Sotho from a nanny or playmates. Learning at least two languages as a child is easy if parents regard command of a second language as necessary and take pains to see that their children begin very early. It saves so much time and effort later. Reading and writing a foreign language is another matter, but it follows without great difficulty for those who already speak the language.

What strangles learning is the chauvinism which seeks to enclose children in the cocoon of a single language, shutting them off from the ideas of other peoples, and communication with them. Or the arrogance that asserts all foreign languages are inferior: people are stupid if they don't speak mine.

School text-books are another problem, particu-

larly in history and social studies. History in South Africa has been taught from two view-points, that of English-speaking whites and that of Afrikaans-speaking whites, never from the point of view of blacks. And of course the black point of view differs markedly, as I realized 60 years ago in class in Lovedale, when a poor, well-meaning teacher wrestled with a text-book concerned with 'Kaffir-wars', and the class was mutinous. You must realize, she said, I don't mean anything derogatory when I talk about 'Kaffir-wars': I have to follow the text-book. The class muttered.

The European Community has set up special schools at certain points in Europe, notably Brussels and Geneva, for the children of Community employees of differing nationality, and it has found it necessary to prepare special history books for use in the schools. The contradictions between the French, English, German, or other versions made teaching impossible. I read a recent article in the journal published by the Bantu Education Department purporting to be a modern history, taking account of archaeological research, but it still implied that blacks crossed the Limpopo about the time that van Riebeeck arrived. The writing carefully skirted about the issue and talked of black kingdoms north of the Limpopo in the 16th and 17th centuries. In fact iron-workers who were cultivators and stock keepers were settled through the Transvaal and Natal, from the third century AD and in the Transkei from the seventh century. It is almost certain that they were among the ancestors of the present black population. And in the Western Cape there were shepherds, probable ancestors of the Khoikhoi or so-called Hottentots, from the first century AD. No school text book could keep pace with present archaeological research, but text books could at least indicate that discovery of early ancestors is proceeding.

One of the difficulties about school text books is that, if they are prescribed, the writing and publication of them is profitable, and a surprising number of text-books in African schools seem to have been written by the senior school inspectors who prescribe them. One of the present complaints in African schools is of the quality of text books even in subjects like arithmetic, and the demand for a common syllabus, and common text-books, has a solid base. I think the only sort of history text books which could be acceptable in all South African schools would be ones which admitted differing viewpoints and did not seek to enforce a single one, but here, no doubt, we could learn from European Community books.

I was impressed when visiting Kenya four years ago to see the quality of school text-books available in book shops, excellent books on peasant agriculture relating to local conditions, as well as excellent histories. Even the works of Ngugi, a writer then in jail, were available. When he saw what I had bought, the Attorney-General (with whom I was staying) laughed and said: 'Oh, we don't ban books as you do in South Africa. We think it just draws attention to them.'

Housing and schools are only two examples of fields in which we ought to be listening to what blacks have to say, and thinking ahead. There are innumerable other fields relating particularly to unemployment and the creation of jobs, food supplies, health. The listening — informing ourselves of views in other communities — gets more and more difficult when newspapers like Post which expressed such views are banned. But an intelligent woman can devise listening posts for herself.

The Athlone Advice Office reports and newsletters are a real aid to me.

My message to the SASH then is first:

You're doing well! Don't get tired!  
Continue to reject submission to tyranny  
Continue to demand the rule of law

and secondly:

Listen to what people are wanting!  
Listen and think ahead!

## OBITUARIES

**N**ELL MARQUARD will be remembered as one who made an outstanding contribution to the Black Sash. She joined in Stellenbosch in the early days and soon afterward she and Leo moved to Cape Town where she became an active member of the Regional Council.

Her knowledge and wisdom and her gift of interpreting the historical significance of current trends and policies were qualities which were of immense value to the Sash. But more than that she was a shining example of gentleness and courage, of humility and forcefulness, of courtesy and conviction. Perhaps the most striking of her characteristics was her abiding concern and love for all her fellow South Africans. And of course we shall all always remember her knack of producing just the right story, often amusing, to illustrate the point under discussion.

Those of us who were lucky enough to know Nell well were enriched and uplifted by her friendship. We are the poorer since she died.

Seldom does one meet man and wife so wholly devoted and complementary as were Leo and Nell. The years after his death were surely lonely ones for her and the words of a 16th century poet seem particularly apt:

He first deceased; she for a little tried  
To live without him; liked it not, and died.

**Moira Henderson.**

**E**LEANOR RUSSELL, who convened the first Black Sash meeting in Pietermaritzburg in 1955, died last December at the age of 98.

In 1955 she had already completed a successful career in professional and public life. She had retired some years since from a long and distinguished position as headmistress of Girls' Collegiate School. She had subsequently been the first woman mayor of Pietermaritzburg. She remained active in bodies like the NCW and Race Relations; and at that first meeting when the Black Sash committee was elected, she be-

came vice-chairman. She was a great prop and stay to the committee for many years. The Black Sash was only one of a large number of organisations which held their meetings, large and small, in her capacious sitting-room.

She had had a very great deal of experience in meetings and committees, and probably the strongest impact she made on the rest of the Black Sash was at our early conferences. The Black Sash had sprung almost fully-fledged into existence, and most of its leaders had had their positions thrust upon them because of their determination, intelligence, dedication and idealism, not because they were practised in organisation and administration. The control of large gatherings of similarly inexperienced, equally determined, articulate and energetic women was a daunting task for them. Mrs Russell became the chief adviser on the conduct of the meetings. Her authoritative presence, her formidable grasp of procedure, her immense respect for the rules of order, made her a rock against which chaos broke and subsided. She herself sometimes took the chair, with superb impartiality: her own views — and she held them strongly — were always totally subordinated to her efforts to ascertain and carry out 'the wishes of the meeting'; and nobody — not even the National President — could claim any latitude in the debate she controlled.

She resigned from the Black Sash when we opened our membership to all South African residents. For her, the unique rôle of the Black Sash had been as a group of voters only exercising, as it were, strictly constitutional pressures. Most of us in Pietermaritzburg disagreed with her on this point, but she was not accustomed to having her opinions altered by finding them in a minority.

When she died she had been frail and ill for a very long time. Her death was not so much of a sadness as the long, slow onset and progress of her afflictions had been. Indeed, it allowed us to think back more freely and with greater pleasure to the days when she was nearer to the height of her considerable powers.

# FINGER PRINTING

**SHEENA DUNCAN**

**T**HE BLACK SASH has consistently over the years protested against the compulsory fingerprinting of all black people when they become 16 years of age and have to apply for a Reference Book or other identity document. The procedure is a violation of basic human rights. It is humiliating in the extreme. Its purpose has been, and remains, the total control of the whole black population by the State. That control is a denial of the democratic principle that the State should be the servant of the people and should exist only to safeguard the rights of its citizens to live in a condition of the maximum possible freedom which is consistent with the orderliness which is required if human beings are to live together in society with justice and peace.

Following the tradition of western justice South Africa has in the past recognised the inviolability of an individual's control over his own person. The Criminal Procedure Act lays down certain very limited circumstances in which fingerprints may be taken and further requires that such fingerprints **must** be destroyed if the person concerned is found not guilty at his trial or on appeal, or if the charges against him are withdrawn. (Section 37). Fingerprints may only be stored if they belong to convicted criminals.

Like so much else in South African law, this protection was removed from black people long ago. They have had to submit to having their fingerprints taken as a matter of course, those fingerprints being thereafter stored permanently in the Reference Bureau in Pretoria together with other particulars of each person's life long residence and occupation, movements and family affairs, from birth to death.

'... printer's ink impressions shall be taken of each finger of both hands of that person by rolling such finger separately in the appropriate column of the fingerprint card provided for that purpose. In addition, simultaneous impressions of four fingers of each hand and plain prints of each thumb shall be taken on the same card' (Black Labour Regulations: Regulation 7 of Chapter II).

Fingerprinting is an integral part of the total control exercised by the State over the freedom of movement, citizenship and life chances of all black South Africans.

