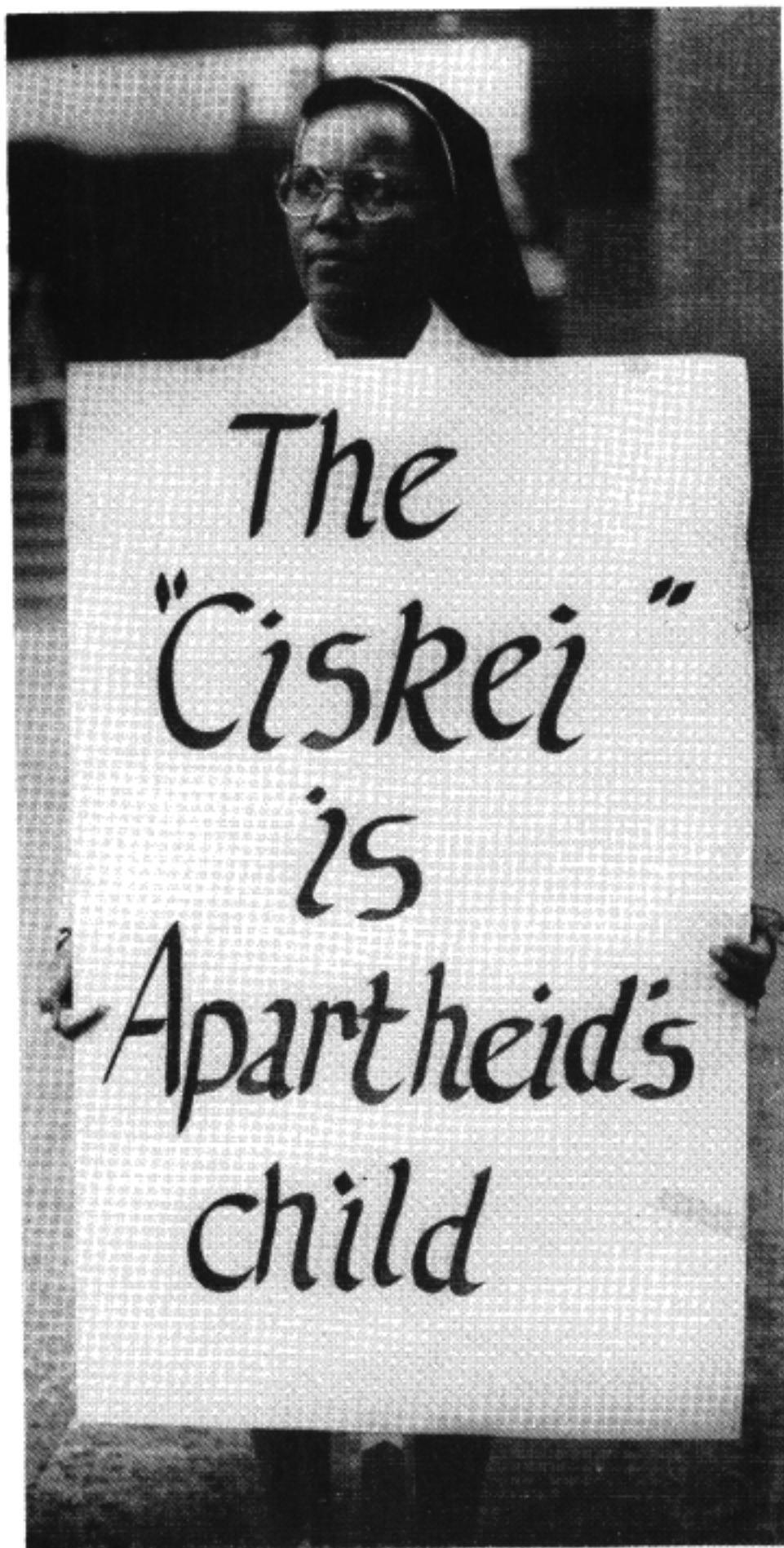


# Sash

Vol 26 No 3 November 1983 R1,20



*Ah, but your land is lawless...*



City Press

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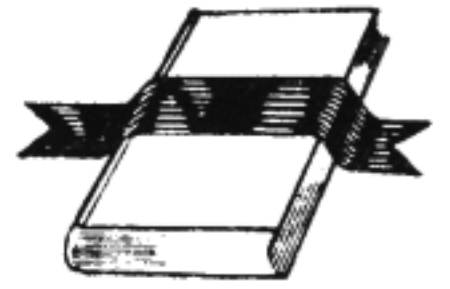
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**Cover picture:** from a painting in colour by Robert Hodgins — photo: Ingrid Hudson. Photos on pages 18 & 19 by Glenda Glover

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*We frequently publish extracts from documents, speeches and conversations in order to chronicle some of the attitudes of officials and those who oppose them. We imagine our readers are as fascinated as we are by the way in which fresh and vigorous thought can transcend language. Many of these extracts represent a spiritual victory over Bantu Education. Others, blighted by cliché and programmed thinking, are a more disturbing witness to the sterile and ritualistic dialogue between government and its opponents.*



**W**hen blacks were excluded by the Act of Union in 1910, and when the Land Act was passed, J T Jabavu, along with other black leaders at the time, prophesied 'an anarchic disruption of the land.'

Seventy years later, with spectacular foolishness, whites have worse than repeated their early mistake. The exclusion of blacks from the franchise could have been rectified at any time since 1910. Now this exclusion is embedded in the new constitution. So there we have it. We are lumbered with a constitution structured to perpetrate the root cause of all our problems, a daunting obstacle to those very verligtes who hope to use it as a vehicle for change.

Harold Pakenddorf, editor of *Die Vaderland*, in a recent symposium at the Institute for Continuing Education, denied that this was so and said that the new constitution would successfully redirect our society because the National Party, now prepared to abandon ideology in response to the pressures of our society, had a vested interest in making it work. With all our hearts we hope that he is right and we are wrong.

But we see so little evidence of their good sense or goodwill and what frightens us most is white blindness to the rising tide of lawlessness all over the country and the extent of government responsibility for it.

While white public opinion chose to be justifiably shocked by the redetention of the Zimbabwe airmen after they had been acquitted, the vast majority of these same people have without even noticing it become accustomed to redetention in South Africa.

In this issue alone, among our ordinary run-of-the-mill articles, there is enough evidence of our Government's disrespect for its own Courts, let alone the rule of law, to make us shudder at the prospect of life under a new and messy constitution with no restraining traditions to inhibit it. The Government's cynical response to the Rikhoto judgment doesn't promise much for the future, nor is there any sign of let-up on forced removals, but rather of increasing and serious harassment of those who protest — witness just two among almost daily instances of this kind: the shooting at Mr Ampie Mayisa at Leandra and the East Rand Board officials' attack on priests and onlookers during a raid on squatters at Katlehong.

Worst of all, during the last four months anarchy has become so firmly established in the Ciskei that it is no longer newsworthy and many people have probably forgotten about it. To say nothing of Lamontville. Detentions and allegations of torture go on endlessly here and in Namibia, and another death in detention (that of Paris Malatje) has slipped by without much fuss, as also the most recent raid on Maputo. For the umpteenth time police overreacted to a student demonstration, this time in Huhudi, provoking riot and the inevitable arrest of students under terrorism charges. Appalling individual cases of white brutality, seldom effectively punished, are part of the South African way of life.

Not surprisingly counter violence has escalated. Acts of terrorism increase all the time, so much so that we tend to lose track of them. Suspected government agents and supporters, policemen and vigilantes, are constantly attacked and petrol bombed, and some are killed, and in this atmosphere ideological differences trigger off more violence.

The white public isn't nearly scared enough by all this, but rather seems to get used to it. True they are apprehensive that a day of reckoning may lurk somewhere in the future, but for the moment most people seem satisfied that burglar alarms and the new constitution will keep the jungle law at bay, or at least mostly out of sight far away in townships and the homeland provinces. Unfortunately, in times like this, the richest and most powerful are the last to be affected, and we are not optimistic about our chances of halting the anarchic disruption of our land.

We are in business, however, to plod on, together with other organizations like us, in the hope that one day South Africans might learn to fear lawlessness more than they fear each other, and having learnt some terrible lessons might finally recognise that devotion to the rule of law is the first and finest safeguard of our future — which, incidentally, is something the new constitution doesn't seem to have bothered about.

**REMOVALS FORMULA: No discussion. Residents compelled to elect planning committee to discuss mechanics of removal. Carrots for some. Sticks for the rest**

**Sash continues to chronicle evidence which shows that year after year the pattern never changes...**

## **What has the Ciskei to do with Mgwali — a black spot in the white corridor 35 kms from the Ciskei border?**

### **Members of the MGWALI RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION explain some issues**

**W**e had our tour to Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Ladysmith and KaNgwane. We wanted actually to witness how this resettlement is taking place now, and people are dying like flies.

#### **The Ciskei trick emerges**

We returned home and went to the magistrate in Stutterheim about an old pensioner's case, about a pension he is supposed to be getting in Stutterheim. And Stutterheim is in South Africa. Even on the map it is in South Africa, not in Ciskei. The magistrate's answer is that he can't do anything for them because there are documents in his office which classify them as being in Ciskei. So we asked the magistrate: Who has authorised that without consulting us?

We were never consulted...

#### **We were never consulted**

We were never consulted. All we saw was Sebe visiting us following Mr Godden the Secretary of Agriculture who had come to tell us Mgwali is going to be removed, to Frankfort. People didn't even want to listen to Mr Godden. And after Mr Godden there came Mr Sebe in June 1981. Sebe says he was not going to say much to us. We were going to Frankfort. He never even exchanged views with us. He was simply instructing. It was compulsory that we moved because this place has been earmarked for whites. He did not even have a single meeting with us before he came to announce this. He told us we must move before guns

and bulldozers come in. When we asked for time to write to our sons in the towns, he asked us if he must give us time to consult terrorists who will come and destroy here. So our children are now terrorists to him, because he wants us to go.

#### **A planning committee is forced on the residents**

He said a committee must be elected NOW during his visit, not at any other time. Hastily a committee was elected. Then after that Sebe left. He said that list of names should be sent to him. This was when the Planning Committee was set up. From then on they met him a number of times. A week after this committee was set up they called a meeting and people went to that meeting. In coming to the meeting we found that three of the members in the committee were not elected by us. We don't know who put them there. Apparently three elected members had been dismissed and three others put in their place. We asked who had done this. The chairman of the Planning Committee, Mr Bevu, told us that they had been dismissed by the Prime Minister, the Chief Minister L L Sebe, and the reason he did not know. Now we asked him: The three who are now there, who put them there? He said, The Chief Minister. We further asked him: Where did the Chief Minister know these people from? And he (the chairman) said he does not know. But he ruled that we must continue and be removed. Because the situation is like this, irreversible, and talking is a waste of time. Because the government has made up its mind.

## The big stick

After that we left with Mr Fanti to Transkei to see Chief Sigcau. We wanted to tell him about this removal and thereby to get advice. Unfortunately we couldn't get him because he was in the Transkeian government party which had gone to Austria. On coming back we were picked up and taken to Dimbaza by security police of the Ciskei, Sebe. We were asked why we had gone to the Transkei. We answered: We had gone there to seek advice on this matter of removal. We were speaking to Charles Sebe. He asked us: What do we think Sigcau can do for us? And we answered that according to the history of the Xhosas Sigcau is the paramount person with whom we can talk about our plight. And in turn he could talk on our behalf with the South African government. Charles Sebe said, You can never hope that Sigcau can talk to the whites about people in the Ciskei, only about people in the Transkei. He was talking to me directly. He asked: Am I serious that I don't want a black government? I told him, I don't want your brother and you on top, because you are removing. I want a coloured government which is going to leave me to stay here. Then he ordered that we be released.

## Carrots for others

On that same day we had a meeting, trying to plan what to do. We kept on growing. We were five, then ten, and today we are so many, who do not want to be removed. But there are some who are standing with the Planning Committee — there's a certain Mr Moletsane, a member of parliament, who says when the people of Mgwali are ultimately removed to Frankfort the people of the Planning Committee must be given houses and ploughing fields at Frankfort which used to belong to white people. We say they will never get them because we are not going to be removed.

## The Ciskei plot thickens

And now lately we hear that when our sons go to Stutterheim to apply for reference books they are sent to the Ciskei, and in this way we are being removed one by one. If we let this thing go they can wait until the older generation dies and then they know they have potential Ciskeians. In fact we are being victimised and terrorised by Sebe. Sebe is in fact the terrorist.

In fact we have met and decided to write a letter to the Legal resources Centre to Mr Budlender informing him about this. It is our cry that we want to bring these people to court, and we want it right here in Stutterheim.

This is our pride, of not wanting to be removed. If there is justice we must exhaust every channel. We are opposed to our sons being victimised and being sent to Ciskei for these Books of Life. We will go through everything to resist removal.

We arrived on March 10, 1983 in Joburg, so we were asked to go to the Eloff Commission. So we went to listen to the fate of the SACC which is a body helping us. So we were welcomed. This is where we learnt that the removal of Mgwali has been withdrawn. This news we got in Pretoria. We phoned home and heard that from April the teachers will be paid by South Africa and no longer Ciskei. So this somehow confirmed our news that we heard in Pretoria. But now it's confusing us because it's now past April but they are still paid by Ciskei, not south Africa. We don't see any improvement. All we see is that he (the magistrate) is sending Ciskei men here for everything.

## THE CISKEIAN CONNECTION — a local observer explains

*For two years the people of Mgwali have been under threat of removal to Frankfort in the Ciskei. Almost all of them desperately want to stay in their five villages of African freehold, in the White Corridor 35 km from the Ciskei border. Government Agencies have used force and fear against this stand by Mgwali (est pop 7 000) — detention under R252, interrogations, road blocks, a total ban on meetings to discuss the issue, rumours that pensions, school places and licences will be lost if people resist removal.*

*Since September 1983 this official line seems to have changed. Heavy surveillance and threats have gone, and now Ciskei is playing a role as 'benign' coloniser. Removal is not mentioned. Instead Ciskei has called two meetings in Mgwali to outline 'Ciskei development schemes' for that area. Ciskei is to build a post office on this RSA land, Dr J Hermanus (of Ciskei Rural Development) told an amazed and understandably cautious gathering on September 26. Social relief committees would be set up in each village by Ciskei through the headmen — a plan flatly rejected by the Mgwali present ('We have nothing to do with the headmen — they are just for Ciskei, not at all for Mgwali').*

*In the second meeting, on October 21, Mgwali were told to pay full development tax to Ciskei. In return Ciskei would organise development projects in Mgwali, such as intensive vegetable and poultry farming. For all the fine words, the audience still felt under attack. Not one ques-*



October 21. Why couldn't we raise questions? And why couldn't we discuss about removal?

## ● DROUGHT RELIEF?

Drought relief in Mgwali/Wartburg is being given only to those who do not resist removal to Frankfort, the MRA reports. Only those with CNIP cards have been helped, and the families trying to stave off removal tend not to belong to the CNIP. In fact, no opponents to removal have got anything from the relief scheme since before Christmas 1982.

The scheme should be helping the needy with rations and small jobs (clearing rubbish, picking up stones, etc) but instead seems to be used to pressurise people into removal. Sacks of mealie meal and other supplies are rotting in store instead of going to many hungry families in the area who are trying to stay.

The relief scheme is administered by the five village headmen of Mgwali and the other headmen of Wartburg.

Nobody approaches a headman for help, we heard. The headman just calls on those of his choice, and that is how the relief is dispensed.

If Ciskei allegiance even outside Ciskei is a prerequisite for rations, possibly Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and other agencies are doing likewise.

Extract from *The Grahamstown Resettlement Newsletter*, May 1983

tion was permitted at the meeting, not even a reply to a new threat that Ciskei will not increase pension funds for Mgwali unless the villagers pay development tax in full. The unease and frustration built up. 'Why couldn't we raise questions? And why couldn't we discuss about removal?', some people asked afterwards.