Now compulsory fingerprinting and control is to

be extended to all of us — so-called coloured and Asian people and white people.

The Population Registration Draft Bill was published on the 14th January 1981 as Notice 33 of 1981 in Gazette No. 7367.

This Bill amends the iniquitous Population Registration Act of 1950 which provides for the classification of all South Africans into racial groups and into ethnic subdivisions of those groups, and for the compilation and maintenance of a register of the whole population of South Africa. It is the Act on which the whole apartheid structure is built. As long as it remains on the Statute book race discrimination remains the most fundamental characteristic of our society.

The new Bill provides for uniform identity documents to be issued to people of all population groups and for their fingerprints to be included in the Population Register. This will apply to all persons who are permanently resident in South Africa and to all South African citizens who are resident in South Africa and to all South African citizens who are resident in South West Africa or in the independent homelands.

With the fingerprints will be stored (as is required at present) a person's identity number which tells his sex and date of birth, his race classification and whether or not he is a South African citizen. The identity numbers of black people will be changed to show these particulars as they apply for new identity documents.

Also included in the Register is a person's place of birth, his place of residence and postal address, his electoral district, the date of his naturalisation or registration as a South African citizen if he was not a citizen by birth, and, if he is an alien, his country of origin and date of arrival in this country. Also included are his photograph, particulars of his marriage, particulars of his passports and permits to leave South Africa and the dates of his departures and returns, his driver's licence, gun licences, his occupation, the official language he prefers and eventually his death or permanent departure from the Republic. Most of these particulars are also shown in his identity document as is now to be his thumbprint. After a date to be fixed by the State President an endorsement to show that he has voted in an election may also be made.

People who already have identity documents will not need to have their fingerprints taken until

they apply for a re-issue. The Minister of Internal Affairs has said that people applying for endorsements in their Identity Documents would have to submit to having their fingerprints taken. Black fingerprints which have already been taken and stored in the Reference Bureau will now be included in the Population Register.

This very comprehensive recording of every person's particulars which is made possible by modern computer technology will now be supplemented by more effective means of maintaining a record of every person's movements as he changes his place of residence and postal address.

To make sure that people who are over the age of 16 years comply with the requirement that they must within 14 days notify The Director General of Internal Affairs, or a representative of his Department, of any change of residence or postal address, the Bill places onerous duties on all employers and on anyone who sells or rents property to anyone else. Clause 5 amends Section 10 of the Act and lays down that 'no person may employ any person or grant permission that anybody resides permanently on premises belonging to him or sold by him to such person' unless that person has within 14 days provided evidence to the employer, landlord or seller that he has an identity document and has notified the Director General of his change of address or that he has applied to be issued with an identity document. The penalty for contravening this Section is a fine of up to R100.

### **The Control Network**

In a statement reported when the Bill was published the Minister said that his Department was engaging in a programme to decentralise the system to the point where every city and town 'however small' would have its own representative of his Department. Those representatives would be in constant contact with local offices of Government Departments, other Governmental authorities and private sector organisations such as banks, building societies, life insurance companies and estate agents. They would all be used to assist with the immense task of keeping an up-to-date register of the population and the addresses of registered persons (Rand Daily Mail 15/1/1981).

One of the purposes of the Bill as set out in the preamble is 'to set up a network controlling the identity of the holders of identity documents and registered residential and postal addresses'.

The Section provides that any State Department, Statutory body, educational institution or any other body or person may, if requested by the Director General (or departmental representative) require, that any employee or client produce his identity document to have his identity and address checked. Not only will a landlord and an employer be concerned with policing a person's movements but so also may his bank, his building society, his doctor, dentist, hospital, lawyer, Minister or anyone else with whom he has dealings. If he does not

have an identity document or if it does not correctly reflect his address they can take steps to make sure that he fills in the necessary application forms or notification of a new address and ask him to deliver it, or deliver it themselves, to the Regional Representative of the Department.

To complete the control, if any peace officer requests a person to produce his identity document he 'shall forthwith comply with the request'. If the identity document is not with the person concerned he may use his discretion to allow the person concerned to produce the document at a police station within 7 days. The penalty for failing to produce is a fine of up to R100.

It is astonishing that this proposed legislation should have aroused so little public protest. Some people seem to think that it will serve white South Africans right to be subjected to pass laws and to the same indignities and controls which have been suffered by black people for so long. This argument fails to take into account that the extension of fingerprinting and control to all groups in a sense 'legitimises' and entrenches the fingerprinting of Africans because it can no longer be fought on the grounds that it is discriminatory.

**But the removal of 'hurtful discrimination' in this respect does not make the proposals morally right. It merely extends a grievous wrong to more people.**

Nor will it be members of the white group who will suffer the most. It will be the so-called coloured and Asian people who, by the nature of the practicalities of South African life, will be increasingly victimised.

To consent to this legislation is to willingly become subservient to the bureaucrats who in the name of the State are already much too powerful and whose present role in this society is far removed from the democratic concept of the 'civil servant'. The civil servant should be there to serve the people who pay his wages through their taxes (and every person in South Africa is heavily taxed through GST). He should be there to carry out the will of the legislature which in turn should be responsive only to the wishes of the populace. South Africa has moved very far from this ideal. Parliament has never been representative but is now being sidestepped altogether. Unelected and unrepresentative officials are our rulers.

It is significant that the old title of 'Secretary' of a Government department with its connotation of subservience to an elected Minister is now changed to 'Director General' in this as in other legislation.

The power which has been handed over to officials does not make them infallible or even efficient. One of the most commonly presented causes of human problems in the records of the Black Sash Advice Offices is the sheer ineptitude, carelessness and arrogance of officials who deal with the public. The storing of information in a computer does not ensure its accuracy but officialdom

claims that this is so and claims it even more stridently when the inaccuracies are attached to a set of fingerprints.

### **Computer errors**

MR X has spent his whole adult life vainly attempting to refute the information stored about him in the Reference Bureau's computer in Pretoria. When he was young, before he had applied for his first Reference Book, he was arrested and charged with 'failing to produce'. His fingerprints were taken for the first time when he was arrested. He states that because he was arrested with a group of Rhodesian men, some official wrote him down as being born in Rhodesia. Now the computer says his fingerprints belong to a Rhodesian — a prohibited immigrant — and because the computer never lies no proof he can produce will persuade the Department that he is a born and bred South African.

MR Y is accused of having a forged Reference Book because someone's else's fingerprints matched up with his identity number. How can he prove that the error is not his dishonesty but someone else's mistake? The computer never lies. Miss B will someday find herself accused of the same offence. She collected her first Reference Book but does not yet know that it is really the property of another Miss B who also applied for her first Reference Book and when she went to collect it was told that it had been issued by Pretoria and handed over to her and that she must now apply for a duplicate because she had lost it. She never received it and has never had it in her possession but it has been issued to someone and one day that someone will be told that her fingerprints do not match the fingerprints which go with the identity number in her Reference Book.

MR T is a middle-aged man with a house and family in Soweto. He lost his Reference Book and applied for a new one. When it was issued it came with a different name and a different identity number which number was attached to no record of residence and employment in Johannesburg. Long ago as a schoolboy in Natal he made a mistake and applied for his first identity document there in the name of his uncle who was his guardian in the school area. He never collected the Reference Book there, but on his next school holiday made a new application in Johannesburg in his correct surname with the assistance of his father. He was issued with a Pass and lived and worked legally in Johannesburg for years. He married and established a family. Suddenly he is accused of being a person who has entered the prescribed area illegally and who has no record of registered employment in Johannesburg. The computer has spat out the wrong information attached to his fingerprints taken in Natal. Many anxious months later the computer was persuaded to erase the wrong particulars and his true identity was established as recorded at the time of his second application.

Dozens of the cases in our files are concerned with the errors made by the officials who feed the

computer. Someone is now said to be a citizen of Bophuthatswana and not a South African anymore because a Tswana-speaking clerk spelt his name in the Tswana way long ago when he applied for a first Reference Book. Someone else cannot get a birth certificate because his birthplace was written on the application for his first Reference Book (and in the computer) as being the place where his father was born. Because he cannot obtain a certificate of the late registration of his birth he cannot have his Section 10(1)(a) qualification recognised, so he cannot rent or buy a house and is not allowed to have his wife and children to live with him.

Someone else who has lived and worked in South Africa since 1952 is not allowed to stay or work here because twenty years ago he was sentenced to three years imprisonment for theft. In 1979 his application to register in his employment was 'not recommended' because when his fingerprints were checked the computer disgorged that long ago offence for which he has now been punished over and over again. In this case there is no error in the computer but how many of us can contemplate with confidence what it means to be forever and irrevocably tied to the mistakes of our past?

As important as all this is the violation of the concept of individual privacy. Section 17 of the principal Act provides that the particulars in the Register and Identity Documents are not to be published or communicated except in certain cases. But the certain cases turn out to be not at all specific. The Director General can give any particulars in the Register relating to any person, any state department or local authority or any statutory body and furthermore he can give these particulars to any person who applies in writing giving reasons for the request and pays a fee if he (the Director General) 'is satisfied that it is in the interests of the . . . person to furnish such particulars'.

Silicon chips and the Director General make a deadly combination which will succeed in subjecting all of us unless we attempt to understand intelligently the processes at work in our society and determine to resist them by all means within our power.

Mr. Heunis is reported to have said that it is in the interests of all citizens — black and white — 'to enjoy the same privileges and protection under the Population Registration Act' (Sunday Express 18/1/81). The Minister's choice of words is reminiscent of the ordinances and decrees of the world's most authoritarian and oppressive dictatorships. It is all in line with total strategy as enunciated by the Prime Minister. It has nothing whatsoever to do with that justice and peace and individual independence which characterises the free peoples of the world.

It is much easier for Mr Heunis to present and to attempt to justify his intentions in terms of 'total onslaught', 'terrorism' and 'patriotism' than it is for



those of us who are concerned with truth to present the rational arguments about human liberation and freedom. Arthur R Miller in his book, **The Assault on Privacy**, has said it succinctly:

The concept of privacy is difficult to define because it is exasperatingly vague and evanescent, often meaning strikingly different things to different people. In part this is because privacy is a notion that is emotional in its appeal and embraces a multitude of different 'rights', some of which are intertwined, others often seemingly unrelated or inconsis-

tent. Of late, however, lawyers and social scientists have been reaching the conclusion that the basic attribute of an effective right of privacy is the individual's ability to control the circulation of information relating to him — a power that often is essential to maintaining social relationships and personal freedom. Correlatively, when an individual is deprived of control over the spigot that governs the flow of information pertaining to him, in some measure he becomes subservient to those people and institutions that are able to manipulate it.



— Picture by MARGARET NASH

**Woolridge people, living in tents on a bare hillside, lay an old person to rest.**

## ***Rural Poverty***

**Judith Hawarden**

**N**ATIVE Reserves, Bantustan, semi-independent Black States, independent Black States, homelands — whatever they are called — are the concern of this paper.

The desperately impoverished, heavily overcrowded rural areas of starvation and misery are far from the urban centres where too many Whites

still cherish the myth that all the Blacks have left behind them, 'back there' a lush small-holding which they have left only to secure more material advantage.

To quote from Merle Lipton's recent study on migrant labour, 'This moral argument for splitting up families (ie migrant labour), is based on a be-

lief in an idyllic rural life, with picturesque huts, green fields, home-grown food, a healthy open-air environment for the children. It is a myth that conceals the harsh truth of poverty-stricken, stagnating and desolate rural areas, characterised by a lack of economic opportunities and of basic amenities such as clean water, clinics and schools'.

One factor which helps to conceal this harsh reality is a vast lack of knowledge on the part of most white South Africans, attributable in part to a lack of — or rejection of — information. Reporting in the media tends to be about homeland politics, grandly announced development projects — even glittering hotels — and perhaps a little corruption every now and then. Reporting on removals, resettlement areas, famine and starvation is episodic, and tends to mask the on-going and long-established problems of these areas of grinding poverty.

To present a true picture of the conditions in the Black rural areas would require a major project. This paper presents only a very superficial picture. There is no claim to be comprehensive. The object has been to draw attention to some of the problems, and to help counter some of the modern Southern African myths.

The Tomlinson Report came out in 1955. In it the Commission commented: 'The real income produced in the Reserves has remained almost unchanged since 1936 (apart from possible fluctuations caused by climatological factors), while the per capita income has even fallen'.

After quoting figures about land settlement in the betterment areas, the Report goes on: 'It is clear that the existing land settlement policy in the betterment areas of the Reserves, brings no alleviation of the agricultural poverty of the Bantu, and that it remains necessary for the family head and, possibly, for other members of the family as well, to sell their labour outside the Reserves in order to provide for the needs of the family'.

Again, 'In terms of the 1951-52 livestock census, 51 per cent of the total animal units in the Bantu areas, is in excess of the carrying capacity . . .'

So much for the myth, even thirty years ago.

The figures concerning population density are telling enough.

The population of the homelands grew from 4 million in 1960 to 6,9 million in 1970. In 1970 the average density of the homelands was 119 per square mile, while the density of the de facto population in the Transkei was 122 per square mile, in Bophuthatswana 61 per square mile, and in Venda 113 per square mile.<sup>(2)</sup> In 'White' South Africa the population density was 35 per square mile. The Quail Commission in its 1980 report<sup>(3)</sup> estimates the population density in the Ciskei (as it is at present) as 126 per square kilometre.

A square kilometre is a rather small area — and the Ciskei is, it must be remembered, supposed to be rural with lots of happy people on their life-supporting plots.

The final results of the 1980 census will be available only in March 1982, but according to figures released in September 1980, the population of Qwa Qwa had grown from 27 000 to 232 000 in ten years, a gigantic increase for this tiny piece of land<sup>(4)</sup>.

During 1923/27 620 million pounds of maize were produced in the 'reserves'. By the 1935/39 period, this had fallen to 478 million pounds. In 1958, 250 000 tons of maize were produced, and in 1968, 151 000 tons — a 40% decline.

The implications of an exploding population and declining agricultural output hardly need to be explained.

One result of massive overcrowding is landlessness, and, again, the picture is very different to the myth of lush little small holdings for everyone. A report published in 1971 shows that in two districts of the Ciskei one-third of the households has no arable land. These figures, and more, are quoted by Francis Wilson in 'Migrant Labour in South Africa', and show that the vast majority of the families in the two districts examined had neither the land nor the cattle even to subsist without sending some members off to work elsewhere.<sup>(5)</sup>

A later survey, also on the Ciskei, showed that in the two villages only 6% of the homesteads had plots even near to the size recommended in the Tomlinson Report, and that 90% of the homesteads had plots ranging from one-third to one-sixth of the size recommended — or no land at all.<sup>(6)</sup>

Overcrowding and landlessness have increased the significance of the migratory labour system — as C W de Kiewiet<sup>(7)</sup> noted even 40 years ago: 'The natives were the victims of too few acres'. Or, as Dr Verwoerd told the House of Assembly in 1959: 'The Bantu Homelands . . . may be areas which to a large extent (although the people live within their own areas and are governed there) are dependent on basic incomes earned in the adjoining White territory'.

Dr O Martiny notes that: 'The population explosion coupled with diminishing productivity of the soil has reversed this pattern of migratory labour to one of total dependency of the bread winners on continuous or semi-permanent work, away from their homes and families, for the most part of their working lives. This means that the non-productive family members, namely wives, children and grandparents are left at home. As they are non-productive, they are dependent on remittances, which they tend to spend on imported necessities, such as food and clothing, produced in the developed areas. The income therefore contributes very little to the development in the home areas. Unless earnings can be invested in the homelands, it can only lead to more dependency on migratory labour'.<sup>(8)</sup>

Migratory labour is selective on the basis of sex. In 1970, the ratio of black males to females in the 20-49 age group was, in the white areas, 160:100. In the homelands, it was 40:100. In Venda, according to a report in *The Star*, in 1974, women formed

84% of the population in the 30-39 age group, and 75% of the population in the 40-49 age group.