Faced by resistance, the authorities may have decided to colonise these villages into Ciskei first, using heavy social pressures on the spot in Mgwali to enforce a political identity with Ciskei. It would be turning a black spot into a bantustan spot, from which removal would be easier to engineer, and permanence (if the plan changed) less valuable as the lives of villagers would be so estranged from the RSA.

If this interpretation is correct, colonisation is already under way. Clinic fees are to be raised soon, for example, to meet a 'Ciskei scale of payment'. The new strategy is being conducted in an enforced silence so far, just as the previous strategies of harassment and co-option were. In fact those two earlier strategies live on in the new one, in a form that poses new resistance problems.



Mgwali women listen angrily as they are told of the Ciskeian development tax



Oct 21 — Mgwali ordered to pay Ciskeian development tax. (l to r) T Bevu (chairman, Zibula tribal authority), Dr J Hermanus (Ciskei rural development director), A Javu (director in Ciskei Dept of the Presidency), M Moletsane (Ciskei MP for Mgwali), unidentified member

## ● DENIAL

CISKEI's director-general of Health and Welfare, DR L Z Mzimba, yesterday said if only card-carrying members of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party were being given drought aid at Mgwali it was 'definitely irregular' and that a similar problem had occurred before.

All Ciskeians suffering because of the drought were entitled to government relief aid, regardless of their political affiliations, he stated.

'I know nothing about this but it is definitely irregular,' Dr Mzimba said.

'Ciskei's executive council has ordered that everyone in distress should be accommodated in food relief schemes.'

*E P Herald, June 29, 1983*

## ● Stop Press on drought relief (by Ciskei in Mgwali)

Sash field workers report: Mgwali residents are furious about deductions from their relief work salaries. Some, earning R40 per month for picking up litter, had as much as R10 taken off to pay for the ubukhweta (initiation ceremony) of the son of chieftainess Nolzwane.

On October 21 at 6.30 am Nokwenze Mene came to Mr Fanti and said she had had R10 taken off her money (R30). She was told R2,50 of that was 'development tax' and as for the rest, she should collect three amounts of R2,50 from her fellow drought relief workers.

The Mgwali Residents Association decided to demand an explanation that day at the meeting called by Ciskeian officials, but were simply not allowed to.

The MRA, however, won't be beaten, say local Sash members. They will make sure that the scandal of these deductions is exposed.

**Four months ago the people of Mdantsane began boycotting the buses of the Ciskei Transport Corporation in protest against an 11% fare increase. The response of the Ciskei government is one of the most brutal chapters in our country's history.**

# CISKEI

**I**n May 1983, the Ciskei Transport Corporation (CTC) which owns a 50% share of Gompo Transport, decided to increase the bus fare from Mdantsane to East London by 11%. In July, members of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), South African Allied Workers Union (SAWU), African Food and Canning Workers Union and General Workers Union met to discuss the fare increases.

The meeting elected a Committee of Ten to meet the management of CTC to negotiate the fare increases. The company responded by saying that it was too late to object to the increases, that they had the permission of the Ciskei government to raise the fares, and that they had approached the community councils and spoken with the people *they* considered to be the community leaders.

The next day the press reported a 60% drop in the use of CTC buses and an 80% drop the following day. About three weeks after the start of the boycott, students in Mdantsane high schools began boycotting classes in support of their parents in order to protect their female relatives on their way to the stations. They were joined in due course by students in Duncan Village. Their actions have resulted in almost the entire COSAS leadership being detained and several students have fallen victim to assault by Sebe's police and vigilantes.

### **Police vigilantes move in on boycotters**

The response of the Ciskei authorities was to set up roadblocks at the entrance to Mdantsane where cars were stopped and passengers were forced to walk several miles to work or back home. Drivers were told they were only allowed to carry their immediate family and had to produce marriage and birth certificates to prove this. At the same time Ciskei police and CTC officials began impounding cars for 'illegally transporting passengers'. This practice still continues.

Queues of up to a hundred cars were forced to wait for extremely long periods of time to get through roadblocks. From late July road-blocks were controlled

either by police or vigilantes who harassed car drivers, passengers and taxi drivers.

### **Passengers whipped and assaulted**

Passengers say they were whipped with sjamboks, knobkerries and sabres. One resident, Ms B M, a cashier in a restaurant, says in late September she was travelling home at approximately 7,30 pm. Just outside Mdantsane her car was stopped by a combi with a government registration plate. Passengers were ordered to alight. Ms B M was assaulted with sjamboks and sticks. As a result of the assault her arm was broken, and her legs, back and breasts were covered with bruises and cuts. She lost consciousness during the attack and when she regained consciousness the combi had gone and she was lying by the side of the road.

Assaults on commuters travelling in private vehicles have continued despite a supreme court interdict restraining police from assaulting commuters on their way to and from work. Residents say that police and vigilantes at road-blocks demand SA reference books, identity documents, books of life, records of voting, a certificate of township occupation, Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) cards, receipts for contributions to the Statue of Lennox Sebe Fund, and receipts for Ciskei Development Tax. Failure to produce any one of these documents resulted in residents either being sent home to fetch them or immediate detention by either the police or vigilantes.

Residents said if you produced one document, they asked you for the next. 'It is an absolutely "no-win" situation' said one resident, 'It's impossible to have all these documents at the same time'.

### **Harassment — no legal basis**

The effect of this harassment was to try and delay employees so that they missed their trains and were thus induced to catch buses. Despite the fact that many of these demands were without any legal basis, hundreds of



*Bakkie taxis make a mint — no emergency regulations to limit people to 4 per car, outside the Ciskei of course, so passengers pile in.*



*The two Egerton railway ticket offices and police van*

people were turned over to the police by the vigilantes and charged. Having been arrested many people were detained for days or weeks without ever being charged or brought to trial.

It is estimated that over 1 000 people were held in Ciskei jails during this period. In September it was reported in the press that 832 people had been detained in the previous two weeks. 988 people were held for not paying Development Tax, 372 people were charged for curfew offences of which 208 were acquitted. Many of the remainder languished in jail because their families could not afford the R400 bail set by Ciskei magistrates.

Police station cells were over-crowded and many detainees complained of being assaulted either on arrival or during their detention.

### **Ciskei police ask detainees why they had been arrested**

Inmates say the Ciskei police would come to over-crowded cells and ask the detainees themselves why they had been arrested. They would write the charges on lists and then go away. Several days later detainees say they would either be released or charged for a totally different offence.

### **Vigilantes**

The police and the army have been assisted by vigilantes in harassing commuters. These vigilantes were recruited from Mdantsane and rural areas in the Ciskei. Many of the vigilantes are middle aged men, and supporters of the Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP). Speculation suggests that Sebe recruited these men because they were loyal supporters. In the wake of the attempted palace coup, and the detention of his brother Charles Sebe, Director General of State Security, Lennox did not feel totally confident of the loyalty of his own police force in crushing the boycott.

The vigilantes were brought into Mdantsane and housed in the change rooms of the Sisa Dukashe stadium. Residents said they wore overcoats and were armed with sticks, sjamboks, sabres and knobkerries. They roamed the township at night in bands or drove around in government combis, and appeared to have unlimited powers to assault, detain, torture and rape Mdantsane residents. Responding to allegations that the vigilantes were acting uncontrollably, President Sebe assured pressmen that they were acting under his instructions.

The vigilantes turned two of the change rooms of the Sisa Dukashe Stadium into torture and detention centres. Up to 80 people were crowded into these two rooms, not more than eight square metres.

People detained in the stadium said those there were kept anything from a few hours to several days. After this they were either released or transferred to the police station to face often trumped up charges. A number of victims say they were handcuffed, suspended by their wrists to a water pipe and beaten with sjamboks.

No medical attention was provided for people who were often badly injured as a result of these assaults. One victim reported that while he was in the stadium, an 11-year old girl and a 14-year old boy were being held captive there. Another resident, whose children disappeared for over a week, says she had to pay the vigilantes

**'M**y sister was shot by the police when they opened fire on the commuters. A day after the funeral of my sister, Sunday the 22 August, at approximately 2 am, vigilantes came to my house. They accused me of using a white Golf to transport workers who were refusing to catch the buses to their places of work in East London. In fact I have no car at all.

Nonetheless they took me to the Sisa Dukashe soccer stadium where I was assaulted. I was suspended, while handcuffed, and whipped on my body and feet with sjamboks and sticks for several hours. Thereafter I was left in a changing room with approximately 35 other persons who had been brought there by the vigilantes. I was left there until Tuesday. During that time many other persons were assaulted by the vigilantes.

We were given no food and water. There was no toilet in the room. By Tuesday there were approximately 80 persons in the room which was approximately 8 metres square. Because there was no running water in the toilet, faeces were piled along the edges of the room and in the corners.

At one stage two vigilantes came into the room and took out a young woman. They raped her in the adjoining change room.

On the Tuesday I was taken to a police station and handed over to the police. I had no idea what charge I was to face. There was no docket at court and I was taken back to my police station cell. The following day I was taken to court and charged with 'public violence'.

Apparently I am alleged to have committed the offence at the time at which I was being assaulted in the stadium.'

R150 to release her children detained in the stadium. Other inmates say that the vigilantes forced children to run round in circles singing praises to President Sebe. Ciskei police continually denied that assaults were taking place in the stadium despite the fact that various victims asked the police to raid the stadium.

People living near the stadium say they heard screams coming from the change rooms at night and asked the police to investigate what was going on.

Many Mdantsane residents say they have laid charges against the vigilantes with the Ciskei police. When they returned to follow up their cases they were told that the file had been closed.

### **The drama of the trains**

As hordes of former bus commuters sought alternative means of transport, the Ciskei police and vigilantes formed cordons around the railway stations and tried to prevent people from catching the trains.

There are five stations in Mdantsane. The train service is operated by South African Transport Services



*Buoyant spirit in the early morning train queue*



## OUR CISKEIAN PROVINCE

(SATS) and the railway line forms the boundary between Ciskei and white South Africa. Ciskei police and vigilantes formed cordons around the railway stations and tried to prevent commuters from catching trains.

One factory worker, Mrs S N B, said vigilantes hit her on the arm with a rifle fracturing her arm and threw her on a bus. Two days later she was again assaulted this time by Ciskei police. 'They hit me again on my injured arm causing me extreme pain'. Her husband was at that stage being treated in Mdantsane's hospital after being shot in the buttocks by Ciskei police.

Another train commuter had his ear stitched back after police struck him with a rifle to force him out of a bus: 'I showed them my monthly train ticket and they grabbed it from me', he said. Another factory worker had his jaw broken with an iron rod after he asked for change, after being forced aboard a bus.

A curious aspect of the boycott has been the attitude of the South African railway police who worked at cross purposes with the Ciskeian police. Railway loud hailer announcing the arrival of trains added, 'No one will stop you or point a gun at you', while armed Ciskeian police prevented people from entering stations.

Undeterred, but clearly afraid, they followed circuitous routes, avoiding roadblocks, and boarded trains with railway police encouragement and assistance from the opposite side of the line which forms Ciskei's boundary. SATS have laid on extra trains and often the trains stop between stations to allow commuters to get on, the more elderly being lifted up by the railway police.

### Police kill 5

On July 25 at Fort Jackson Station, Ciskei police shot five people as they left the station. On August 4, the police made a concerted effort to stop commuters reaching Mount Ruth and Edgeton stations. In a sworn affidavit before the Ciskei Supreme Court on August 8, 1983, Ms Glutu stated that the commuters shouted that they were not at war and wanted to get to work. The police drew their firearms and fired without warning at the commuters. Ms Glutu said that before running away she saw an old man fall to the ground holding his leg which was bleeding. She went past a young man lying motionless on his back on the ground and saw vigilantes approach him and beat him as he lay on the ground.

**In the absence of any legal venue, train carriages have provided an ideal forum for communication.**

**Packed to overflowing, commuters prostrate on roofs and balancing on couplings have learnt daily of the latest deaths, detentions and arrest for alleged curfew violations.**

**Between freedom songs, commuters have heard eyewitness accounts of police violence and vigilante assaults.**

**Cries of 'amandla' and 'away with Sebe' have disturbed sleepy white suburbs as trains carry East London's labour force to the industrial area.**

*from a local correspondent*



*Commuters cheerfully brave the hazards of their daily journey*

At Cecilia Makiwane Hospital officials admit that five people brought to the hospital after the shooting were dead on arrival. A further 22 were admitted with gun shot wounds. Eye witnesses say that at least 15 people were killed at Mount Ruth and many more were injured.

Within the next week the police confirmed shooting dead two other people. One of them was a 16-year-old youth named Sisa Faku whom the police say they shot in self-defence. However friends of Sisa's say that they were playing soccer on an open field after school one af-

**Friends of 16-year-old Sisa Faku spent hours on trains telling of his death, contradicting official reports that he had been apprehended stoning a rent office before turning on heavily armed police with a knife.**

**No, he was not shot in self-defence, they said. He was killed after police converged on a group of boys playing soccer — Sisa was one of them who fled in fear.**

*from a local correspondent*

ternoon. Several police vans arrived on the scene and the boys fled in fear. The police caught up with Sisa, opened his mouth and put a bullet through the roof of his mouth, and then shot him in the stomach and the leg. The police then took a knife out of Sisa's pocket and wiped it in his blood and left it lying next to him to suggest that he had been shot in self-defence.

### Total death toll unknown

Residents in Mdantsane say that this has not been the full extent of the shooting. They put the total death toll as high as 90. They claim that an official death toll is inaccurate because the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital is subject to government pressure to conceal statistics of those killed and wounded. They say that many of those killed were taken to private mortuaries or straight to the government mortuary.

A private mortuary proprietor said his mortuary alone was holding seven bodies. He said the Ciskeian government had told him to dispose of the bodies even though only two had been identified.

### Fare increase halved

South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha flew to Zwelitsha at the height of the turmoil for talks with President Sebe. The bus fare increase was halved and the massive police presence in Mdantsane all but withdrawn. The vigilantes stayed, however.

Mdantsane residents, however, were not appeased by the fare concession. 'Five cents will not bring back the dead,' said one Vuyiswa Maqubela. Bus patronage

## OUR CISKEIAN PROVINCE

remains low, 130 of the transport company's workers have been retrenched and evidence of the boycott's political overtones have been reinforced.

Ms Maqubela's intransigence is significantly representative. At the outset of the boycott in July, she complained of intimidation by the organisers. A member of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party, she was apathetic about the fare increase and reluctant to jeopardise her job as a cleaner in an East London hotel. But, she said, bus commuters had been threatened with petrol bomb attacks on their homes, so she endured the hardship of walking an extra 24 km daily to board trains.

Ms Maqubela changed radically after August 4 when at least 45 people fell to a hail of police bullets before sunrise at Mdantsane railway sidings. The authorities reported five dead and another two subsequent fatalities. Victims who survived said they had been shot in cold blood.

They were strangers to Ms Maqubela. But she wept, tore up her CNIP membership card and vowed never to board a bus again.

### State of emergency

Immediately after the shootings at Mount Ruth Station, the Ciskei authorities declared a State of Emergency, and imposed a curfew from 10 pm to 4 am. They banned all meetings of more than four people and a few weeks later banned the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) in the Ciskei. SAAWU is the biggest border region union, representing nearly 20 000 workers in East London factories alone. Sebe has long blamed the union for the boycott and detained the entire union executive.

The new curfew regulations made it very difficult for residents to get to work on time. Many have to leave

costs which decisively swung the outcome of the boycott, and brought the community solidly behind it.

**A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Kobus van Graan, said 'We do not want to get involved in a domestic issue which has nothing to do with us.'** *Daily Despatch, August 5*

### Negotiation?

Despite the strength of the boycott, the Ciskeian authorities have made no attempt to negotiate with commuters. SAAWU president, Thozamile Gqweta (detained eight times during the last three years) who has been in hiding since almost the entire SAAWU executive was detained, offered conditions for negotiation. He said that all detainees should be released including



*A signboard at Bisho*

the Committee of Ten before residents would consider calling the boycott off.

President Sebe did not respond, instead he sent his vigilantes on house to house searches looking for union T-shirts, political publications, SAAWU membership cards and boycotting students. Possession of the Black Sash booklet, 'You and the New Pass Laws', a banned publication in the Ciskei, can earn a resident a thrashing and immediate detention.

In early October the Economic Development Corporation, the other 50% shareholders of Gampo transport, approached the Durban-based Secretary General of SAAWU, Sam Kikane to negotiate to end the dispute. The company was showing a financial loss of R6 million over the last 12 months, a substantial portion of which relates to a loss of earnings due to the bus boycott.

Kikane offered the following terms for negotiation: release of all detainees; compensation for victims and relatives of those killed and injured by the Ciskei authorities; and the withdrawal of the bus service during negotiations.

President Sebe has not responded with anything more than increased violence against commuters, students and detainees. Recent reports tell of increased assaults against boycotting school children.

### People stand firm

Nevertheless, the people of Mdantsane continue to boycott the buses. Many walk up to 30 kms a day to catch trains to work. Each day as they begin the journey to East London, they do so with the knowledge that they may never return.

### Attitude of employers in the region

Caught up in a comic opera situation by having to com-

**At a Press conference on September 26 1983 President Kaiser Matanzima accused South Africa of abetting atrocities in Ciskei. He accused the 'white Government of South Africa' of pursuing a policy of divide and rule 'to achieve our permanent subjugation.'**

**'As a result,' he said, 'the Ciskei thugs are today slaughtering and raping young women'. He said that many people in Mdantsane had been brutally murdered and buried secretly. He asked what South Africa was doing about 'these brutal barbaric acts.'**

home at 3 am to walk up to 15 kms to the station to catch the trains to work.

They are forced to take long detours through the veld to avoid the vigilantes who roam the streets of the township at night looking for curfew breakers.



### Boycott builds strength

The boycott was not initially taken on with great confidence. It was Sebe's decision to crush the boycott at all

## OUR CISKEIAN PROVINCE

ply with the government's 'Independent State' rituals, local employers have been unable to negotiate directly with the Ciskei and have had to make approaches to the Department of Foreign Affairs (Pik Botha).

While the East London Chamber of Commerce 'strongly objected' to the violence used against bus boycotters, they nevertheless warned workers that they could lose 30% of their earnings as late arrivals each day force factories to go on short time.

According to the Southern Africa Report (October 14, 1983) employers who ferried workers home had their vehicles turned back at the entrance to Mdantsane. The JODAC report, however, claims that on the whole employers have not provided their workers with transport from Mdantsane.

It is reported by JODAC that Johnson and Johnson, Wilson Rowntrees and Frametex have been issuing warnings to their workers for arriving late to work.

### Boycott settles in: Ciskeians now defiant

#### Local Sash members report (Oct 24)

Protests and community reprisals have forced the Ciskei regime to try other ways to fight the Mdantsane boycott. Broadly it means a return to police action and cutting down on the vigilantes.

The vigilantes have been staying at the in-service training centre in Zone 4 ever since mid-September when publicity about their atrocities caused them to be moved from Sisa Dukashe stadium. But they still harassed people, and in return the community have been attacking the houses of every vigilante they could identify in action. Every day people pool their information on the trains, the forum for the boycott. Then crowds go straight from the trains in the evening to the house of any vigilante reported and known. 'There was a whole crowd round one man's house', it was said of a reprisal in September. 'They filled the street, and they broke that man's house with stones. His wife hid under the table and they did not hurt her.'

Then the vigilantes started their own reprisals after these community attacks. The situation really came to a head when two vigilante homes were petrol bombed on the evening of Sunday October 2. The next day, a band

#### OUTSIDE SUPPORT

**In September the United Democratic Front formed a Ciskei support committee. This committee condemned the banning of Saawu and stated: 'The ban on Saawu is a veiled threat to other unions to stay away from community struggles like the Mdantsane bus boycott. But bus fare hikes eat into the workers' pay packets and unions are obliged to support the campaigns of the working people. To permit the Ciskei puppet government to suppress union involvement in community struggles is to give away a fundamental element of unionism. Without the right to use their organizations to defend themselves workers are utterly defenceless. And there can be no compromise on this right to take up issues beyond the factory floor.'**

#### HIGH HONOUR FOR PRESIDENT SEBE

**Presenting President Sebe with the order of the Indwe, the Ciskeian Chief Justice, Mr Justice de Wet, said, 'This spontaneous gesture on the part of the nation is inspired at this particular moment in time to reaffirm unequivocally the nation's total confidence in, and whole-hearted support for its illustrious leader.'**

**Paying tribute to President Sebe, the Ciskei Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr B N Pityi said, 'This man is great. His glance penetrates and sees reality. This man is graced with a quality of genius to look life in the face, to think not in concepts and in words but in basic facts of life... There was one road for him — that which led to the glory and well-being of the Ciskeian nation.'**

*Daily Despatch, August 30*

of vigilantes rounded up 112 boys and young men from the area of the attack and took them to the old magistrate's office for interrogation.

By then, officialdom had withdrawn from supporting the vigilantes. Mr Yako, A Ciskei MP, protested to the police about the round-up and insisted they release those 112 people, which they did. Later that day three police officials spoke to the vigilantes at their base, the in-service training centre, about their actions.

Then two days later, on Wednesday October 5, Brigadier Madolo the Commissioner of Police addressed them again. All the vigilantes residing in Mdantsane should go home as they had served their purpose, he said. The others from the country areas should stay at the centre but their only task was guarding the schools at night. Police would deliver them to the school yards each evening.

The vigilantes reacted strongly against losing their jobs. They pleaded with a CNIP official to see President Lennox Sebe and plead their case. The official refused. So now the vigilantes are definitely out of favour. Yet people are still being assaulted by them outside the school grounds.

Sebe had at first trusted the vigilantes more than the police, terrified as he was of a coup. But when a lot of claims came in about actions by the vigilantes, and the stories also became national news, he wanted to dissociate himself. So says a senior journalist in Mdantsane.

The residents are still in strong boycott. Buses are avoided. Despite strong police pressure (of catching pupils, making them do exercises at the police station, then delivering them to school) the attendance in the secondary schools is still only 55-60%, a few sources say (October 21). Community policy is apparently to make individual reprisals immediately against anyone identified in the act of harassing boycotters — which is no doubt why those vigilantes based in Mdantsane were told to stay at home.

● *The bulk of this article comes from a report by the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC) which is largely based on a memorandum by Fink Haysom for the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits. Reports from local Sash members have been included in the article.*

# Visit to Potsdam

This is a notorious transit camp, in the Fort Jackson area, where some 20,000 people live, many of whom have already been moved three times.

While working for the Potsdam clinic, Dr Trudi Thomas noticed that grandmothers, battling to keep small children alive, would deny themselves food to a point where they couldn't go on any more and then would suddenly collapse, some of them, and eat all the food themselves and let the children die.

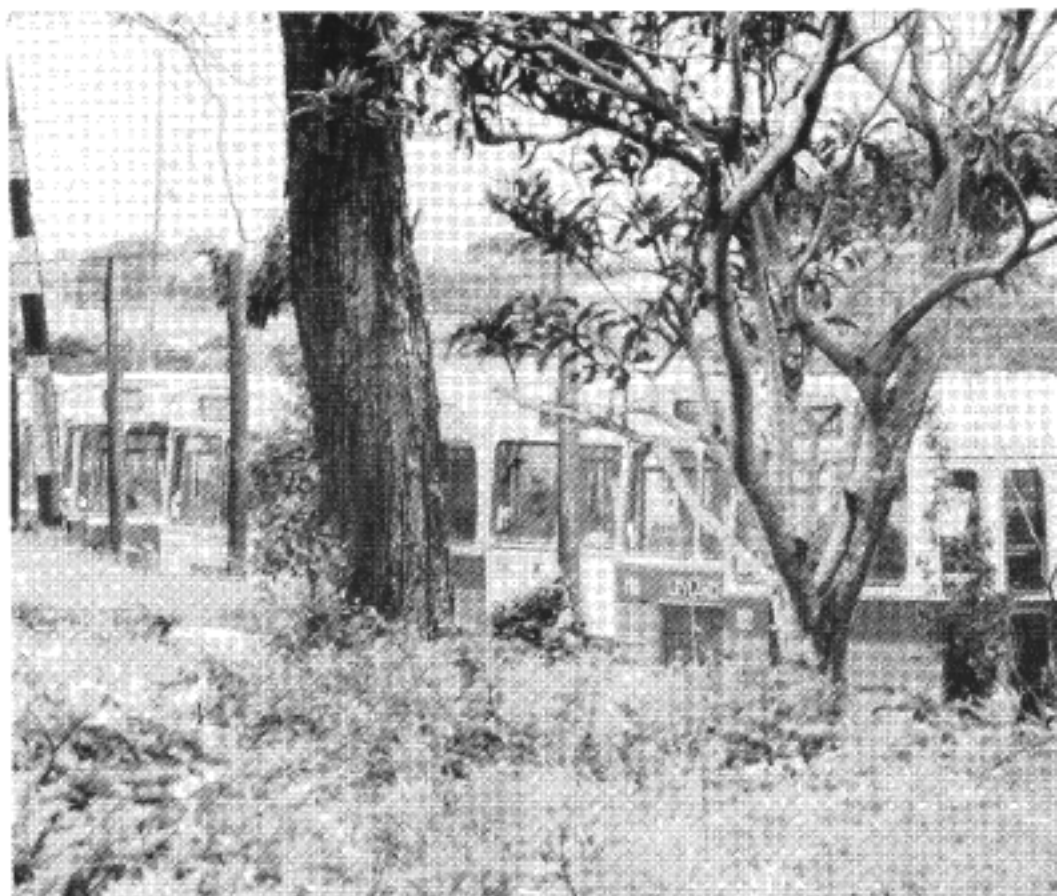
*Sash reports on a visit in August 1983*

Malnutrition is obviously rampant now, despite the clinic. Most people that we saw look badly underfed and fatigued.

Our guide told of a family removed here from a white farm near Mount Ruth, whom his family knew before removal. The father had a job in East London which he kept after the move to Potsdam, and as fares from Mount Ruth and from Potsdam were similar, the actual income of the family stayed the same. Yet soon after moving to Potsdam, this family started to look underfed. He noticed the little 5-year-old girl in particular who previously had been bright, beautiful and energetic — she was listless when he saw her next, skin dull, other signs of underfeeding. The mother explained: Even if you have an income, you can't feed your children the same as before. You can't refuse food to children round about. I was being woken in the night by the three children crying of hunger in the house next door. This mother was therefore having to deny her own children in the course of sharing the food out.

Before the dirt road between Mdantsane and Potsdam was improved, the buses could not get through in wet weather. People with jobs ordinarily took the bus to the Mdantsane CBD, then got the bus into East London. When the Potsdam buses weren't running, these commuters hired taxis to the CBD, and they were prepared to pay out in fares even the exact amount they were earning in wages rather than give up their jobs. Some people were working for literally nothing. Obviously the bus boycott was a key feature when we went in to Potsdam. We had debated about going, then decided to go.

The first notable thing was that nobody would accept a lift in our car on the Potsdam road. Our guide had been besieged for lifts every time before, because his kombi was well known. This caution with a strange car (CF numberplate from Grahamstown amounted to a *foreign* vehicle, not just an unknown one) was understandable. The emergency regulations recently gazetted ban meetings of more than four people, whether in a street, or a house, or a car, during the day. This incidentally gives the authorities more leverage against informal taxi arrangements. But more bluntly people say that they have been cruising around offering lifts — and anyone who accepts is then driven off to the stadium and beaten up. We could have been a con. Our second offer of a lift was to two very tired women, one with a large infant on her back and the other with shopping parcels. They were terribly torn. First the one with parcels wanted to get in;



*Gompo bus depot — 300 buses were parked here on a Sunday*

then they discussed; then the one with the baby was to come in the car with the parcels; more discussion; finally they said No. We didn't even try asking any more people after that.

The buses stop at the stops, but nobody gets on or off. People queue at the stops, but for lifts from known people. The buses they ignore. We saw empty buses, and one with about three people on it.

The week before our trip, one old man among the vigilantes had menaced a man into boarding a bus. This man gave the driver a R2 note and waited for his change. No change. When he demanded it, the driver said: You aren't getting any change, that's the cost of the boycott. Then the man wanted to get off the bus with his R2, and the old vigilante broke his jaw with his iron bar. These vigilantes are hangers on of the headman Mr April. They look pathetic, dingy old men — now in a confrontation scene, with no bearings except to support authority.

**Nobody would accept a lift in our car on the Potsdam road. The people say that the authorities have been cruising around offering lifts — and anyone who accepts is then driven off to the stadium and beaten up**

**Facts and shenanigans — our trip** Vigilantes stopped us while we were still cruising around, so we never did the interviews we'd planned. Just a few things to record:

- Mdantsane is spreading towards Potsdam at a rate of about 26 new houses a week.
- On the other side of Potsdam, the Buffalo River irrigation scheme is also spreading towards Potsdam.
- We saw a few people doing roadwork — drought relief jobs.
- There were also some mouldering bales of fodder in the headman's yard — also from the relief scheme. We wondered, could these be rotting rather than going to non-CNIP people, as in Mgwali?

**They were prepared to pay out in fares even the exact amount they were earning in wages rather than give up their jobs**

For the rest, how we didn't want to spend the day: ten minutes after entering Potsdam we were stopped. Four craven old men sidled up grinning and bowing to say we must go to the headman. They trotted after us and as we drove into the yard about 12 of these vigilantes came hurrying in. The police had been phoned and were on their way. A crazy brass-bound Boer War rifle made its appearance. The old men continued servile but we imagined they'd have turned ugly if we'd tried leaving.

We'd been stopped at 12.20. At 12.40 down from the heights came the cops in cowboy fashion with lights ablaze and siren going — slammed into the yard, chickens rushing for cover. One of these men in man-about-town suits had met one of us in Glenmore the month before — joy! a plot! promotion! The W/O told us to drive to security headquarters in Mdantsane and they followed, directing us from behind through the loudhailer. At the centre they searched the car including the battery tops. We were up in the interview room by 1.15 pm. The W/O required a curriculum vitae from each of us, back

**Even if you have an income you eat little because you can't refuse food to children round about**



*Waiting along the line when the platform is full. By 6 am, 1 200 people were at the siding*



*Queuing for trains*

to place of birth, parents' full names etc. All the time we were there, we had behind us a row of striplings of the force, I suppose they were, who didn't say a word. The W/O and the Glenmore man interviewed us from 1.40 to 2.05 — stress on why we didn't go straight to the headman, whom we wanted to see, what about Glenmore... A student among us explained about his thesis, about the importance of studying unemployment... 2.05-2.30 Lieutenant Mbenjeni went over the same ground. Then returned with another few questions, then back again 2.45-3pm. Finally Captain Genda carried on with the same stuff 3.10-3.30 when we were released.

**One old man among the vigilantes had menaced a man into boarding a bus. This man gave the driver a R2 note and waited for his change. No change. When he demanded it, the driver said, You aren't getting any change, that's the cost of the boycott. Then the man wanted to get off the bus with his R2, and the old vigilante broke his jaw with his iron bar.**

# Natal's historic ruins

Peter Brown

**We recommend to schools and to our readers that children be taken on this trip through Natal in the same way that they are sometimes taken on tours of the historic battlefields of the region.**



Peter Brown

**M**Y JOB TODAY is to tell you something about what relocation means in Natal. I will not go into detail. Volume 4 of the Surplus People Project does that magnificently. I will not try to cover the whole province. That would take too long. What I thought I would do was take you on a short tour along a road with which many Transvalers are familiar. That is the old National Road, from where it leaves the Transvaal at Volksrust, as far as Ladysmith. The distance is 153 kilometres, just under 100 miles, a good deal less as the crow flies. As we go along I will tell you the story of some of the places you can see from that road, and the story of some others that you would see if you made a short detour off it.