In a major survey on the Ciskei it is pointed out that: 'The absence of these men further impoverishes the rural sector which is effectibely deprived not only of their manpower, but of their initiative, and of the stabilising effect they would have on the family and on the social system in a patriarchial society'.<sup>(9)</sup>

Later on in the survey, it is again noted that: 'The family structure itself is weakened. Interest and enthusiasm are important determinants for the establishment and maintenance of associations in a community. In one composed mainly of aged and infirm males, women and children, can we expect to find sufficient interest and enthusiasm to support the associational life of the village?' Earlier in the study it was noted that in a sample of approximately 206 working males, 185 (nearly 90%) were away from home at work.<sup>(10)</sup>

Migrant labour has another, related, harrowing effect. Dr Trudi Thomas has noted: 'Practically all malnourished children came from broken homes — and it is migrant labour which is breaking up their homes with the increasing number of illegitimate children born under conditions of constant migration and the breakdown of traditional authority being the most affected by acute deprivation.

Often remittances from the migrant head of the family gradually diminish, and even cease, as the breakdown of the family and traditional bonds become complete. The man may take on new dependents in the urban area which has become more home than the area from which he migrated — leaving his family in the homelands destitute. Even when this does not happen his remittances are barely adequate.

For instance, the October 1980 Household Subsistence Level (a bare minimum for a bleak and almost comfortless existence) was estimated by the Institute of Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth<sup>(11)</sup> to be R178,86 a month in Umtata and R170,66 in Peddie. These figures in Umtata and R170,66 in Peddie. These figures A migrant worker in an urban area may not even earn as much as the HSL for the rural area, let alone be able to send much home after supporting himself, even in the most spartan manner. It has been calculated that migrants send home no more than 30-40% of their earnings.

Often the mother must also leave the rural area in order to earn money to support her children. She has no choice but to leave her children in the care of a grandparent, or an aunt or uncle, or even of a teenage brother or sister. The grandparents who must now reassume the responsibilities of parenthood may themselves be old and infirm, scarcely able to care for themselves, let alone young and demanding children. The money sent back will probably be enough to cover only the bare essentials of existence — if that. Thus the children so often grow up in deprivation, with inadequate nourishment and care, little or no school-

ing, and without a stable family background, love and secure ties with their parents. Children who grow up in harsh circumstances of privation and without true comfort and care will grow up to be the true products of their environment — they themselves will be unable to care.

And it is all very well for there to be sighs over a hearty breakfast when the morning newspaper features a picture and story about kids who look like an advert for Oxfam, and it is all very well for madam to tread the well worn path of cliches about 'these people' before doing the taxi run to school. For 'these people' are just people and share a common distaste for being cold, comfortless, miserable, ill and hungry. And they are ALL victims of the system that provides Elsie to make the breakfast at 6.00 a.m., and has all the rough work done by someone else. In fact, the existence of desperately poor rural areas makes it all possible, at a price that you, too, can afford . . . just like a new kitchen gadget. But what about the others, back there, landless and hungry, trying to survive on what a migrant worker can afford to send back, or what Elsie can manage to send from her miserable wages?

The facts about poverty and malnutrition in the rural homelands are hideous. In '**Women Without Men**', the authors, Clarke and Ngobese,<sup>(12)</sup> describe tthe following: 'The 150 families investigated in Nqutu are barely subsisting on an average income in cash and kind of R14,87 per month . . . They exist without the security of family or the comfort of religion and ritual. They cannot conceivably express any semblance of social graces or 'ubuntu'. Materially they are underclothed, and undernourished; they cannot hope to achieve any meaningful educational standards or indulge in any luxuries often of the smallest kinds. Like making a trip into town or purchasing a box of cigarettes, or a drink, without seriously impairing their rudimentary diet of starches'. The authors go on: 'Little wonder then that a study of malnutrition in the Nqutu district of Kwa Zulu sounds the warning that poverty and malnutrition are so rife that the traditional Zulu physique is changing: the amaZulu in the area are becoming a puny, stunted and mentally enfeebled people'.

In a survey on the Ciskei quoted earlier it is reported that 64% of school children (in two villages) ate only once a day — the one meal usually consisting of porridge or bread or samp and beans. No lunch tin for school break, no peanut butter sandwiches, no fruit juice.

In a survey conducted by doctors for the Ciskei government in 1978, it was found that half of all two- and three-year-old children in the Ciskei were malnourished. Results from this survey were presented to the Ciskei Malnutrition Symposium in Mdantsane, Ciskei, during 1980. Dr Trudi Thomas described the children: 'Most were just stunted like mealie plants in a drought-stricken field, but one in ten in the towns and one in six in the country were actually suffering from sickness forms of malnutrition, kwashiokor and marasmus'. Dr Tho-

mas pointed out that the survey included only the children who had survived — while it was well known that many children in the Ciskei did not reach the age of one: 'In Mdantsane, probably the 'best' health area, more than one in ten die in their first year'. At the same symposium, the acting assistant Secretary for Welfare in the Ciskei, Mr N Nduna, said that in one district 33% of the adult population suffered from pellagra, while 50% of the children suffered from marasmus.<sup>(1)</sup>

Last year, the year of grace 1980, 50,000 children were expected to die of malnutrition in the rural areas, with another 100,000 children's lives at risk. Not in the land of some crumbling dictatorship many miles from here, not in the aftermath of war, but here in South Africa, in wealthy Johannesburg's and wealthy white South Africa's own back yard. These figures were announced by Doctors Browde and Motlana in May 1980 and quoted in the December issue of Race Relations News. Other figures just in one area in the issue are equally soul destroying. In the Pietermaritzburg area, 40 children die every month from kwashiokor or marasmus.

Nutritional diseases such as kwashiokor are no longer notifiable, and so it is not easy to estimate the enormity of this high and tragic situation. The facts quoted above are stark enough. And, again, in a survey conducted in a rural Transkei village of children under the age of five, it was found that '36% of the children were below the Boston third degree percentile. This included 57% of the children between the age of 18 and 32 months. Nearly 30% of children died before the age of two years'.<sup>(14)</sup>

Dr Jack Penn, one of the world's leading plastic surgeons, has stated: 'Even in South Africa where hospitalisation and medical care is as advanced as any in the world, and where free treatment is given to all deserving cases, even if they come from countries outside the boundaries of the Republic, the battle against malnutrition is becoming climacteric. For example, children who are burned and require skin grafts, must have their surgical

treatments delayed until their nutrition has been brought to a suitable standard. In cases where malnutrition has been a feature since birth this may be almost impossible and the risk of infection and slow healing is always a problem. Moreover, even though the child may make good progress while well cared for and fed, on returning to his home' environment, the lack of adequate nutrition may cause a breakdown of his wounds.<sup>(15)</sup>

It is not easy to sum up the situation that has been sketched in the previous pages. Words such as poverty, misery, and starvation are clichés, and even though they hint at the truth, they are inadequate. **Perhaps the most terrifying thing is that children are dying in their thousands and that even though these facts are known, they are still allowed to die.**

It is often said that a society can be judged by the way it treats its dogs and cats, its criminals, or its handicapped. I know of no words which can justly describe a society which condemns (and purposefully, even if many do not or will not understand) millions of fellow-citizens to abject poverty and misery, and which allows thousands of children to die from lack of food, while well-fed crowds at rugby matches cheer all the better for popcorn, chips, meatpies and oranges, sandwiches and beer.

But that, of course, is not nutrition — just part of the entertainment.