**Charlestown** You are hardly into Natal before you are in Charlestown. Charlestown was Natal's railhead, customs and border post before Union. With Union the Railway offices moved to Volksrust and the customs and border posts were closed. Charlestown was in trouble. Its Town Board had borrowed money to build a large dam and put in a water-scheme. Suddenly its ratepayers began to leave and the means of repaying the loan went with them. The Town Clerk, a Mr Higgins, had an inspiration. Why not sell plots to Africans and replace the departing white ratepayers with black ratepayers, who could then help pay off the debt? He went out into the countryside looking for potential black buyers, and he found them.

Look closely at Charlestown as you pass through it. Notice the gaps between the houses. In those gaps once lived, in solid stone or brick houses:

*Abraham Ngwenya*, the first black man to buy in Charlestown. He bought his plot from its previous white owner in 1911, and set up business as a blacksmith. He plied his trade mainly with the white farmers of the district, and did it for nearly 50 years. He died in 1959 quite unable to understand why he should now be told that he must move to the bare wastes of Buffalo Flats, 40 miles away, and why none of his former customers seemed prepared to defend his right to stay.

*Piet Tshabalala*, who established a successful if modest business as a coal-merchant and carter.

*Elias Tabethe*, who used his rights to the Charlestown commonage to make bricks there and to sell them in Charlestown and Volksrust and further afield.

*Jeremiah Mdakane*, who bought his plot from Mr Higgins in 1925, but who spent his working life here in Johannesburg, employed as a waiter. In 1947 he was taken ill and went home to Charlestown to live there permanently. He grew vegetables and supplemented his income from the stock he was entitled to run on the commonage. When I last saw him his house had been de-

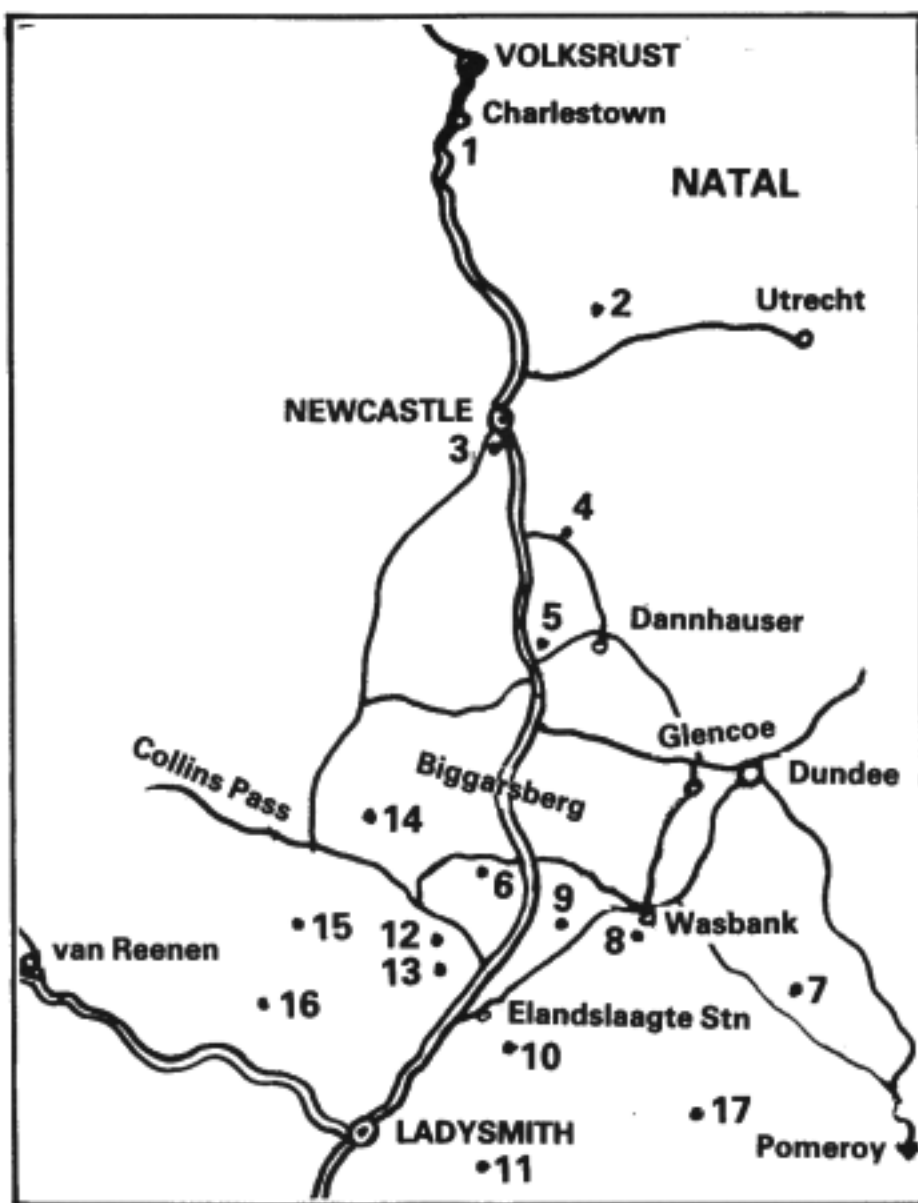
stroyed and he had taken refuge with a daughter, while she too waited for her home to be destroyed. Although I had known him well he neither knew who I was or where he was, whether because of his age or because of the terrible experience he had had, nobody will ever know.

As you drive past the last buildings in Charlestown, look to your left. This used to be Clavis, a township laid out by the SA Mutual in 1895 and incorporated into Charlestown in 1930. It had a substantial black population, some living in free-hold, some as tenants. Notice the store beside the road, which looks as if a bomb had hit it. Notice the piles of rubble. Each one was once a home. Notice the square of pine trees up on the hillside, planted there for no apparent purpose. Once there was a purpose for them. They were planted to protect and beautify the Charlestown Secondary School, the pride of the community, built to the strict requirements of the Department of Education, destroyed to meet the requirements of the Department of Community Development. And as you leave Charlestown and head towards Laing's Kloof Pass look back over your left shoulder and see on the hill behind the old town the grid which marks the roads of Clavis Extension, another black freehold area incorporated into Charlestown in 1932, and the heaps of rubble which mark where its people's homes once stood.

We move on towards **Newcastle**, 53 kilometres away. Look to your left as you approach the town. There, under a pall of smoke, you will see Madadeni, once called Duck Ponds, the home now of many a relocated family, amongst them many from Charlestown. But the Charlestown people were not the first to be moved to Madadeni. The people of **Lennoxton and Fairleigh** were. These were two suburbs of Newcastle within a stones throw of the centre of the town where the main road passes through it, within a short walk of their work. They were landowners who had bought their land quite legally and some of them were tenants. Their presence might have been legal but it was offensive to apartheid, and so they went to Madadeni. Accommodation provided for the early families moved to Madadeni was a prefabricated wooden hut 16ft by 10ft and without a floor.

We leave Newcastle behind and move on to **Balengeich**. On your left as you leave the mining village a road leads off. Almost immediately you are in **Alcockspruit**, one of five adjoining black freehold farms destroyed in the early 1970s, their people moved to Madadeni.

**Dannhauser** is the next town along our route — as it comes into sight, on the left of the road, an enormous pile of slag from a new mine appears on your right. This



**KEY TO MAP:**

- |  |                         |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1 Charlestown, Clavis and Clavis Extension | 8 Ruigtefontein         |
| 2 Madadeni                                 | 9 Steincoalspruit       |
| 3 Lennoxton and Fairleigh                  | 10 Criemen and Trekboer |
| 4 Alcockspruit etc                         | 11 Ezakheni             |
| 5 Siwangu                                  | 12 Matiwaneskop         |
| 6 Ndonyane                                 | 13 Jononoskop           |
| 7 Limehall                                 | 14 Lusitania            |
|  | 15 Driefontein          |
|  | 16 Kumalosville         |
|  | 17 Ekuvukeni            |

was Siwangu, home of the Nyembe family, who, when threatened with removal by the Government, chose instead to sell their farm, which provided them with their livelihood, to a mining company. Gabriel Nyembe was the man chosen by Chief Luthuli to act as his Deputy when the Treason Trial made it impossible for the Chief to carry out his duties. The Nyembes moved to Buffalo Flats where Gabriel was banned, and continued to be banned, until the end of his life.

The road proceeds from Dannhauser and over the Biggarsberg. As you come out of the hills there is a cross-road going left and right. Turn right and you will come to **Ndonyane**, a small black freehold area under threat but not yet moved. Its people do not want to move.

Turn left and you will come to **Wasbank**. Going right, after Wasbank, you will pass **Limehill**, into which the members of 10 black freehold areas were moved in 1968. Near Wasbank itself is **Ruigtefontein**, where a number of black families, including the Dladlas, whom I know, made a living out of farming until the axe fell in 1968.

Carry on towards **Elandslaagte** on your way back to the National Road. You will pass through the ruins of Steincoalspruit, whose 11,000 tenants have been moved to the closer settlement of **Ekuvukeni**, 30 kms away and 40kms from the nearest work at Ladysmith. The landowners are still struggling to stay. A landlord recently visited told how his tenants now at **Ekuvukeni** had told him that the water situation was so desperate there that they

were seriously thinking of asking him if they could come and fetch water from **Steincoalspruit**.

As you return towards the National Road, at Elandslaagte Station, a road leads off to the left. Follow this and you will drive through the ruins of the **Criemen** and **Trekboer** blackspots, whose 2 800 people were moved to **Ezakheni**, the relocation township 25 kms from Ladysmith, in 1977. Keep going right and you re-join the old National Road at the Platberg Colliery. Cross the road and, within a few minutes you will be in **Matiwane's Kop**, which is adjoined by **Jonono's Kop**, both black freehold areas under threat. Further along

**Ekuvukeni, where some 40,000 people have been resettled, could be described as a typical example of a dumping ground. It is a place without reason for existence. There are a few schools and shops, but no factories or businesses and no opportunities whatsoever for any employment.**

— from report of Sash visit there. E Franklin

the road is **Lusitania**, a small, agriculturally based black freehold area, also under threat. All three have said they want to stay where they are.

Not far over the hills lies **Driefontein** a vast black-owned area consisting of nine farms owned by individuals and syndicates, the first bought in 1867, and having a population of over 70,000. Driefontein does not want to move.

Beyond Driefontein, and separated from it by a belt of white farms, and adjoining Besters Station on the main Natal/Free State railway line was **Kumalosville**. Kumalosville was one of the first blackspots to be moved. When the Liberal Party first became involved in its problems, through its branch there, nearly 30 years ago, it was already under threat. It had been bought in 1908 by a black syndicate. By the 1950s the only surviving member of that syndicate living at Kumalosville was **Matsheni Hlomuka**. He described how 250 acres adjoining Besters Station was offered for sale by Mr Daniel Bester; how a meeting was called of the members of the syndicate and each one was told to bring £5 to it; how two enamel basins were passed round into which each

**Esakheni. People were relocated here from many other areas in and around Ladysmith. The present population is 47,000, about 10,000 greater than the population of Ladysmith itself. More than 10 years ago when the first families arrived they were allotted a stand on which stood a tin toilet and a tin house, 3 x 3,5 metres. The 'temporary' dwellings, still stand as the ground was found to be unsuitable for the traditional mud houses and the people were too poor to be able to erect habitable dwellings. The schools are overcrowded and crime is rampant.**

— Sash visit. E Franklin

member put his £5; how when the basins were full they were handed to Mr Bester, the money was counted, and the sale took place.

Having bought the farm the syndicate had the farm surveyed into 102 two-acre plots of which, in 1955, 91 were owned by Africans and 11 by other people. Mr



*Kazi family graveyard, Steincoalspruit*



*Ruins of the church in Steincoalspruit, a black freehold area already expropriated*

Hlomuka recalled how there were only three white farmers living in the area at the time, Daniel Bester, his brother Jan, and a man called McIntosh. As time passed all the farms were subdivided and sold — and the new owners started agitating for **Kumalosville** to go.

There then started a sordid story.

In 1952 two officials of the BAD and Mr Kisman, the Ladysmith attorney who had handled land transactions, came to the village. They told the people that the Government wanted to move them but that they would be given *'something bigger and better somewhere else'*. It was suggested that a delegation be elected to go and inspect the land being offered, a farm called **Hobsland**, closer to Ladysmith. This was done, and the delegation came back from its visit understanding that it had been offered a 4-acre plot for each 2-acre plot at Kumalosville, and the balance of the farm, which seemed to it to be about three times the size of Kumalosville, as commonage.

It was an attractive offer. Nothing more was ever heard of it.

Instead, in 1954, there was another visit, this time from the Ladysmith Commissioner, the local Chief Walter Kumalo, and another official. They said they had come to tell the people *'things have changed'*. A much less attractive offer was made, which Kumalosville re-

jected. Instead, in a letter written on their behalf by the then Natives' Representative for Natal, they set out the conditions under which they would be prepared to move. These were substantially those which they understood they had been offered when their delegation visited Hobsland.

Nothing happened.

Three years later, in 1958, more officials came. They said things had changed again. Because the plots at Kumalosville were less than 40 acres the people there no longer qualified for land-for-land compensation. Instead they would be compensated for their land, buildings and the inconvenience of the move. They would be given a free half-acre plot at Hobsland and would be entitled to buy a second half-acre plot for R110. They would be paid R42 for an acre at Kumalosville. No stock would be allowed at Hobsland.

The people of Kumalosville were outraged by this offer. They heard it but didn't believe it. They hoped they wouldn't hear about it again.

And for two years they did not. Then, in 1960, notices to move were served by the government and offers of compensation, the compensation to be paid on arrival at Hobsland. Late in 1960 and early in 1961 final notices to move were served. The people responded by putting in claims for proper compensation, saying they would not move without it and many of them saying that they would not go to Hobsland in any event.

Before the matter of compensation had been settled the properties were expropriated. The people still refused to move, saying they would not do so until their compensation had been paid.

The condition of stalemate persisted until September, 1963. Then the Ladysmith Bantu Commissioner came. He told them that on October 1 he was coming to cart them to Hobsland. Anyone who did not go and was still there on October 2 would be arrested. At Hobsland they would be given a tent and a free half-bag of mealie-meal.

People who were not prepared to go to Hobsland said they could not go anywhere else until their compensation had been paid. Their attorney finally persuaded the Lands Department to pay out the government offer of compensation *before* the October 1 deadline and without prejudice to the claims for increased compensation already lodged.

On the Friday before the deadline the people of Kumalosville travelled to Ladysmith at their own expense to collect their money from the Commissioner's

**Umbulwane is an old-established freehold area within the municipal boundary of Ladysmith. Although landowners pay rates they receive no services at all and though the majority are defying authority, their homes are being systematically demolished.**

— Sash visit. E Franklin

office. They were told that everyone was too busy to pay them. They would be too busy on Monday too, and on Tuesday as well. On Wednesday, however, the Commissioner would come to Kumalosville to pay them out on the spot.

Their attorney had accompanied them to the Commissioner's office to examine any documents they might be



required to sign. They asked for him to be present to examine the documents they would be required to sign at Kumaloville. The Commissioner refused point-blank to have him there.

The attorney finally persuaded the Commissioner to allow him to examine the documents in his Ladysmith office on the morning of the pay-out.

He was astonished to find that they made no mention of his clients' accepting the money they were being paid without prejudice to claims already lodged for higher compensation, that they in fact said that they were being paid out in full and final settlement. His protests meant nothing. The Commissioner refused to endorse the documents in any way. He said he was too busy. The attorney responded by lodging letters with the Commissioner and the Lands Department recording that, whatever the signed receipts might say, his clients had signed them without prejudice to their claims already lodged.

On October 1 1963, Kumaloville died, a community scattered to the winds, because it wouldn't move to Hobsland. And how right they were. Before ten years were up Hobsland had been relocated.

From Kumaloville we must rejoin the National Road at the point where we left it, Matiwane's Kop and Platberg Colliery.

**Matiwane's Kop** is under threat, but very much alive. It is a farm of 3,300 ha with a population of over 12,000 people, landowners and tenants. It was bought by 120 members of the Shabalala tribe in the 1870s to provide a haven for them and their families and their chief. According to the present community leaders they were only able to buy it because it was a swamp which no white farmer wanted. The Shabalalas drained it and made it productive. It has 16 schools, 10 churches, 12 shops, a library, a laboratory and a workshop. The SPP report gives in detail the story of Matiwane's Kop, the steps which the Government has taken to try to persuade it to move, the steps which the community has taken to inform the Government that it does not intend to move. But since that report was completed certain things have happened.

Earlier this year the Ladysmith Commissioner informed Chief Shabalala that he had received a letter from Pretoria about the future of Matiwane's Kop and would he please call at his office to discuss it.

The tribal council wrote to the Commissioner to say

that any letter concerning the future of Matiwane's Kop concerned not only the Chief but the whole community, and if he would name a suitable day they would arrange a general meeting of the people of Matiwane's Kop to hear what the letter had to say and to express their views on it.

The Magistrate agreed to come to a meeting at Matiwane's Kop and the date was set for April 20. A thousand people came to hear the message from Pretoria. It was that the Government plan was far advanced. Money had been set aside in the current financial year to prepare the necessary facilities at the place to which the community was to be moved. Once these were ready the move could take place. As the previous valuation of properties was now out of date valuers would be coming into the area soon to revalue all properties so that compensation could be assessed.

In their welcome to the Commissioner and their response to the message he brought the spokesmen for the community were polite but very firm. One young man said that there was really no need to send valuers into the area. The people who lived there knew far better than any outsider ever could exactly what their properties were worth to them. Another young man said he was very glad to hear about the money which had been specially allocated in the current estimates for the relocation, for seeing they were not going to move, perhaps they could now use it for much-needed development at Matiwane's Kop.

In his welcome to the Commissioner the spokesman for the community made it clear that they regarded it as his function, not only to bring messages from the Government, but to take messages back to it, and to stand up for the interests of the black people within his sphere of jurisdiction. That welcome ended with these words:

**'May the spirits of our fathers and forefathers be with us when we firmly say that we *reject, protest* and we will *never accept* the scheme that removes us from our land where their bones lie peacefully.**

**May God give you strength and courage to stand with us against the inhumane practice hovering over our black people and the evils thereof'.**

May he give it not only to the Commissioner in Ladysmith and not only in Matiwane's Kop.

● *Address to the Sash Land Act Vigil in Johannesburg — June '83*



*Hadebe's homestead, Lusitania*

# LEANDRA

**REMOVALS FORMULA: freehold area abolished, plot-owners under-compensated (R400 for plot plus house), rent in new area exorbitant, threatened large-scale eviction of 'illegals,' intimidation of leaders.**

**E**xpropriated in 1969, the black township of Leandra — then Leslie — had hitherto enjoyed freehold rights. Since then, the area being 'frozen', the former landowners paid the Administration Board between R7 and R13 in monthly rents. Now the 18,000 strong community is to be moved to a new township comprising only 712 houses, 125 sites for 99-year leasehold and a 320 bed hostel (built at a cost of R7m). What will happen to the balance of the people?

'I am satisfied we have ample accommodation for all the people who qualify to be in the area. People who are there illegally and have no jobs cannot expect us to give them accommodation,' said Mr H F Breytenbach, chairman of the Highveld Administration Board.

Translated into ordinary language, this means that thousands of people from this settled community who have Section 10 1 (d) qualifications will be forced to go to KwaNdebele. (Many dispute their (d) stamps, claiming they qualify to remain in Leandra under sections (a) and (b)).

Thus threatened with wholesale removal to KwaNdebele, the community elected an Action Committee, which was subjected to the usual police harassment.

Believing they needed the protection of belonging to an officially recognised body, members of the Action Committee decided to stand as candidates in the local Community Council elections and four of them were elected to the Council in October (there are five places on the Community Council). However, the Action Committee's chief spokesman, Abel Nkabinde, was not elected and he is currently disputing the manner in which the election was conducted and has complained that he was wrongfully disqualified from standing at all until a week before the election, when it was too late for him to organize properly. His letter to the commissioner is reproduced on the page opposite.

Sash readers will watch what now happens to these men and their leadership of the community's resistance to the removal.

## Climate of lawlessness

### Background

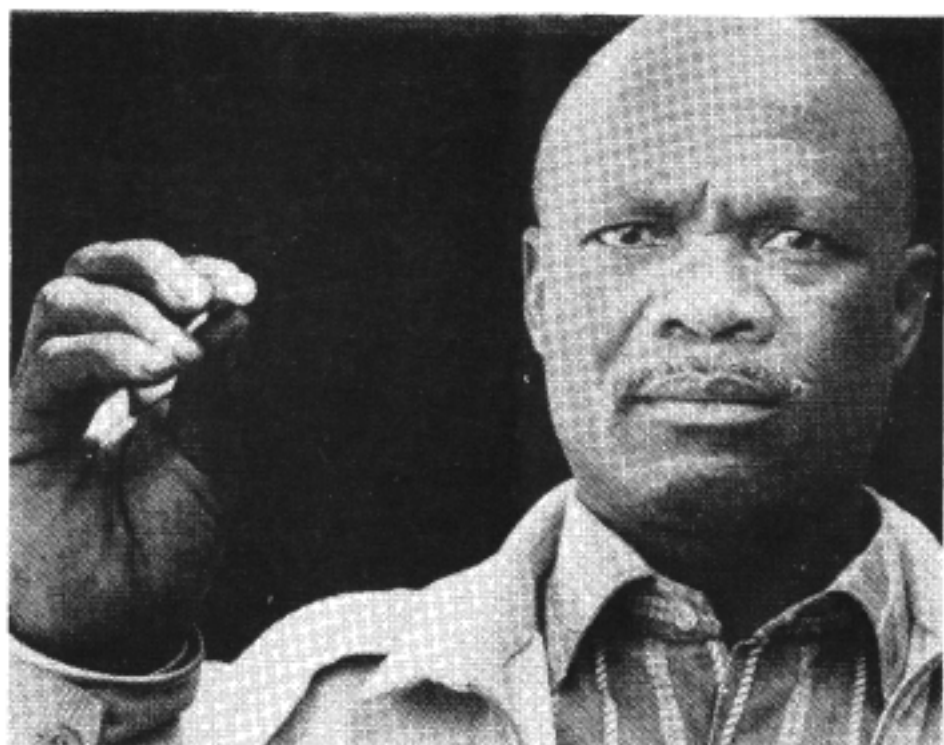
Having planned the removal, the Highveld Administration Board initially liaised with the 'Temporary Community Councillors' whom the community had nominated in 1981. However, the Leandra residents were dissatisfied with the way in which these people handled the issue and in July they elected the Action Committee to act on their behalf.

Initially the Administration Board agreed to deal with this Committee, but, no doubt threatened by the effi-

ciency and determination of their campaign, soon resorted to threats and severe harassment.

- They told two Action Committee members that if they continued with what they were doing they 'would find themselves in the homelands.'

- On July 15 an Action Committee member, Chief Ampie Mayisa, was shot at by a policeman. Previously ever correct and law-abiding, having received permission from District Manager van Dyke to hold a report-back meeting, members of the Committee drove round the location announcing this meeting. Later that night three white policemen went to Mr Mayisa's house to ask why he had been driving around the location inciting people, and eye-witnesses told Sash that Warrant Officer Koos Boschhoff took out a rifle which he aimed at Mr Mayisa. Mayisa grabbed the barrel and pushed it to the ground. Boschhoff let go, took out a revolver and fired two shots at Mayisa's back. Neither hit him, and Mayisa collected the bullets. He and other Action Committee members reported the incident to the Leandra police station.



*Chief Ampie Mayisa holds the bullet allegedly shot at him by a policeman*

The next day, a Captain Steenkamp came to Mr Mayisa's house and took a full statement from him, but since then Mr Mayisa has been told that 'Pretoria is not going to prosecute'. At the time, nobody reported the incident to the press. Two months later, it was reported in the Sowetan, Golden City Press, and Star and the Mail's Extra.

Mr Mayisa has asked the Attorney General for an explanation of the apparent non-prosecution of W O Koos Boshoff. He has had no reply so far.

HERE I LODGE MY COMPLAINT ABOUT THE ELECTION FOR THE LEANDRA Community Council, WHICH TOOK PLACE THE 12 OCTOBER 1983, WHERE I WAS ALSO A CANDIDATE IN WARD FIVE. (5)

THE ELECTION DID NOT GO WRIGHT ACCORDING TO THE REASONS I STATE HERE-UNDER.

1. BEFORE THE ELECTION WE AS CANDIDATES RECEIVED NOTICES THAT THE FINAL DATE OF THE NOMINATION WILL BE ON THE 7 SEPTEMBER 1983. BUT AFTER WE HAVE SEEN THE NAME OF THE ELECTORAL OFFICER WE WERE NOT SATISFIED.

2. I WENT STRAIGHT TO MR MAWRATSE THE COMMISSIONER AT EVANOE, WHICH CONTROLS OUR TOWNSHIP, AND EXPLAIN TO HIM AND REQUESTED HIM TO CHANGE THE ELECTORAL OFFICER BUT HE DID NOT.

3. AFTER I PAID A FEE OF R50,00 TO THE ADMIN. BOARD WHICH WAS THE NOMINATION FEE. I WAS SOON DISQUALIFIED TO STAND FOR ELECTION WITHOUT ANY NOTIFICATION.

4.1 I THEN WROTE A LETTER ON THE 13 SEPTEMBER DIRECT TO SR. PIET KOORNHOF ABOUT THIS AND REQUESTED HIS DEPARTMENT FOR HELP, BEFORE THE DAY OF ELECTION THE 12 OCTOBER 1983.

4.2. I FURNISHED HIM WITH THE PROOF FROM MR TAN DYK THE DISTRICT MANAGER & ELECTORAL OFFICER THAT I WAS AUTOMATICALLY REJECTED AND THAT THE PEOPLE IN WARD THAT MR M.A. NGABINDE IS NO LONGER A CANDIDATE REPRESENTING WARD FIVE.

4.3 AND TO MY GREATEST ASTONISHMENT THE SUPERINTENDANT GAVE ME A CHANCE TO STAND FOR ELECTION YET ON ALMOST A WEEK TO GO WAS TO BE AN ELECTION.

4.4. ONLY MR MORTLANYANE ONE OF THE WARD FIVE CANDIDATE WAS CONSIDERED AND WAS GIVEN A LOT OF CHANCE TO MOTIVATE SINCE HE WAS TO TELL THE PUBLIC THAT HE HAD NO OPPOSITION.

4.5. YES I WAS REPLIED ON THE 26. 83 BY THE HONOURABLE MR G. DE V. MORRISON DEPUTY MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT THE FILE REF NO. M3/A/23/1 SIGNED BY HIS SECRETARY. REFER TO ATTACHED LETTER.

5. THE MAJORITY WHO SUPPOSED TO HAVE VOTED FOR ME WERE NOT SATISFIED BECAUSE AS THE UNLEARNED PEOPLE THOUGHT I WILL MAKE CROSSES FOR THEM BUT INSTEAD THE ADMIN. CLERK (MR TAN DYK'S CLERK) MADE FALSE CROSSES FOR THEM IN FAVOUR OF MY OPPOSITION FOR WHOM THEY DON'T KNOW.

AS I SUSPECTED A PERSON WHO WAS HELPING THE PEOPLE HOW TO VOTE WAS A CLERK IN THE ADMIN. BOARD, WHERE MR TAN DYK IS THE SENIOR (DISTRICT MANAGER HUNYELD ADMIN. BOARD)

6.1. AFTER ELECTIONS THE BALLOT BOX WAS TAKEN BY MR TAN DYK (ELECTORAL OFFICER) WITHOUT THE PRESENCE OF A CANDIDATE OR HIS AGENT, PROMISSING THE BALLOT BOX TO BE OPENED THE NEXT DAY, BUT IT WAS NOT LIKE THAT.

6.2. AFTER AN HOUR OR TWO THESE BOXES WERE OPENED AND AS I SUSPECTED I LOST THE VOTE.

7. BECAUSE OF THE REASON THAT ONE CANDIDATE IN WARD FIVE WAS GIVEN A LOT OF CHANCE AND SOME WAYS TO WIN THE VOTE. DUE TO ALL THIS I APPEAL TO YOU, FOR A RE-ELECTION IN WARD FIVE AT LEANDRA TOWNSHIP, BECAUSE PEOPLE ARE VERY UPSET ACCORDING TO THIS CASE.

8. THROUGH ALL THESE REASONS AND WITH YOUR PERMISSION I WERE ASK YOU YOUR HONOUR TO STOP WARD FIVE TO BE NOT EFFECTIVE UNTILL THE DAY OF THE RE-ELECTION TO BE DECIDED BY YOU.

THANKING YOU AND HOPEING HONOUR TO TREAT THIS MATTER AND MY COMPLAINT TO YOUR TOPMOST PRIORITY BEFORE ANY ACTION.



Lesley Lawson

*Leandra Action Committee: Abel Nkabinde, David Mahlangu, Job Nhlanhla, Thanaki Mvubelo, Kempton Nhlapo*

In August, returning from a visit to the Sash's Johannesburg office, Abel Nkabinde was threatened with arrest by Administration Board policemen that afternoon. Later that night, when he was at Mr Mayisa's house, Township Superintendent Botha arrived with four vans of heavily armed policemen and asked Mr Nkabinde why he has 'brought reporters' into the location. He said he had told the Sec-

urity Police in Evander, Witbank and Pretoria all about the Action Committee. He ordered Mr Nkabinde to appear at 9 am in the Administration Board's office next day. Fearing arrest Mr Nkabinde did not do so, but went later that day together with his colleagues on the Action Committee and got from Mr Botha an undertaking to co-operate with them in future.

## HUHUDI — where 20,000 people face removal and the loss of their section 10 rights

**Sash members report on their visit to a protest meeting called by the Huhudi Action Committee (HUCA)**

Since the Johannesburg Land Act vigil in June, addressed by Mr Ignatius Makodi (Sash vol 26,2), violence erupted in Huhudi when police arrived with tear gas and sjamboks to break up a peaceful student demonstration in support of students expelled for non-payment of fees. In the resulting clash, classrooms were damaged and 23 students arrested. More recently, that is two months after the original event, a further eight students were arrested in an attempt to find the instigators of the original protest.

Another development has been the introduction of the 'monkey tax' whereby everyone over the age of 18 must pay a monthly lodger's permit of R5. This means a family with five adult children must pay R25 per month in addition to their rent and is yet another strategy currently being adopted in one form or another by Administration Boards all over the country to decrease the numbers of blacks living in urban areas. (Sheena Duncan comments that in fact this is unlawful. Any un-

married son, daughter or grandchild does not require a Lodger's Permit in terms of regulation 21 of chapter 2 of the regulations governing urban black residential areas).



*From left: Ethel Walt; Rev Brooks from Vryburg; a representative from Soweto Youth Congress; Frank Chikane, UDF; a representative from Soweto Anti-Community Council Committee; Mr Ghaleng, chairman HUCA*

Neither the inducement of fine houses in Pudimong nor the threat of guns and tear gas in Huhudi will induce them to move, said speakers at the protest meeting in Huhudi on Saturday October 9.

The community resented the continuing harassment by officials and announced that blacks were 'here to stay.'

New elections for the Community Council were imminent. Several speakers stressed the fact that the existing Community Council, in office since 1978, had proved themselves powerless to resist the threatened removal or to prevent the deteriorating conditions in the township. Repeated calls were made for a total boycott of the elections.

Besides the local HUCA speakers, there were participants from Soweto, Pudimong and Kuruman, as well as representatives of the United Democratic Front, South African Council of Churches, the Soweto Youth Congress and Black Sash.

The Rev Frank Chikane, Vice-President of the UDF, said the UDF would devise a network that would not allow the people of Huhudi to fight an isolated struggle. He warned Pretoria, if they had not learnt the lessons of 1960 and 1976 and by ruthless oppression they went on forcing youngsters to flee the country, eventually to return as guerillas, then 'we will not be able to convince the oppressed masses except by violence.'