#### REFERENCES

- (1) Migrant Labour in South Africa: Merle Lipton, Optima Vol 29, No 2/3
- (2) Survey of Race Relations 1972: SA Institute of Race Relations
- (3) The Quail Report: pub Conference Associates Pretoria, February 1980
- (4) Rand Daily Mail, September 12 1980
- (5) Migrant Labour in South Africa: Francis Wilson, Johannesburg 1972
- (6) Daniel and Webb in *A Socio-Economic Survey of the Border and Ciskei Regions* Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University 1978
- (7) C W de Kiewiet: *A History of South Africa: Social & Economic*; Cambridge University Press 1941
- (8) Dr O Martiny in *Malnutrition in Southern Africa*; ed R D Griesel, University of South Africa 1980
- (9) *A Socio-Economic Survey of the Border and Ciskei Regions*; Institute of Social & Economic Research; Rhodes University 1978
- (10) Ibord
- (11) Fact Paper No 18: Institute for Planning Research; University of Port Elizabeth
- (12) *Women Without Men*; Institute for Black Research 1975
- (13) Rand Daily Mail; July 27 1980
- (14) *Malnutrition in Southern Africa* (page 6): Ed R D Griesel, UNISA 1980
- (15) 'To the Point': Vol 9 No 24, October 17 1980

---

**Poverty and nutrition are so rife that . . . the AmaZulu in the area are becoming a puny, stunted and mentally infeeblled people.**

---

# The LIE of 'Voluntary' Removals

PRUE CROSOER

**D**R PIET KOORNHOF, Minister of Co-Operation and Development, has stated several times during the last year (1980) that there will be no more forced removals in South Africa. People due to be moved will be consulted with and will only be moved if they wish to move.

From the removals which have taken place during the last year it is clear that the Government is using various methods of coercing people to move, other than those of the past of policemen with guns, dogs and GG trucks. These methods can be divided into the following broad categories.

## I. INSECURITY AND INADEQUATE FACILITIES IN THE OLD PLACE

The most obvious example of this during the last year is at the **Valspan Township in Jan Kempdorp** in the Northern Cape. As long ago as 1963 it was decided that the people living in Valspan would be moved to Pampierstad, 26 km away in Bophuthatswana. (The policy of the Government is to move people living within a 60-75 km distance from a bantustan to that bantustan. Hence the fantastic growth of the bantustan towns in the 70's. The Government quotes international surveys proving that 60-75 km is not an unreasonable daily travelling distance to and from work. What they neglect to point out, though, is the efficient transport system which goes with such planning in other countries). The people of Valspan did not wish to move and a memorandum was drawn up with a survey of an area adjacent to Valspan with the idea of developing this area as a new township for the people. The Community Council met with Government representatives in 1979, repeatedly stating that the people did not wish to move and sent the memorandum on the 'Area' to the Government via the Administration Board. In 1980 plans were made to move the people of Valspan to Pampierstad. The memorandum was conveniently ignored. The Jan Kempdorp Town Council and organised commerce in Jan Kempdorp joined the Community Council in requesting that the people be allowed to stay. Dr. Koornhof then stated that no-one would be forced to move.

However, with the threat of removal hanging over the people of Valspan since 1963, and the hope of a new township close-by, few improvements had been made to existing houses. The place was overcrowded and generally run down.

The Administration Board (unknown to the Community Council) then distributed a pamphlet to the people telling them how expensive it would be to replan Valspan and to obtain more land so that rentals of houses would be between R49 and R50 and furthermore they would have to pay if they expected an acceptable health service. In Pampierstad on the other hand, they would have a brand new 4-roomed house plus a bathroom with running water, for a mere R6,47 per month. They would have space; schools and clinics were planned and there was a bus service to Jan Kempdorp. The Community Council were refused permission to distribute their own pamphlets. Many people unwittingly signed a document distributed by the Administration Board which later turned out to be an agreement to move. On the 3rd July notice was given that the removal would begin on the 8th July. GG Trucks appeared and remained for several days, while the officials urged people to move to Pampierstad. Naturally many moved. The much better facilities at Pampierstad and the insecurity of remaining in Valspan forced them out. Once people had moved out their old houses were immediately bulldozed down so that no-one else could move into them, making life for those who chose to stay even more unattractive.

Another example of this method is **Warden** in the OFS. The old township, on one side of the main road, close to the town was in a white area, so a new township was built on the other side of the road. The old township was completely neglected, no repairs were done or new houses built, so that the people had no choice but to move to the new township, where the authorities wanted them.

## II. 'ETHNIC' PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT

In this category and the following we see how the South African Government no longer has to exert direct pressure to remove people. The homeland Governments now do it for them.

When the map of SA was redrawn by the Nationalists, black people were never consulted, and so arbitrary decisions about the ethnicity of the people living in an area were made. This has meant that there are many people in the various homelands who do not belong to the ethnic group to which the homeland has been assigned. When the homeland becomes independent it does not

wish to have the responsibility of yet more people who do not officially belong to it. So the independent homelands have devised various means of getting rid of these people.

Trading Licences and housing permits are only granted to those people belonging to the ethnic group of the homeland. The medium of school instruction is that of the homeland. Pensions are paid to, and labour recruitment is confined to, those people who are citizens of the homeland. Bophuthatswana uses these practises to get rid of non-Tswanas.

(a) This is how the many Ndebele who lived in the **Winterveld** area (half an hour from Pretoria) were forced to move to **Kwa Ndebele**, 2½-3 hours from Pretoria. In addition to the above restrictions non-Tswana migrant workers returning to Bophuthatswana find that their contracts are not renewed by the Labour Bureaux so they are forced to move to maintain their contracts.

Last November Mrs Duncan and Mrs Coleman visited the Kwaggafontein area in Kwa Ndebele, where many people from Winterveld have settled. Few have been able to build houses but the vast majority, numbering many thousands, live in tin shacks.

In some settlements there are tin toilets. The general impression is one of a vast, dusty tin town. The people they spoke to said there were people moving in from Winterveld all the time. Water is scarce, there were no apparent community facilities e.g., clinics, schools or even a church.

The overriding attitude of the people they spoke to was one of apathy, hopelessness and helplessness.

Of course the South African Government is culpable in these removals. They have created the Bophuthatswana state. They are providing the toilets on each site and the transport, so presumably they accept some responsibility for these people until such time as the Ndebele Legislative Assembly conveniently accepts independence.

(b) A similar situation exists in the **Thaba Nchu** area; an isolated area of Bophuthatswana. The people living here consisted of a large number of South Sothos, Xhosas and Tswanas. Most of the Xhosas and South Sothos refused to take out Bophuthatswana citizenship when Bophuthatswana became independent. Consequently they were considered to be living there 'illegally' and were subjected to constant harassment by the Bophuthatswana Authorities. 'They were refused work opportunities, residential rights, pensions, entrance to schools, and the right to trade. Many were arrested on permit, trespass and related charges, and were subjected to repeated night raids by the police'.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Sothos appear to have been in the majority in this area, since Mangope was willing to cede land to Qwa Qwa in order to relocate these 'illegals' from Thaba Nchu and rid himself of the responsibility for them. In fact, in 1978, a land deal was made between Bophuthatswana and South

Africa only, and the area to which illegals have been moved, a farm **Onverwacht**, 12 km north of Thaba Nchu, remains the property of South Africa.

Nevertheless in order to obtain a stand at Onverwacht people have to take out Qwa Qwa citizenship. So, although the area is owned by the South African Government and directly controlled by the Department of Co-Operation and Development, people have had to take out Qwa Qwa citizenship (which is **not** an independent homeland) to go there.

Other people who have moved or are still to be moved to Onverwacht are evicted squatters and farm labourers from the OFS.

In May 1979 removals from Thaba Nchu to Onverwacht began. It is ironic that the Sotho living in the Thaba Nchu area were delighted to move from the harassment there to Onverwacht. Little did they know what they would find.

Within a year 100,000 people were moved in, with an estimated 10,000 still to be moved there. Conditions are appalling: the sites are inadequately planned, there are inadequate facilities with regard to clinics and schools; water is scarce.

The fact that Onverwacht was closed to the press at the beginning of September 1980, speaks for itself. Certainly many people moved to Onverwacht voluntarily. One has to question what choice they had when faced with Bophuthatswana citizenship or continual harassment. The fact of Bophuthatswana citizenship originates firmly with the South African Government.

### III. FEAR OF POLITICAL OPPRESSION

Those people in the **Transkei**, who feared the oppression of the Matanzimas moved themselves from Transkei when it became independent to a farm Thornhill, in the **Ciskei**. The conditions at Thornhill have received publicity in the press. It is grossly overcrowded with grossly inadequate facilities for the people living there.

The removal of the South Sotho people from Thaba Nchu to Onverwacht can also be included in this category, as among the reasons for moving were those of avoiding Bophuthatswana citizenship and police harassment.

### IV. OFFERING ACCESS TO HOUSING AND AGRICULTURAL LAND

An obvious example of the former is Pampierstad. However it has long been Government policy that black people should move out of the white areas to the homeland to live, but of course to keep the white economy going by returning to work in the white areas. (See category I). To achieve this, exceedingly few houses for blacks have been built in the townships (only single-sex hostels for migrants) while houses were built in the homeland towns so that these grew apace in the 70's. (e.g., Itseseng in Western Transvaal, Mondlo outside Vryheid, Pampierstad, etc, etc).



● *Eastern Province Herald*

● **Overcrowding and overgrazing have denuded the land at the Thornhill resettlement camp in the Ciskei.**

In order to obtain housing people have had to move themselves into the homeland towns. In Soweto, in spite of the new policy on the provision of housing, not one single house was built for rental during 1980.

As land is so scarce for black people (although they constitute 75% of the population they only have access to 14% of the land) people have moved themselves to areas where agricultural land is said to be available. For example, people in Southern Free State moved to Thornhill when they heard there was land there.

#### V. PLACING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MOVING SQUATTERS AND LABOUR TENANTS ON TO FARMERS

In 1970 labour tenancy and squatting was abolished. This has meant that approximately one million three hundred thousand people have been removed from White farms into areas such as **Msinga and Nondweni**.<sup>(2)</sup>

As labour tenancy and squatting was widespread in Natal removals off white farms in Natal are still continuing.

Last year a Magistrate in Weenen denied that he had forced people off farms they had lived on for generations. What had in fact happened was that he had written to the farmers concerned informing them that they had to get rid of the squatters and labour tenants on their farms. Naturally the farmers evicted the people.

#### VI. DIVIDING THE COMMUNITY

Another way of coercing people to move is to encourage a section of the people to move (usually the chief and his friends) even though the majority do not want to.

In September 1978 the Chiefs of the Batlokwa and Magato tribes (N. Transvaal), were informed that their people were to be moved. The Batlokwa Chiefs have steadfastly refused to move but the Magato Chief agreed to go to **Kromhoek** (100 km to the North) without consulting his people. When

they tried to discuss the removal with him, he refused to meet them. In September 1979 the GG Truck, police and dogs arrived and about 78 of the 780 families agreed to go to Kromhoek. A further 14 families were forced onto the trucks. The rest fled and sought refuge with the Batlokwa. Although only 78 of the 780 families had agreed to go all the houses, schools, clinics and public amenities were destroyed by the officials of the Administration Board. In August 1980 Dr Koornhof visited the displaced families and assured them they would not be removed to Kromhoek. He said his department was prepared to assist the families to develop their areas rather than cause hardship by removing them. The Magato then decided to move themselves back to their area although the move was not officially condoned.

A member of the Magato families committee was quoted as saying: 'We have suffered and it is enough. We have spent over a year installed in other people's houses in overcrowded conditions. We lost our property and some was damaged by rain. If they come to demolish our homes again, let them do so and get over with it. We are tired' (Post 20/10/80). The day after this statement was made, the Magato village was visited by officials of the South African Government, who told the people that their Chief was waiting for them at Kromhoek. Three families of the approximately 500 people living there were then served with a summons to appear in Court for allegedly occupying their demolished homes without permission.

Mrs Duncan and Mrs Coleman went to Pietersburg for the trial in November but it was postponed. This was clearly an attempt to intimidate the people into moving to Kromhoek.

And still Dr Koornhof will claim that there are no forced removals in South Africa.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- (1) Population Removals DSG/SARS, Information Publication 3.
- (2) Population Relocation in South Africa:— Gerry Maré S.A.I.R.R. 1980.
- (3) The Friend, June 4, 1980.
- (4) Rand Daily Mail, July 16, 1980.
- (5) do September 3, 1980.
- (6) Kairos, August 1980.
- (7) Visit to Kwaggafontein — Sheena Duncan and Audrey Coleman, November 1980.

# Headquarters National Report

**T**HE NATIONAL REPORT should be read with the Transvaal Regional Report, for the committee is the same and the activities blur. Much of the work done by the national office-bearers is rooted in the work of the region.

We have had another year without a proper national secretary and Joyce has had to be organiser and secretary as well as President. Fortunately for us, but not for her, she is an excellent administrator. We are grateful for her orderly management of Black Sash affairs. She is totally reliable and never late with anything and suffers horribly when we are all, every year, so late with our congress material.

We are especially grateful to Joyce for her distinctively tenacious and determined presidency and leadership. Because of her diligence and her ability to write quickly and well, the Black Sash has responded immediately and effectively on every issue of importance and fulfilled its protest role, despite the continued ban on public meetings and demonstrations. This has been an outstanding achievement, historically recorded in the year's Press clippings. We congratulate Joyce and thank her for reinforcing our role as a civil rights protest organisation.

It is very sad indeed that Gita Dyzenhaus, Vice-President for five years, is too ill to come to this year's conference. She has been so totally loyal, so willing to do anything that needed doing, so well-informed and intelligent whatever rôle she was filling, that conference this year will be different and diminished without her. We were very grateful to her for her competent editorship of the magazine, which she has now had to give up, due to illness.

As for Margaret Kirk, she is as marvellously loyal and reliable as ever and we just love her. She has been with us as long as it takes to bring up a child — 18 years.

## Constitution

The National Committee, and Joyce in particular, were disturbed by the findings of the Schibusch Commission into the constitution, and we discussed mounting a constitution campaign. Regions did not seem to think this feasible, but the Transvaal Region did print and use the 'No New Constitution Without Blacks' car stickers which were admired by students and PFP. They were used by some people, especially our members, but were not widely enough used to justify a re-issue. Joyce's sticker caused a furore (not a positive one) in the Game Reserve.

Joyce wrote a memorandum on the findings of the Commission which was published in *The Star*,

incorporating our recommendations to the Commission. It was very prominently displayed.

Joyce approached 'Radio Today' and Channel 702 (Bophuthatswana Radio) to try to persuade them to give publicity to the implications of constitutional change. Nothing seemed to come of this.

## Steyn Commission on the Media

Joyce sent in a memorandum to the Commission pointing out that 'Government thinking has apparently become so attuned to the catchword concepts of 'total strategy' and 'total onslaught' that these are now being used as the yardstick whereby all political action and comment, no matter how legitimate, are being judged. Hence what does not fit in with the Government's concept of 'total strategy' is inevitably opposed to it, and whatever is opposed to it is inevitably part of the 'total onslaught.'

This same yardstick is presently being applied by the Government to the Press, with potentially disastrous results.

## Biko Doctors

When the Biko doctors were exonerated by the Medical Association of South Africa the National Committee suggested a national protest stand but only the Transvaal went ahead with demonstrations in Pretoria and Johannesburg, reported in the Transvaal Regional Report.

'I issued a national statement which was published extensively, pointing out, 'It is a dangerous belief which seems to be gaining ground in all our institutions, that what is done by officials, especially the police, is outside the scope of ordinary rules and must first be judged in the light of State interests and State security. This is the philosophy of all the world's worst governments.'

## Labour Party Conference

When Joyce attended the Labour Party Conference as an observer she was greeted with a standing ovation, invited to sit on the platform and asked to address the meeting, which she did.

## Human Rights International

This publication has listed the Black Sash, using a resumé of Black Sash history, aims and activities written by Joyce.