Rev Brooks of the SACC called on those present to

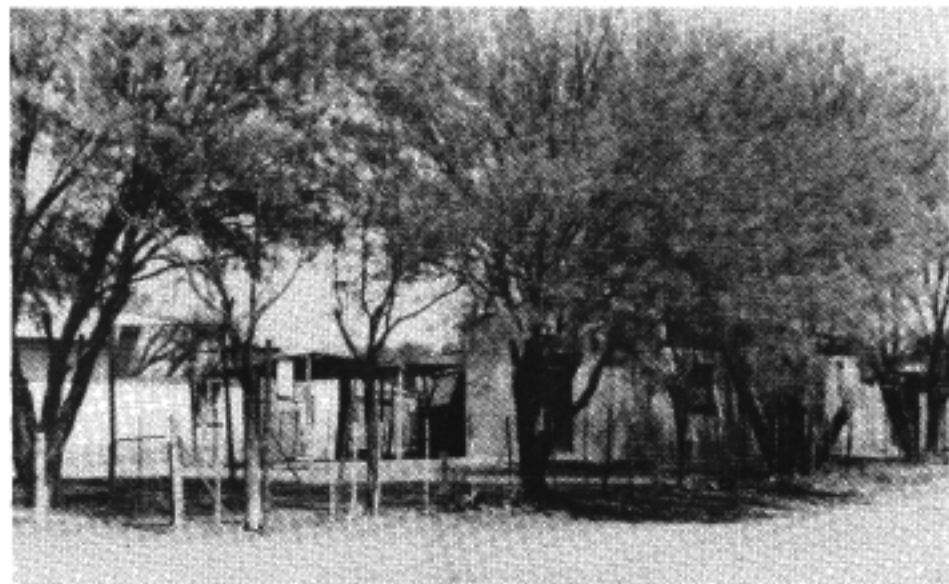
#### Lodger's permits in Soweto

**On October 1983 the Soweto Council raised the fee for a Lodger's Permit from R1 to R10 per month. The increased charge has not been gazetted nor had the Minister given his permission, as required, by the time the increase was put into effect.**

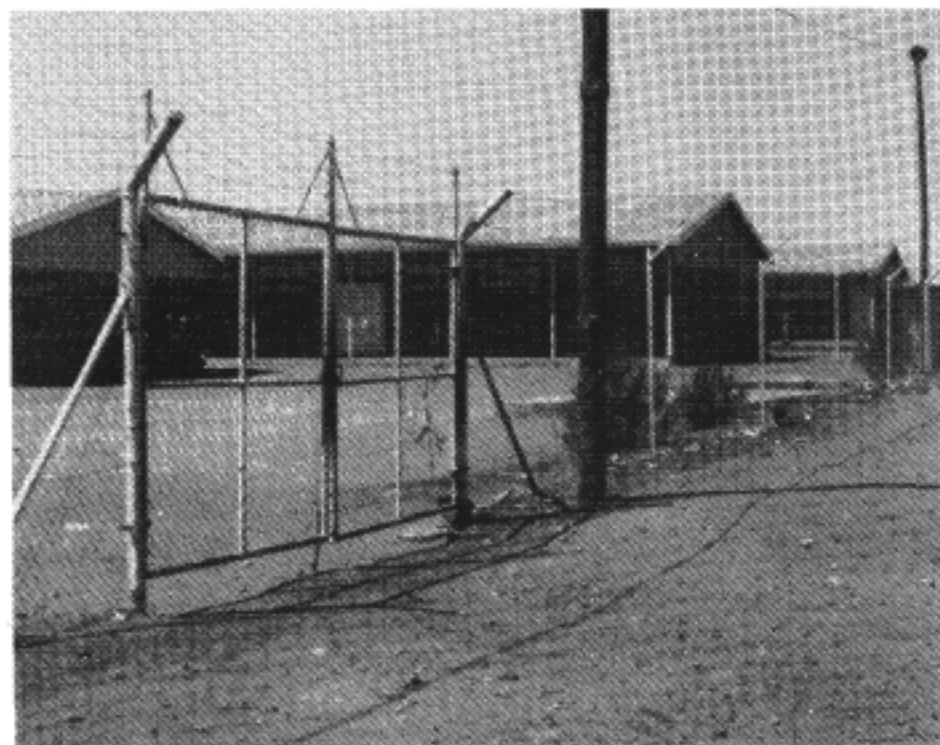
unite in the UDF. 'We don't hate the white man,' he said, 'There is enough space in this country for all.'

A representative of the Soweto Youth Congress brought 'fraternal greetings from the toiling masses of Soweto.' Congratulating HUCA for their stand, he said that taking part in Community Councils was a 'betrayal of the people's struggle for liberation.'

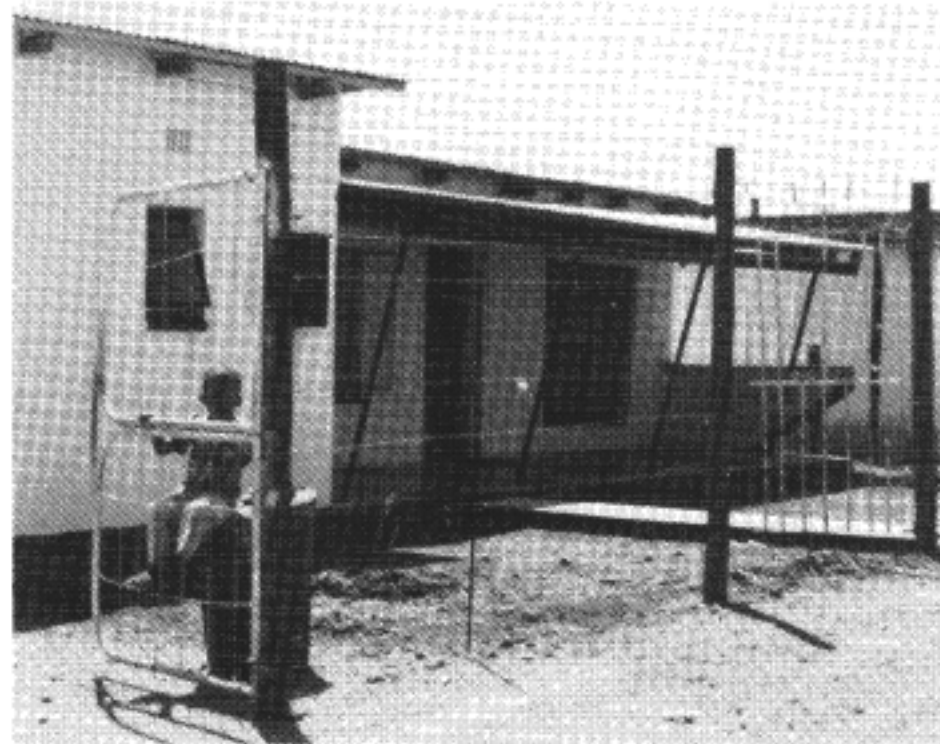
More recently, HUCA's Mr Khotse Crutse told a Black Sash removals conference at Wilgespruit (October 29/30), 'The people of Huhudi have reached a point when we believe that we can only survive through defiance.'



*The creche*



*The school where R40 000 worth of damages was supposed to have been done after police attacked protesting students in July. Now, four months later, there is no evidence of damage. The fence has been newly erected. Both will go to waste if the removal to Pudimong takes place.*



*The home of the chairman of HUCA*



*A local businessman having extended his drycleaning business has now been informed that he will have to demolish the extensions*

**School children over 18 years are issued with lodgers permits in their own homes and must pay R5 a month**

Climaxing a seven-year long campaign, ever since the idea of a new constitution was first mooted, all Sash Regions worked vigorously for a No vote in the Referendum, organizing innumerable meetings of all kinds, speaking at others, distributing 30 000 of our booklet, 'Whatever the question, Vote No,' handing out leaflets at shopping centres, mailing thousands of special letters to selected mailing lists, publishing in the Press a stream of articles, statements and letters. Demonstrations were held in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, Cabinet Ministers were 'haunted' by Sash demonstrators at public meetings, and in Pietermaritzburg, our members questioned PW ...

# Face to face with Botha

## The gutsy women who took on the country's most powerful man

This article of October 30 1983, including photographs is reprinted with the kind permission of *Sunday Tribune*

The woman who made national headlines this week when she squared up to Prime Minister P W Botha in Pietermaritzburg, is a willowy 26-year-old Afrikaner who used to be a teacher in Mr Botha's home town, George.

Armed with only black sashes; a banner reading "Democratic South African Reject Your Racist Constitution" and pluck, Irna Senekal was one of a group of Durban women who took on the Prime Minister this week — and won.

They won grudging respect for their courage even among a National Party-NRP audience who hate what they stand for.

The women, in a tense, emotional scene were dragged from Pietermaritzburg City Hall after they had attempted to unfurl their banner.

Mr Botha's speech was interrupted for five minutes as they stood their ground and glared at him. Eventually one of them was carried from the hall while others were dragged out.

And Irna Senekal had the guts — to the astonishment of the 1 300-crowd — to return to the hall to put a question to Mr Botha.

And she visibly rocked the Prime Minister by doing so in flawless Afrikaans.

This week she and Solveig Piper told how frightening it was to confront the most powerful man in South Africa while he was playing to an overwhelmingly sympathetic audience, an audience which doesn't hesitate to use force when taunts and insults don't work.

The women told the *Sunday Tribune*: "We were terrified. We'd identified where the four security men were and thought we'd be okay if we could get past them.

'We got past the security men but our mistake was to unfurl our banner before we had reached the front. As soon as we did the audience grabbed it.'

So the two women defiantly stood their ground as the audience booed and jeered and photographers crowded

around. Then the heavies moved in and they were bundled out of the hall — only to return later.

'We made our point,' Irna said. 'We were challenging people to have an opinion. To really think about what is happening in our society.'

'People argue about the exclusion of blacks from this constitution, but that is almost a false premise. Not only are blacks excluded but they are forced into the homelands, into rigid separate development.'

'The fact that we made our protest meant that the Prime Minister couldn't go off thinking everyone was happy'.

Solveig Piper agreed: 'People think we are just out for sensationalism, but that is not so. We have a democratic

### Bully spirit

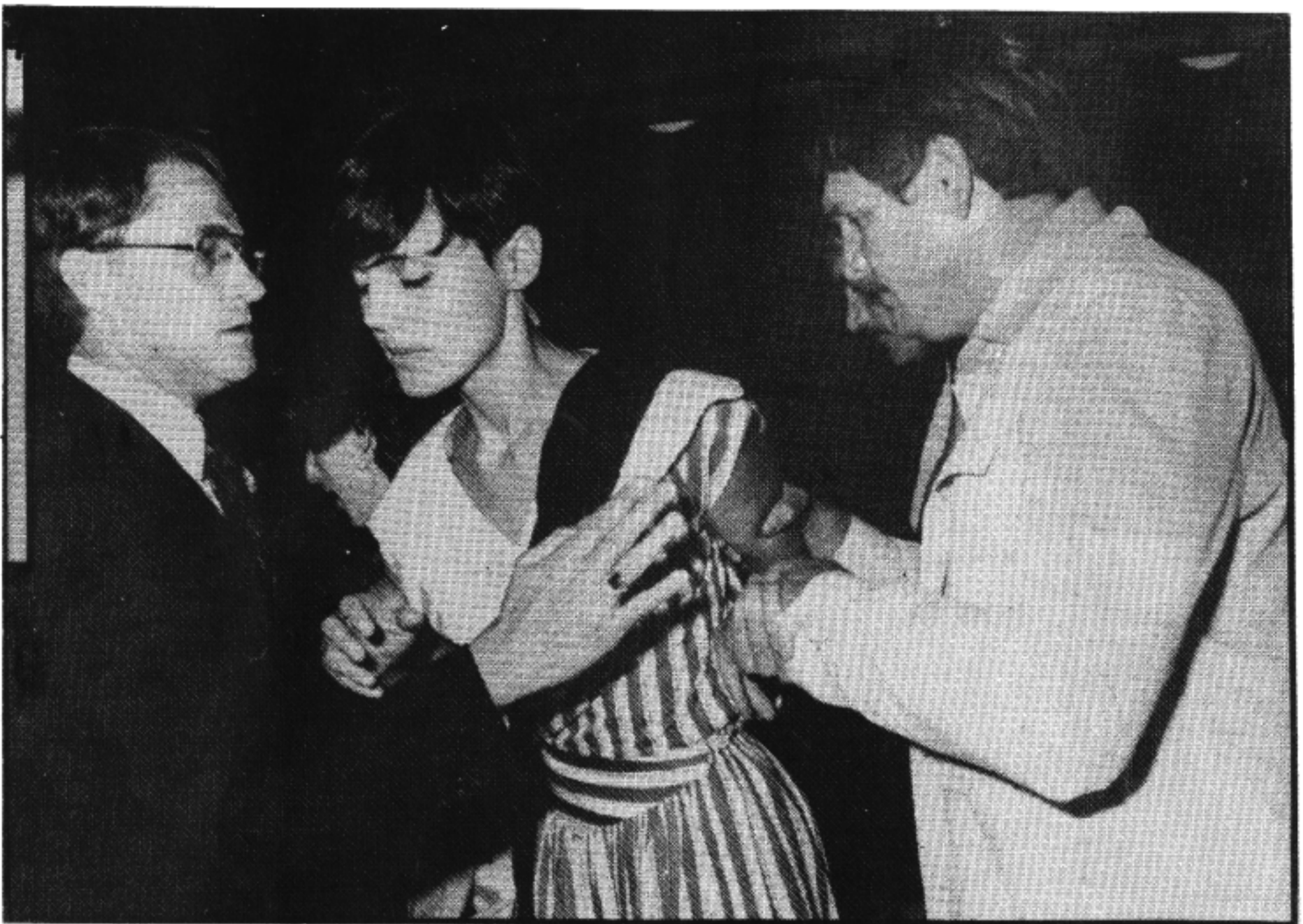
It is indicative of what a free and orderly country we live in, that three women from the Black Sash could unfurl a banner at a public meeting of the Prime Minister, stating 'Democratic South Africa Reject Your Racist Constitution'.

At least, so says Mr P W Botha.

The fact that these three women were immediately set upon by party supporters — on the orders of the local secretary of the National Party — and dragged bodily from the hall, their banner ripped from them, one woman's sash cut from her body, while the Prime Minister watched with a smile, hardly reflects a tolerant and democratically-spirited nation.

It is a country whose Government has nurtured a bully-boy spirit over 35 years and now appears so brainwashed that it confuses this with freedom and orderliness.

*Sunday Tribune editorial, October 30 1983*



*Nationalist provincial secretary Renier Schoeman (left) and a Nat supporter remove Irna Senekal from the hall*



*Confronting Mr Botha*



*A Sash member is carried out*

right to protest. We were exercising it as one of the few options left open to us. And we don't only protest, we get out there and do something'.

And Irna Senekal is an example of the type of woman the Black Sash is drawing.

Born in Pretoria 26 years ago, she is the daughter of verligte Nationalists — 'if there is such a thing,' she says wryly. She attended an Afrikaans school in Stellenbosch before moving to Durban and matriculating at Port

Natal High School.

Then it was on to the University of Pretoria for a BA degree with majors in English and German.

She moved to Durban and taught English for two years at the Afrikaans High School in Durban North before taking up a position in the library at the University of Natal.

Irna now works as a library assistant in a University of Natal research body.

## Background

**M**onday May 30 the Appeal Court confirmed the decision of the Transvaal Deivision of the Supreme Court that Mr Mehlolo T Rikhoto was entitled to a qualification in terms of Section 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act.

According to a Government statement this meant that an estimated 143,000 migrant workers would immediately qualify to live permanently in the urban areas and would be entitled to bring their wives and children to live with them in terms of Section 10(1)(c) of the Act. It meant that in future all migrant workers would qualify for urban rights after 10 consecutive years with one employer.

In the first weeks after the judgement, labour offices throughout the country were inundated by people whose rights had at last been recognised, asking for their 10(1)(b) endorsements. Only a negligible number of these applications were granted and each day dozens of people crowded into Black Sash Advice Offices to complain that their rights had been denied them.

Some of these people won their endorsements by means of intervention by the Legal Resources Centre. But these individual actions failed to benefit the whole group of claimants as Administration Boards daily devised fresh strategies for delay or refusal.