## **Black Sash's 25th Anniversary Party**

The Black Sash's 25th Anniversary was celebrated at a lunch given by Jean Sinclair at her home on 24th May 1980.

Traditionally, Sydney Kentridge proposed the toast. We received much publicity, including long articles in the London Times and a Tokyo newspaper. We were especially glad to get a long letter from Sir Robert Birley.

## **Free Mandela Campaign**

All Regions circulated petition forms to members and had forms prominently available in our offices.

Natal Coastal were especially active in this campaign.

## **Department of Co-operation and Development**

Joyce forwarded to this Department the Conference resolutions on Poor Relief, the Right to Pensions and a Uniform Education System.

The Administrative Secretary replied as follows:

I have to inform you that it is the policy of the Government of this country that South Africa which is at present not a Welfare State, shall never become one. It is also common knowledge that the Governments of the countries to which you refer as 'so-called homelands and so-called independent states' render welfare services to their own people.

I am satisfied that all applications for pensions and grants are dealt with as expeditiously as possible. Unavoidable delays will occur where applications have furnished incorrect information or forms have not been correctly completed.

All alleged irregularities are investigated and properly dealt with where necessary.

Your representations in connection with the introduction of free and compulsory education have been forwarded to the Honourable Minister of Education and Training for his attention.

On 24th March 1980, Joyce wrote to Dr Koornhof on the tightening of influx control in the Cape in which she said to him:

You made a request that if we are troubled we approach you direct instead of going to the Press. This I am doing now but with reduced confidence in view of your comments regarding the Western Cape . . . It is, therefore, inconsistent with our long-established method of operating to refrain from going to the Press. I do this now out of consideration for your request, but if approaches to you prove to be futile we shall have no alternative but to resort to our old and tried methods.

The Deputy Minister Morrison replied at length on 14th January 1981:

The Minister regrets that you believed it necessary to address him in the tone displayed in your letter as he wishes to keep open the lines of communication established with your organisation and that he trusts that you will endeavour to, as he will do, maintain the relationship established at the meetings between the representatives of the Black Sash and him and the Department of Co-operation and Development.

We cannot accept a unilateral judgment on our actions founded on Press reports, especially if it appears that regard is not taken of our bonafides or of our earnest endeavours to cope with the complex problem of influx control as applying to the Western Cape.

What troubles us is that the Black Sash apparently propounds a policy based on a simplistic approach, that is: abolish influx control and the so-called pass laws and most, if not all, ills (real or imaginary) relating to the Black man's situation will be resolved.

Dealing with the Western Cape in particular, we would appreciate it if the Black Sash, in all fairness, took note of the fact that it is generally accepted that the area is somewhat economically depressed and that there is an acute unemployment problem prevailing in respect of the Coloured and resident Black population. These people, unfortunately, are also experiencing difficulties in the social and housing fields, and sterling efforts are being made by Government in conjunction with the private sector, to overcome these problems; for example, the development schemes at Atlantis and Mitchell's Plain.

The Honourable the Minister and myself are only too keenly aware of the situation in the Western Cape as a result, inter alia, of his and our personal involvement in resolving the Crossroads problem for which the first-phase housing scheme has already been commenced at a cost of R7,5 million. It appears to us that your organisation is loath to give credit for our constructive endeavours in that and other matters.

The Western Cape situation as affecting the Blacks is of particular concern to us and it is on record, during the discussions of his Department's Vote in the House of Assembly in June this year, that a fresh look at the matter will be initiated in conjunction with other Departments and Ministries involved.

We would also like to draw your attention to efforts, should you not be aware thereof, to give effect to the White Paper on the Riekert Commission in regard to the influx control machinery, particularly regarding the 72-hour provision and that, on a trial basis certain administrative procedures in Pretoria and Bloemfontein have been set in motion with the view to and the hope of establishing a basis which will lead to a more equitable system, based solely on employment and housing.

However, there is no question of throwing influx control out by the window, as you apparently wish. Even the Riekert Commission did not advocate such a step and accepted the need to retain it in some form, as without it grave economic and social problems would be caused around our cities and towns if an influx of unemployed and unaccommodated people were to take place. The 'scientific application' of influx control relates to our endeavours, whether in the Western Cape or elsewhere, to remove haphazard and purely irritating aspects and also avoid as far as is humanely possible, affronts to the dignity of persons in applying influx control in whatever form.

The Honourable Minister and I appreciate your remark: '... in the hope that you will be able to do something to alleviate the plight of Black people and allow them to work and earn wherever work is available to them.' The question of work per se cannot, however, be equated solely to a possible job opportunity in some far-off place without regard to supply and demand on the labour market and the possibility, or even the fact — as in the Western Cape — that that market is already over-supplied. But, even further, a job opportunity, if it is available, should surely be matched by adequate housing and not conditions of slums and squalor.

Crossroads is a striking example of what can result when influx in unmanageable proportions takes place. We now find ourselves dealing with the valid complaints and representations of the established Black population of the Western Cape that the Crossroads community has made inroads on their job and housing opportunities.

In August in response to an appeal from Grahamstown, Joyce sent the following telegram to Dr Koornhof:

Black Sash deeply concerned about unrest all over, especially Grahamstown. Country urgently needs positive political action to redress grievances not police action. Please instigate meaningful negotiation immediately with leaders and unions of people's choice.

It was not acknowledged.

In response to Dr Koornhof's invitation for comments on his three draft influx control Bills, Joyce sent a copy of Sheena's analysis of the Bills with a covering letter to the Director-General of Co-operation and Development referring especially to Section 62 which seemed to confine pass laws cases to Commissioner's Courts. (See Transvaal Regional Report).

We are concerned that Dr Koornhof appears actually to believe that these Bills represent a liberalising of the laws controlling blacks and that he seems to have been able to per-

suade most of the Press and the public that this is so.

We fail to see what possible advantage there can be in this, for surely when these laws are administered and are seen to be hardly less restrictive, and in some instances more so, than the old ones which have caused so much bitterness and anger over the years, the reaction of the people thus affected must inevitably be one of utter frustration, anger and outrage.

Parts of this letter were published in The Star and Rand Daily Mail.

## **Pensions**

As agreed at Conference, Regions who had special information (ie: Albany, Natal Coastal and Transvaal) sent in reports to the National office, which were forwarded to Dr Koornhof, together with the wording of the Conference Resolution on Pensions.

We sent a follow-up letter in October 1980, having received no reply. Early this year we received the following reply:

It is noted that the majority of the complaints from the different regions are in respect of the payment of pensions in the National States over which the Department of Co-operation and Development have their own laws and regulations and full control over their funds.

The letter claimed that all our queries about pensions payable in the Republic had been dealt with and 'your regional offices were advised of steps taken to improve conditions where applicable.'

Overall the Deputy Minister wishes to emphasise that the Department is doing its utmost to improve the living conditions of Blacks and that it is especially sympathetic towards the plight of the aged.

The National Committee agreed that we should reply asking to be referred to the relevant proclamation that refers the payment of pensions to the 'National States,' and Joyce wrote as follows on 3rd March 1981:

Will you please clear up some problems we have regarding responsibility in view of the following facts:

Dr Koornhof has said that every South African citizen has a right to a pension.

The Black Homelands Constitution Act provides for homelands that have accepted self-government to administer pensions for their people.

As such Kwa Zulu, for example, administers pensions in terms of Government Notice 20 of 1974.

These Regulations are still framed under the South African Social Pension Act of 1973.

This Act states that the Minister may pay the pensioners (Section 2) The Minister is the South African Minister unless the State President, by way of proclamation (Section 18) confers the Administration to another Minister.

There has been no such proclamation.

It therefore seems to us that the South African Government is still responsible for ensuring that those eligible for Old Age Pensions are granted them, and that they are paid out in such a manner that it is possible for the old people to collect them. If this is not the case please refer us to the relevant proclamations. There is a serious general situation for Black pensioners in South Africa, including the non-independent homelands, and it appears to us that in some quarters at least the steps your Department has taken to improve conditions have not been effective.

Will you please be good enough to confirm or deny the validity of our premise, so that we will be better able to proceed with our attempts to remedy the grievances of pensioners?

### **Department of Interior**

Arising out of Congress, Joyce wrote to the Department of the Interior with the wording of the resolution passed at the opening public meeting calling on the Government to return Bishop Tutu's passport.

She also sent the Conference resolutions on detentions, restrictions under the Security Act and that on overt community protest being the only alternative to violent confrontation.

### **Correspondence with State Departments Housing**

The publicity given to Cape Western's memorandum on Housing brought forth much wrath from Minister Marais Steyn, which was published in POST. Joyce replied in a letter to POST, which was not published, deprecating the whole principle of government in secret and withholding information from the public. A copy was sent to Marais Steyn. This brought forth more wrath from Marais Steyn who accused us of one-sidedness. This, too, was published in Post.

### **Education**

On the 23rd April 1980 Joyce sent this telegram to the Prime Minister:

Absolutely essential that you immediately commit the government to introducing a unitary system of education for all South Africans. This is the only way in which the present legitimate grievances can be redressed.

Blaming outside agitators is unrealistic. Learn from Cillie Commission.

There has been no reply. On the 27th May she wrote him a long letter after it had been reported that he was considering a Commission of Enquiry into Education. She said:

1. With regard to the composition of such a commission or committee, it is the utmost importance that it should be fully representative of all sections of the community, for all have a stake in education.

It should consist of a wide spectrum of people, educationists, representatives of the private sector, practical people and academics, and not only politicians. Consideration should be given to appointing a judge with educational interests as chairman of such a commission or committee.

2. Its terms of reference should include the examination of a unitary system of education and how it can best be implemented, for this is what the people want and this is what the country needs if it is to provide the work force demanded by the technological age.

3. Special attention should be directed to teacher training and recruitment, and to the possibility of paying competitive salaries in order to attract the best candidates.

4. Time is of the essence, and a reasonable time limit should be set.

As mothers we are deeply concerned about the education of all the children in our country, for dissatisfied and ill-educated children grow into angry and resentful adults, and this is not in the best interests of anyone.

There was no reply.

### **General unrest allied to the educational protest**

In June 1980 Joyce sent the following telegram to the Prime Minister:

Government action is fanning flames of discontent. For South Africa's sake please stop mass arrests and release those detained. Please listen to what the people are saying. Education is only one aspect of the very broad spectrum of disaffection. We fear for the future.

This was followed with a telephone call asking for an interview. His secretary said the Prime Minister's diary was very full, so Joyce sent a further telegram asking him to receive a delegation as soon as possible.

### **Discrimination**

In April last year Joyce sent to the Prime Minister the Conference Resolution on the fact that discrimination still existed despite his claims.

## Department of Labour

Joyce wrote to the Secretary for Labour on 8th April, following up the previous year's correspondence. In this letter she relied on Natal Coastal's 1980 Advice Office Report. She recommended that employers should be compelled to record thorough information and to make their workers aware of the benefits of Workmen's Compensation.

She pointed out that a worker is paid out after his case has been finalized and the employer is not obliged to pay him while he is off work. Moreover once the employer has received the workmen's compensation payout, he is not required to furnish the Commissioner with proof that the money was in fact paid over to the worker. However she did acknowledge the Act does provide for the Commissioner to grant, in cases of pressing need, an advance not exceeding R200.00.

Joyce protested against the exclusion of casual employees, 'out-workers' and domestics from the Workmen's Compensation.

She received a long and courteous reply from the Director General of Manpower Utilisation on 13th May, 1980.

He claimed that in general employers did keep records of home addresses of their workmen and that the problem lay mainly with the workmen who often failed to advise their employer of changes of address. He said:

Although it might seem unbelievable, the Commissioner has found that superstition and family quarrels are among the reasons for the failure of beneficiaries to collect their compensation.

He quoted detailed figures showing that less than 3% of all workmen who were injured during 1977 and 1978 were not paid their compensation and pointed out that the money remains available at any time in the future.

He said between 1975 and 1979, 1,955 employers had been fined for failure to report accidents, and:

It was normal procedure to make intermittent compensation payments on receipt of progress of medical reports, which were a standard requirement.

He offered to take up any cases of workers who

had been hospitalized for long periods without receiving compensation.

He observed that there was adequate procedure to ensure that employers did pay the workmen's compensation money to the workmen.

He pointed out that domestic servants were generally not employed in connection with the employer's business and that out-workers who do not work under a contract of service move too frequently to make inclusion in the scheme feasible.

### Migrant workers — copies of contracts

Joyce wrote both to the Department of Co-operation and Development (March 1980) and the Chamber of Commerce and Industries (August 1980) about the necessity for migrant workers to have copies of their contracts.

Deputy Minister G De V Morrison instructed his Secretary to reply 'that he could not arrive at a reply other than that conveyed to you in his letter numbered 3/3/1. Also of 12th September 1979. (This letter described the procedure of reading out the terms of contracts to large numbers of migrant workers at a time).

The Transvaal Chamber of Industries replied that the Black Sash's letter had been considered by the Labour-Industrial Planning Co., on 2nd September 1980 and 'The general consensus of opinion was that the problem appears to be more applicable to the Mining Industry'.

The Secretary for the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce replied:

### Re: Copies of contacts for Migrant Workers

The Committee decided to make further investigations as it would appear that there are several problems and that certain companies do in fact issue individual contracts. I have been asked to try and clarify the situation and will advise you in the new year of my findings.

Mila Zille has done all the collating, preparation and distribution of documents for this Conference and we thank her very much indeed for her patience and her competence.

**JILL WENTZEL**

'Twenty children crammed in and under a single bed in a northern Transvaal hospital, their scalps covered in pocks, their stomachs distended and their limbs skeletal . . . Horrific, yes, but typical of the tragedy of malnutrition now rampant in South Africa'.

# ***The Black Sash Resolves:***

THE BLACK SASH believes that South African education reflects the inequalities and exploitation of its society and therefore does not seek to extend the white system of education to all schools, but recognises the need to develop and establish education in a truly democratic society, based on the will of ALL THE PEOPLE.

Whereas it is considered imperative to express solidarity and to show respect toward the school children who died or were imprisoned during and after the Soweto uprising on 1976, it is proposed:

- 1. That members of the Black Sash observe June 16 as a day of mourning.**
- 2. That they encourage others to do the same;**
- 3. That members lobby school principals and teachers to encourage pupils to observe June 16 as a day of mourning.**

'The Black Sash, believing that':

- 1. The freedom and lives of the individual are not to be taken lightly by servants of the State;**
- 2. Where members of the SAP are involved in incidents resulting in injury and loss of life especial care must be taken by the authorities to reassure the public that violent acts by the SAP are always thoroughly investigated and firm action taken where necessary;**
- 3. The refusal by the Minister of Police to accede to well-documented requests to hold public or judicial enquiry into the shooting by members of the SAP in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on 5th November, 1980, which resulted in the deaths of several persons has not reassured members of the public that servants of the state are being held accountable; therefore asks the Minister of Police to advise the public of the nature and extent of the investigation into these incidents.**

The Black Sash rededicates itself to continue to fight for:

- 1. The release of all political prisoners;**
- 2. The repeal of all those laws which allow for bannings, banishments, detentions, and punishment without trial;**
- 3. The right of habeas corpus to be restored.**

The Black Sash, believing that the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic of South Africa is no cause for celebration for a majority of its citizens and still less for those from whom South African citizenship has been wrested by legislation, calls upon its members and the general public to boycott the Republic Day celebrations on and around May 31, 1981.

## Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

## Toewydingsrede . . .

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

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

---

## **BLACK SASH OFFICES**

### **HEADQUARTERS**

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

### **CAPE WESTERN**

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

### **SA ISSN 0036-4843**

This Magazine, as the official organ of the Black Sash, carries authoritative articles on the activities of the Black Sash. The leading articles adhere broadly to the policies of the organisation, which does not, however, necessarily endorse the opinions expressed by the contributors.

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

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