On June 22, Dr Koornhof announced that the Government would accept the Appeal Court ruling in the Rikhoto case and that no amendment to Section 10(1)(b) would be introduced.

Failing to read the small print, and without proper knowledge of the stalling techniques of the Administration Boards, the United States administration praised the South African government for its enlightened

**Cynical Government promises are so many, and so much a matter of routine in this country, that people tend to forget the details of each separate betrayal, but not even the most casual observer can have forgotten 'Give us six months', or 'The Dompas is dead', or 'There are no more forced removals.'**

**T**he South African Government was widely commended when Dr Koornhof announced that they would accept the Appeal Court ruling in the Rikhoto case and that no amendments to Section 10 (1) (b) would be introduced — June 22.

**On August 26 an amendment to Section 10 was promulgated, removing a crucial part of the 10 (1) (b) right: that of husbands and fathers to have their wives and children live with them in the urban areas, whether or not they had a house or even a lodger's permit.**

**In the interim, the Administration Boards stalled the vast majority of migrant workers' 10 (1) (b) applications.**

**This saga of skilful evasion is nothing new to Sash readers. What continuously amazes us is the willingness of many people here and overseas to take our Government's statements at their face value, notwithstanding their notoriety.**

# THE RIKHOTO SCANDAL



by

**Sheena  
Duncan**

undertaking not to legislate to nullify the judgement.

The small print in Koornhof's statement of June 22, which overseas commentators seem to have ignored, was a comment that if the Government succeeded in its approach in implementing the judgement possibly only 5,000 people out of the 143,000 would benefit.

Sheena Duncan explains the significance of this comment in the light of subsequent events in the West Rand Administration Board Area!

**I**n the first and second weeks of June people who went to ask for a 10(1)(b) endorsement to be placed in their Pass Books were asked a great many questions about their families. They were asked for the names of wives and children, where they were living, how many of the children were sons or daughters. A form was filled in and they were told that the application would have to be 'sent to Pretoria'.

This was unlawful. The whereabouts of a man's family have nothing whatsoever to do with his 10(1)(b) rights, nor has 'Pretoria' anything to do with the obligation of the Labour Officer to endorse a person's identity document with his legal rights.

These applicants were told to return to the Labour Bureau in a month's time. When they did so they were told that the form relating to their families had been 'cancelled' and they were given a long and detailed form on which their employer was required to list the dates of every contract during the ten year period and the dates of every period of paid leave and every period of unpaid leave.

People who had ever had any unpaid leave of any kind — even two weeks eight years ago were told that they were not entitled to a 10(1)(b) qualification because they had had unpaid leave. A further refinement of this obstruction surfaced late in October when railway workers who normally get one month's leave on half pay each year were denied their rights. A test case on the whole issue of unpaid leave is pending in the Transvaal Supreme Court. The Cape Division of the Supreme Court has already ruled that unpaid leave does not interrupt a worker's continuous employment by one employer but that judgement has been ignored.



Many employers justifiably refused to fill in the form on the grounds that they do not keep their records in that way. They maintained that their records only show the initial date of engagement together with wages paid, deductions and increments.

Labour Bureaux are required to keep full records of every worker's registrations and discharges and the WRAB form is therefore merely an obstruction to the implementation of the law.

Workers who come from the 'independent' homelands have also been refused 10(1)(b) endorsements unless they completed the ten years before the date of independence. They have been told 'Mantanzima/Mangope/ etc, does not want you to have 10(1)(b)' or 'Pretoria must decide'.

On August 9 1983 Dr Koornhof announced that workers from the 'independent' States were entitled to 10(1)(b) rights. As at October 31 1983 the West Rand Board was still refusing many applications but granting others on an entirely arbitrary basis. A test case on this issue is also pending.

A variety of other obstructions have been employed by the Board to nullify the Court's ruling. People have been told that they must have 15 years in one job, or that contract workers cannot qualify, or that they must have embarked on the 10 year

period before 1968, or 'we don't deal with these cases in the afternoons' or 'you can't have it because you have lost the job', or 'come back at 2 am in the middle of the night.'

Section 10(1)(b) endorsements are of the utmost importance to migrant workers. Only when an endorsement has been made in his pass can a person apply for family accommodation, work without registration, change jobs, move from one town to another if he has a job and accommodation to go to. Only when he acquires this right is he relieved from the servitude of the recruitment procedures and the annual contract system, and the terrible anxiety of knowing that he will be condemned to long, perhaps permanent unemployment, if he loses his job.

Sections 10(1)(b) and 10(1)(c), (which relate to the rights of the wives and children of urban qualified people), have been the **only** mechanisms allowing for the legal urbanisation of black people in South Africa.

On August 10 1983, Dr Koornhof said that over 9,000 contract workers in South Africa had obtained 10(1)(b) endorsements following the Appeal Court ruling. No further official figures had been given by October 31 1983 but even if twice as many applicants have succeeded in August, September, and October over 100,000 workers have still to obtain their 10(1)(b) endorsements.

There are still complainants coming to the Johannesburg Black Sash Advice Office every day and many more consulting Church Advice Offices and Legal Clinics.

Even were all 143,000 people eventually to obtain their rights it would make a negligible dent in the Government's policy of black exclusion. Anyone who has not completed the full ten years employment by the time the Orderly Movement Bill becomes law in 1984 will have lost the hope of ever acquiring urban rights.

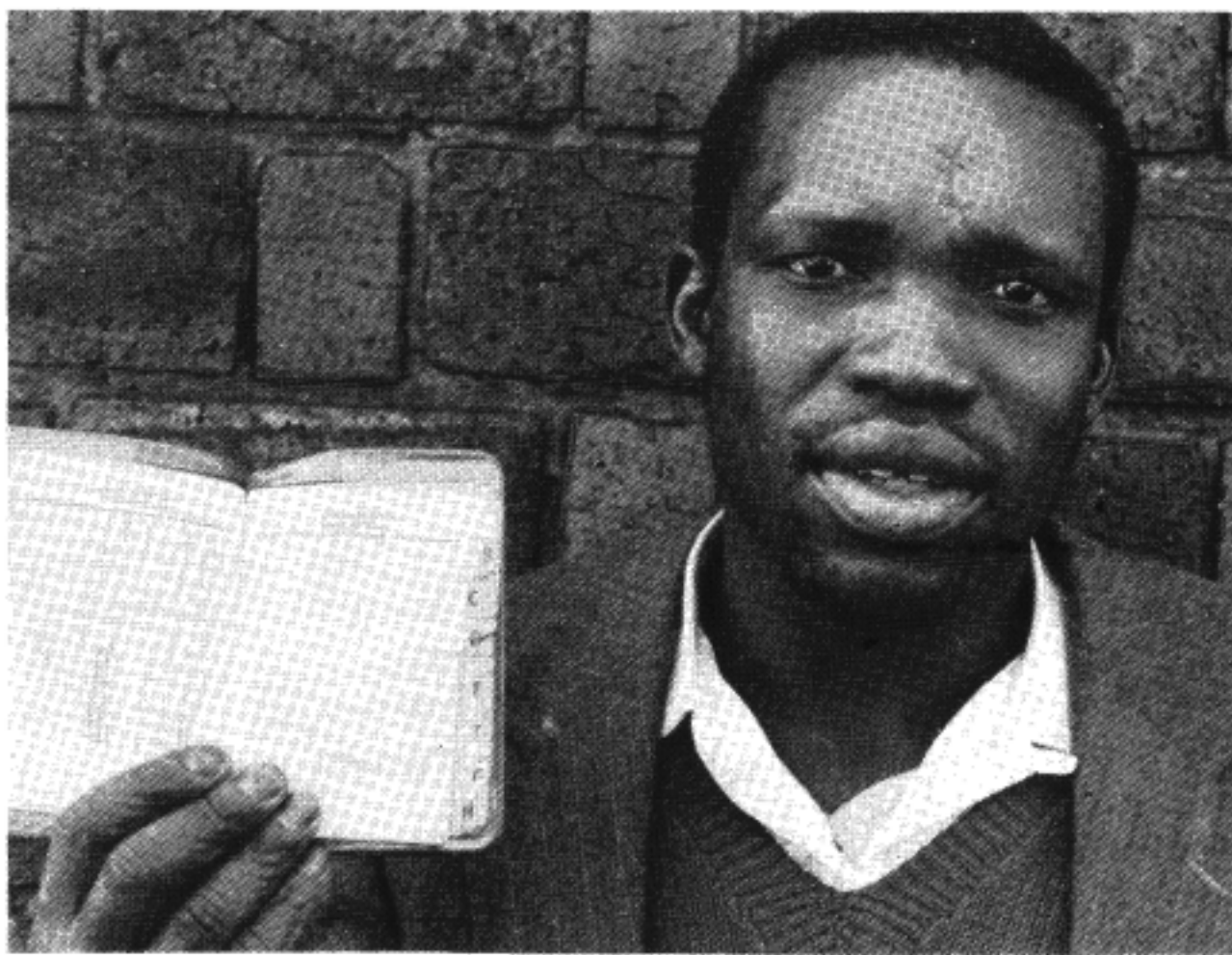
In any case having promised not to do so, the Government **did** legislate to emasculate the Rikhotso ruling.

On August 26 1983 an amendment to Section 10 was promulgated. This amendment removes the rights of wives and children which were established after years of struggle by the Komani Judgement of 1980.

In future the wives and children of 10(1)(b) people will have no legal right to remain in the town with the husband or parent unless he/she is the owner of a house under the 99-year leasehold scheme, or is the registered tenant of a house in a black township or on licenced premises. The wives and children of people who are sub-tenants or lodgers will no longer have any rights unless they can prove that they were resident in town with a person who had already acquired his 10(1)(b) rights before August 26 1983. Mr Rikhotso's wife scraped through by the skin of her teeth as she applied in July and again on August 25. Even then she had to go to the supreme Court in order to enforce her legal rights.

As the waiting list for rented accommodation in Soweto goes back to 1969 and as all black townships are running out of land for the provision of serviced sites on which a house could be built, most 10(1)(b) people have no hope whatsoever of obtaining a house unless their employers are actively engaged in negotiating with the Administration Boards for housing of their workers. These employers are few and far between.

Already the Advice Office has received the first trickle of complaints from wives and children refused permission to remain in town. The trickle will soon become a flood. How do you prove that you were



Lesley Lawson

Tom Rikhotso with his 10(1)(b) endorsement

present in town before August 26 when there is no official record of your presence because your rights were denied in the past?

And what use is it to approach the Courts for redress when Government and Administration Boards just ignore Court rulings. What does

law mean? It has no meaning in South Africa when it comes into conflict with National Party policies.

All those, within and outside South Africa, who believe that the Botha regime is intent on reform should look at what they have actually **done** in contrast to what they **say** they are doing.

#### Footnote

Mr Rikhoto's correct surname is Rikhotso but, typically, bureaucracy refused to take note of what he said was the correct spelling of his name and he has to go through life with the mis-spelling bestowed upon him by the Reference Bureau's computer.

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## Music of the Zulu people

**T**he music of Zulu People is the significance of their emotions. Sometimes their emotions are signified by playing hand-drums and flutes.

When an old man or woman suddenly dies of illness, the drums are played slowly, softly but firmly, but when a boy of seven years suddenly dies of snake-bite or any illness they beat the drums quickly but with a grave beating. And when the people are in a good mood they play them for enjoyment.

Drum-beat is a very special music to the Zulus. On certain occasions they wear their traditional attire and sing. It is very beautiful to see them in a group, and doing a Zulu dance. People nowadays are against Zulu music, they prefer English music which is noisy, and it shatters the nerves. When you listen to Zulus singing you feel like joining them too.

The music made by the drum of the Zulu's is very special to them. It was first founded by the Bushman of Africa. The music of this kind of instrument soon got around Africa and the Zulu people improved by tightening the strings attached to the drum. Every morning they awakened themselves with music, and every evening, they beat the drums to their sleep.

It was a new-found music. Every now and then when they were feasting others would beat the drums and music was formed. They started singing when they were weeding the fields, then when they were eating. Then when they were in the mood for singing.

There was a man who composed their songs, some of their songs concerned reaping, making huts, cattle and human beings. Music was improved. Every intelligent Zulu came with his opinion and music was improved. Soon it was a more enjoyable music. Kings started to make their warriors sing when they were going to have a fight. They sang for victory and they sang for defeat. Music of the Zulu's went on improving.

Today people sing for Freedom and their rights. Music of the Zulu's when you listen carefully reveals a lot hidden inbetween the rhythm. Music of the Zulu People is still improving.

**Beryl Duduzile Madlala**  
Dlangezwa High School, Kwa-Dlangezwa

### ESSAY COMPETITION

For the last two years the Sash's Highway Branch has held an essay competition for schools in Natal and Kwazulu.

Here is one of the prizewinning essays.

# Glass house

Raymond Tucker



**The Western world was justifiably outraged over the re-detention of the six Zimbabwean Air Force officers after their acquittal.**

**This is seen as a sign of the breakdown of law and order in Zimbabwe (which indeed it is) and many whites wonder how it is possible to continue to live under such a regime.**

**They are reminded by RAYMOND TUCKER that the South African government does precisely the same thing.**

**T**he re-detention of six Zimbabwean Air Force officers after their acquittal in the Zimbabwean High Court evoked a great deal of disgust and dismay across the political spectrum in South Africa with, naturally, the matter being highlighted by the SABC/TV news broadcasts.

Attempts by the Zimbabwean Government to defend that conduct took on a common form — some higher knowledge which it would not reveal to the Court. Having regard to the absence of evidence presented to the Court, other than 'confessions' which were clearly elicited in totally unacceptable ways, the defence offered for the re-detention must be approached with extreme scepticism.

But why the sudden concern of the Afrikaans/conservative/Government-controlled media for the basic right to be let free after being acquitted by a court or, for that matter, after serving a sentence imposed by a court?

We might ask where their protests, or even concern, were when the following occurred in South Africa?:

- In the first 'Winnie Mandela trial' 21 Africans, including 5 women, appeared in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on October 28, 1969 on a number of charges under the Suppression of Communism Act relating to ANC activities. They were remanded in custody for summary trial in the Supreme Court which commenced on December 1, 1969. On February 16, 1970 the Attorney General for the Transvaal advised the trial judge that he was stopping the proceedings and withdrawing the prosecution. All the accused were then found not guilty and discharged. Before they could leave the Court, however, they were re-arrested and detained under the Terrorism Act and were held incommunicado as, indeed, they had been prior to their first appearance. Furthermore, documents relating to the case and which were confidential between them and their legal representatives were seized by the police.

In the same case Miss Shanti Naidoo had been called to give evidence. She had been in detention since June 13, 1969 and was still in detention. She refused to give evidence and was sentenced to two months imprisonment. After she had served her two months sentence for refusing to give evidence, she was re-detained.

- Christopher Wymers, Weizman Hamilton and Johnny Ramrock were detained in February 1975 and appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on November 20, 1975 charged under the Terrorism Act. They were granted bail and the case was remanded until March 15, 1976. On that date the State withdrew the charges and the accused were pronounced to be free. They were immediately re-detained by the Security Police under the Terrorism Act. In the case of Mr Ramrock he was held in detention for two months and after his release was served with a banning order. At the end of June the other two were also banned.
- Mr Mordecai Tatsa was detained in December 1979 and appeared in court some six months later when charges against him were withdrawn, apparently because of insufficient evidence to justify a prosecution. Instead of being released, he was re-detained for another eight or nine months.

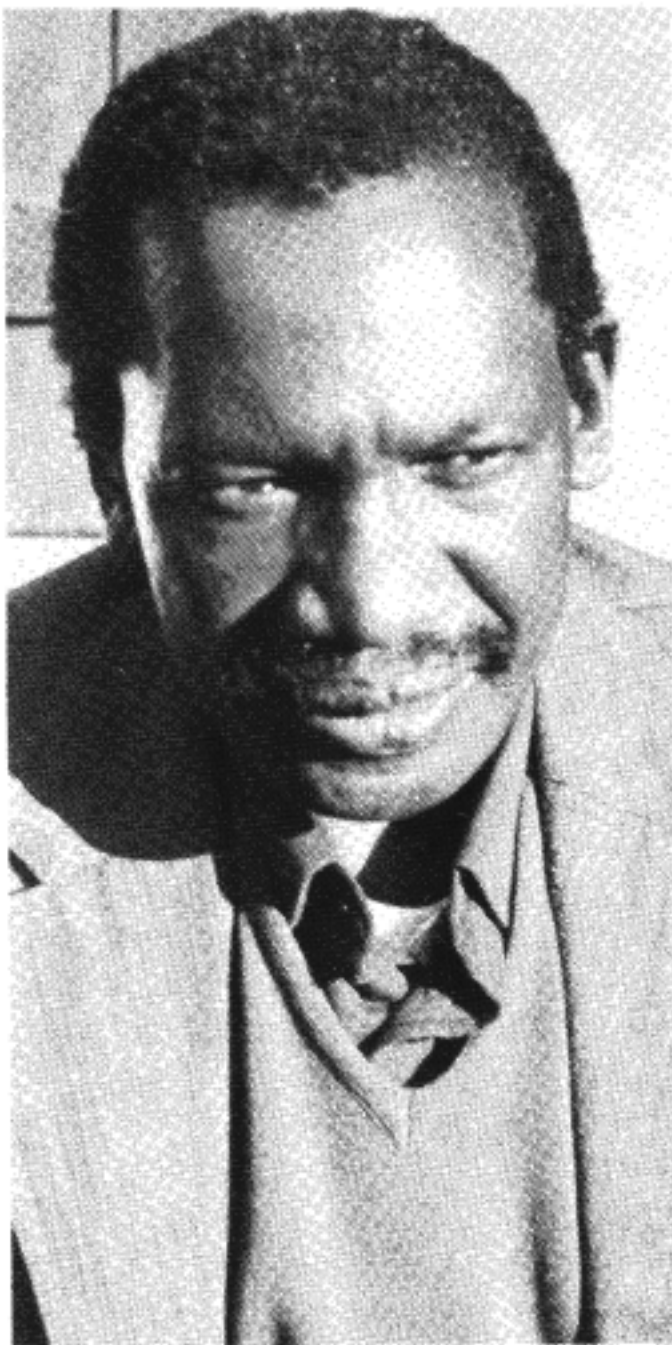


Photo: Benjamin Progrund

**Mangaliso Sobukwe after serving 3 years for incitement (1960-63) was imprisoned for another 6 years thereafter until 1969**

In March 1981 he was called as a State witness in another security trial and refused to give evidence, whereupon he was sentenced to three years imprisonment. The men against whom he had refused to testify were acquitted and his sentence was reduced to one year on appeal. On the date on which he was due to be released in March 1982, when his parents went to meet him at the Bethal prison, they ascertained that he had been re-detained and after a further year in detention he was admitted to hospital for psychiatric treatment in March 1983. He was returned to detention in May 1983 and was released in August 1983, when he was placed under house arrest.

There are probably a number of other cases one can add to those outlined above.

- After Robert Sobukwe had served his period of imprisonment imposed by the Court, he continued to be held at Robben Island in terms of the notorious 'Sobukwe Clause' which entitled the Minister to order the continued incarceration of a prisoner after he had served his sentence.

There is a lesson to be learnt from the Zimbabwean experience. The Zimbabwean Minister who ordered the re-detention of the six Air Force officers did not need any legislative authority of the Zimbabwean Parliament for his actions. He simply acted under legislation passed by the former Smith Government. The South African authorities must realise that if and when they are succeeded in power, by another party their own legislation which has been used to negative the decisions of the courts, may well be used against them and their supporters.

At this stage the South Africans have no greater claim to be concerned with the enforcement of the Rule of Law than the Zimbabweans.

What should be noted is that the Judge in the Zimbabwean case refused to accept some of the confessions on the grounds that the accused had been denied access to their legal advisers before making the confessions. If our judiciary would adopt a similar attitude, in one single stroke they would eliminate the prime cause of allegations of maltreatment of detainees at the hands of their Security Police interrogators.

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# How can the vote protect the jobless?

C E Meth, Department of Economics, University of Natal

**Wentzel, like most liberals, is confused about the nature of the capitalist state**

Your contributor, E M Wentzel, objects to the identification or labelling of the *cause* of recession with its attendant misery, as capitalism.

This formulation he finds oversimple and its implicit policy prescription namely, socialist production, he finds unpalatable, especially if such production is to be organised along 'labour camp' lines.

Mr Wentzel repeats the liberal assertion that the goal of social organisation is 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. He appears to believe that the western capitalist democracies approach this in some way because a worker there has the vote 'to protect himself and his living standards.'

Let us deal with the question of 'democratic' freedoms first. Nobody in their right mind would argue that the 'rights' and freedoms which the masses have struggled for and gained from about 1850 or so, are unimportant. Freedom of association and of speech, protection of the courts etc etc are of paramount importance.

These freedoms are related, sometimes directly, sometimes less so to the processes of economic development and growth. Specific historical circumstances place those freedoms under great strain — acute economic and political crisis can readily spawn a Hitler which leads to most if not all of them being abrogated.

In Britain, the introduction of 'welfare' capitalism, precisely the set of social arrangements one would expect Mr Wentzel to defend, virtually guaranteed workers the *right* to employment. This it was hoped, would satisfy the most basic of all rights, the right to a 'reasonable' standard of living. Yet today, Thatcher is busy destroying vast sections of British industry because the cost to capitalists of providing employment at a living wage to all

workers is such that they would prefer to invest in more congenial (ie exploitative) surroundings such as South Africa. To crudify the matter somewhat, it is clear that worker struggles for the elements central to the pursuit of 'life, liberty and happiness' eg health, education and a decent wage, have induced a prolonged crisis manifest in huge government deficits and precipitously declining profitability.

Under the impact of this crisis the very fabric of British society is slowly being torn asunder. Increasing lawlessness will call forth increasing repression, and rising joblessness further exacerbates the 'welfare' bill which forces the Conservatives into further attacks on worker living standards.

How does the vote protect the jobless — especially when Thatcher plans to reduce welfare payments to make people 'self-reliant' once more?

It is obvious that the predicament of Britain is that it has reached an advanced level of class struggle — the irreconcilable differences between workers and the capitalist class has produced a stalemate which has to be broken if 'profitability' is to be restored. Let it be quite clearly understood that Britain is not nor has ever been a socialist state. Its economy is dominated by private production, its nationalised industries were in general, lame ducks.

Whether or not present unemployment benefits in capitalist states exceed average wage in socialist states is irrelevant — the fact of the matter is that with the exception of developing countries like China, nowhere does the unemployment problem even begin to ap-

**It is obvious that the predicament of Britain is that it has reached an advanced level of class struggle**

proach the proportion of the present capitalist disaster — more than 30 million officially unemployed in the OECD countries alone.

**Capitalism and democracy have no necessary connection and economic crisis can readily destroy hard-won rights. A historical analysis, with an idealist perception of freedom at its very core, simply cannot comprehend the relation between economics and politics in any systematic way.**

This brings us to our second point, namely the goal of social organisation.

Sociologists, philosophers, historians et al have discussed ad nauseam 'the goal' of social organisation — very few of them agree with Wentzel that this goal is 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. Individuals may well accept these claims and certain groups in society, for example, *the set of all liberals*, may well espouse them. But, to take the South African case, the goal of the state is clearly the reproduction of an ethnically divided society under a system of economic relations misleadingly known as 'free enterprise'.

Anyone who asserts that the goal of this particular form of social organisation ie 'free enterprise', is 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' rather than the extraction of profit, is either silly or confused or both.

If through the goal of profit, 'life, liberty' and so on may be achieved, well and good. If not, capitalism rolls on, generally oblivious to the suffering it occasions — every 'industrial revolution' bears witness to this. Concessions for the majority are unlikely to be conceded until they are wrung out, either by force or by intervention of a state which finally perceives that capitalist rapacity can be self-destructive.

As to the South African state, the majority of the people here suffer daily under its cruel yoke — they may be excused for believing that the goals of that social organisation are precisely the opposite of what Wentzel suggests.

That leaves just one sphere of social organisation namely 'civil society', where the goal may well, in the case of certain institutions, be 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. Civil society comprises all those institutions outside of the state and the economy — but that is the very point: **they are outside the economy** and are therefore *not* the focus of an analysis designed to understand recession. They may therefore be ignored.

**Wentzel's admirably humane liberalism is totally out of touch with the dominant ideological forces within capitalism today**

We have argued that the goals of social organisation are *not* life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. This leads naturally to the next question — what about the already existing socialist states?

First a word on cyclical fluctuations in the level of economic activity. It is well-known that these fluctuations spread further and further afield as different states become more closely interlinked, especially through trade. It is a fact that Soviet Russia was virtually unaffected by the Great Depression of the 30's and it is also a fact that Poland's present economic crisis stems from its increasing reliance on shrinking capitalist markets in the post-1974 period. The inference is obvious — the international capitalist crisis becomes generalised to a world crisis.

This is not to say that the existing socialist states do not experience economic crises as well — they do, but for very different reasons. Each instance needs to be examined carefully — each failure analysed, if we are to avoid falling into the trap of believing that capitalism is the 'natural' and indeed the only rational form of social organisation.\*

Mr Wentzel's caricature of socialist production as the 'road to

the labour camp' sets up a false dichotomy which through its emotive power prevents people from examining in any useful way the reproduction of the existing relations

**Mr Wentzel's caricature of socialist production as the 'road to the labour camp' sets up a false dichotomy**

of inequality through capitalist domination. All critical socialists agree that Stalin has to be 'explained' and not 'explained away', to use Stuart Hall's phrase. Likewise they agree that the socialist project can go quite hideously astray — but that is precisely where Marxist analysis is most useful, ie in looking at the specific historical circumstances in which social transformations take place. A long line of distinguished social scientists from Trotsky, to Gramsci, to Mihaly Vajda bear testimony to this. It is no coincidence that the best intellectual discussion of Solidarity is by Marxist theorists and activists — not charismatic Christians!

We close with a reaffirmation of our original position;

1 Wentzel, like most liberals is confused about the nature of a capitalist state. Crude empiricist statements such as the claim that South Africa, 'with its increasingly state-managed economy is much more closely linked economically with Eastern Europe than the complicated mixed economies of Western Europe', remind one of the odious drivel about free enterprise which has become so fashionable since the publication of Theo Wassenaar's book on 'creeping socialism' in the seventies. *The South African economy is dominated by a handful of colossal capitalist empires.* Of course the state has a hand in certain strategic areas of production. Wentzel would do well to examine those areas carefully before likening South Africa to what is sometimes wrongly termed 'state capitalism'.

2 Because he does not understand the dynamics of capitalist accumulation, his optimism over the impending rescue of capitalism by its 'technology' is

entirely misplaced. The contradictions of capitalism are irremovable. The way in which these contradictions are 'worked out' depends on many complex factors, each requiring careful consideration — the implication of racism is an example of such a complicatory factor. These contradictions may produce crises which may or may not lead to socialism, but they certainly guarantee class welfare in one form or another as long as capitalism exists. The recession *any recession*, is one outcome of this struggle.

**The contradictions of capitalism are irremovable**

3 Wentzel's admirably humane liberalism is totally out of touch with the dominant ideological forces within capitalism today. In Thatcherite terms, he is more than usually 'wet' and his pleas for a state with 'democracy and the protection of its workers by a real vote with which theorists (sic) and the capitalists can be kept under control' reflects very clearly his confused starting position, viz the notion that social organisation has as its goal the pursuit of 'life, liberty and happiness'.

**Anyone who asserts that the goal of free enterprise is 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' is either silly or confused or both**

All of us would agree that this should be the goal — we differ most profoundly on the question of whether this is even possible under the existing mode of social organisation.

Finally, a note on methodology. The use of the terms 'class struggle', 'capitalist', 'workers' etc is not meant to imply some cut-and-dried view of the world in which two obviously identifiable classes are locked in mortal combat. Class analysis is a much more sophisticated tool, as a quick glance at Dan O'Meara's recent book *Volkskapitalisme* will reveal. The terms are used here as a 'shorthand' reference to their more full and elaborate development in serious analytical work.

\*For an excellent analysis of the implications for an economy of setting equality before efficiency, see Peter Wiles' compendious work *Economic Institutions Compared*.

# Atrocity: who did what?

Cruelty, like any sin or any crime, is easier after the first time, and it becomes progressively easier with each repetition.

That, surely, must be the explanation for the ease — the pitiless ease — with which South Africans continue to uproot people from homes and familiar surroundings and chuck them into the wilderness like so much trash.

The five-volume report on forced removals published this week by the biting named Surplus Peoples Project comes like a blow to the solar plexus, breath-taking and numbing and painful all at the same time. No newspaper account can possibly convey, as these volumes do, the full horror of the cold-blooded policies that the Nationalists have pursued since 1960.

Find a set and read it for yourself.

As a nation we have committed atrocity on the same scale as the Russians; in terms of numbers of victims, if not of deaths, we have outdone the Turkish forced removal of the Armenians which ranks as one of the great blots on this century. We have forcibly removed 3½ million people and we propose to move another two million.

Faced with this shattering evidence we have only one, rather despairing, suggestion to make: it is that opponents of this Government and its policies should begin now to compile a register of those who have, in the name of the nation, committed these atrocities.

We need to begin now to work towards our own redemption by recording the names of the politicians who have made these policies, and their words. We need to compile a register of the names and pictures, and a record of the specific acts of the officials and the policemen who have carried out these mass removals. We need to begin now to record who did what to whom so that, one day, when South Africa is put on trial for its actions, the guilty will not be able to hide in the ranks of those who were merely indifferent.

For surely, as there is justice under heaven, there will be a day of reckoning.

— With acknowledgement to *Sunday Express*, 12/6/83

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

## Surplus Peoples Project

VOLUME ONE of the report contains a brief national overview of forced removals, a historical background to the process, a detailed section on removals and the law and a section on the questionnaires used in the SPP fieldwork.

VOLUME TWO covers the Eastern Cape and concentrates on the Ciskei, where some of the worst conditions in the country occur — extremely high unemployment, little economic activity, a very dense population and a particularly reprehensible bantustan government.

VOLUME THREE covers the Western Cape, Northern Cape and Orange Free State: thousands of people are endorsed out of the Western Cape alone every year in an attempt to implement the Coloured Labour Preference Area policy.

VOLUME FOUR covers Natal, where farm evictions and group areas removals have already been very extensive, but removals for the consolidation of KwaZulu have barely begun, and there are still some 189 black spots to be moved.

VOLUME FIVE covers the Transvaal with its six bantustans, where the position is so confusing that in some areas even the people living there are unsure whether they live in Gazankulu or Lebowa, Venda or Gazankulu, Lebowa or KwaNdebele.

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LAYOUT: By Joyce Brown

## Where is Smangaliso Mkhutshwa?

Father Mkhutshwa was detained on 30<sup>th</sup> October at Fort Hare. He is the General Secretary of the S.A. Catholic Bishops Conference. Since his detention the Bishops have made every effort to find out where he is but have been denied all information.

WHERE IS HE?

HE IS ONLY ONE OF THE MANY DISAPPEARED ONES.

WHERE ARE THEY?

## Where is Charles Sebe?

He is in detention somewhere too.

He has ruthlessly denied to many people the protection of the Courts using the powers conferred upon him by the South African government and the laws they bequeathed to the Ciskei region.

BUT freedom is indivisible. He is only one of the many people in South Africa who are in detention and who are at the mercy of the Security Police. No one is allowed to see them. No one is entitled to know where they are. He, like them, should have the right to the protection of the Rule of Law.

On 15<sup>th</sup> June 1215 King John of England signed the Magna Carta which laid down that no free man should be imprisoned or proceeded against except by the judgement of his peers in accordance with the laws of the land.

We are only 760 years behind. Reform demands that we catch up. Don't you write to the Prime Minister today? at Union Buildings Pretoria. Demand that all detainees are released for Christmas.