

THE POLICE – Part 2

by Terence Beard

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The position of the police in South Africa is one of **increasing** unpopularity, and it is difficult to see how this trend can be reversed without fundamental changes in South Africa's laws. Perhaps the biggest obstacles are the pass laws and influx control, for the enforcing of these laws necessitates **daily** confrontations between members of the police force and literally thousands of Africans. The law requires that all adult Africans carry their 'dompas' or 'reference book' at all times. Failure to do so is a criminal offence. Not only do Africans consider it ignominious to be compelled to carry passes but they regard having always to have them on their persons as particularly arduous, unreasonable and inequitable. Just as everyone at some time or other forgets or mislays keys, pocket-books, wallets and combs, so every African is likely occasionally to forget or to mislay his/her 'dompas', and the possibility of doing so is a mental burden which all Africans have to bear.

Government policy depends in large measure upon 'influx control', and the implementation of 'influx control' in turn depends upon the pass laws. But while Africans continue to have to carry passes, relations with the police stand no chance of improving and are likely to continue to deteriorate, particularly as the process of politicization among Africans has grown during the past few years to embrace the populations of even the smaller rural towns and villages. Continual arrests, fines and imprisonment under these laws serve only to intensify discontent, extend political polarization and reduce the chances of peaceful change. Black youth show signs of radicalization in one area after another, and the non-negotiable demands of youth are being extended and amplified as the school boycotts illustrate. The common ground between the possible negotiators on both sides of the colour line is shrinking and the possibilities for peaceful change gradually receding.

When failure to have an identity document on one's person is a crime and thousands and thousands of persons spend at least a few days in gaol or police cells each year after influx control arrests, gaol ceases to be regarded as a place for criminals only. When innocuous and innocent actions are denominated crimes, the law becomes destructive and undermines morality. Respect for law itself becomes subverted and people suffer cruel injustices. The effect upon the police is invidious, for they are burdened with the duty of having to enforce laws which undermine that very respect for the law to which they are purportedly dedicated.

While the position of the police in South African society becomes ever more difficult and the lot of a policeman ever more unenviable, bad relations between police and the black public have not always been characteristic of Southern Africa. In Southern Rhodesia, the British South Africa Police for many years enjoyed a high reputation among whites and blacks alike – this was possible during the period before blacks had become politicized, and the B.S.A.P. were rightly proud of the

fact that between 1896 and the Harare riots of 1960 no-one had died at the hands of the police by the use of fire-arms. The old Natal Police also enjoyed a high reputation and the respect of blacks. In Durban, for instance, before Union, each and every policeman was known by a Zulu name, and as late as 1953 there were Africans to be found who were still able to remember the names of all the police station commanders in the Durban area prior to Union, and to talk at some length about their respective virtues and weaknesses, and of how blacks went as a matter of course to the police for help and advice.

Prior to Union the social conditions in which blacks existed were very much better than they were later to become as a result of population growth, migratory labour and the consequent rural impoverishment, and the Natal Police, despite their obvious paternalism, and despite the Bambata Rebellion, were accepted relatively willingly by a population which for the most part had not yet begun seriously to question its subordinate status. But subordinate populations cannot be expected always to accept their positions, and once they come to challenge it as chiefs had done during the Bambata Rebellion, and as literate blacks began to do at the time of Union, relations with the police underwent a gradual but nevertheless fundamental change. Successive white governments instead of attempting to eliminate discrimination and therefore racial subordination, proceeded to entrench it ever more deeply until the very nature of the police force was transformed. The police came to be looked upon as instruments of oppression and no longer as supporters of the public. South African governments thus signally failed to fulfil the aspirations of the black population, putting a premium upon white domination and legislation to serve the interests of their white electoral constituents. Racism, shortsightedness and the blind pursuit of short-term interests led to the reinforcing and increased institutionalization of racial discrimination.

With the coming to power of the National Party government under Dr. D. F. Malan in 1948 it soon became clear that the engine of state had been put into reverse gear with the implementation of the new policy of **apartheid**. Doctrinaire racialism replaced the pragmatic racialism of former administrations, a development which coincided with a new militancy in the African nationalist movement and heralded a new era of security legislation. A chain reaction followed. Draconian security laws led to greater African militancy, followed by even more draconian laws, until eventually the African National Congress dedicated itself to the violent overthrow of the regime.

What tends to be forgotten in South Africa is that organizations such as the African National Congress adopted strategies of violence only after decades of peaceful and constitutional efforts to have African aspirations recognised had proved fruitless. This affords a classic example of society failing to

"move at a rate to give scope to the aspirations of the bulk of its people". Only after it had been proscribed and its protests made illegal did violence become the declared strategy of the A.N.C., and (in Clutterbuck's words) "**moral justification is claimed for it.**" (9) And even in the 1980's the South African government is proceeding in terms of what it deems **ought to be** the aspirations of black people rather than in terms of their **real** aspirations. Real aspirations can be determined only through the ballot-box in contexts where people are free to articulate their interests and ideas, and to form and join political parties of their choice.

The authoritarian approach of successive governments has had important implications for the police, foremost among which has been the extent to which they have become instruments of government policy and no longer impartial and independent executors of their functions under law. This development has done more than anything else to give the police the image, particularly among blacks, of being political agents of an oppressive government, and instruments of oppression. They are seen in a more directly political context as being the means whereby the government acts against those who dare to criticise it in any fundamental way.

The instrumental use of the police is highlighted in detentions without trial, in banning orders against individuals, and in political trials such as the Treason Trial in which people have been charged, acquitted, re-arrested, faced with re-formulated charges relating to the same set of events, and then either acquitted once again or found guilty. In the Treason Trial all those charged were finally acquitted. The conclusion that the courts are being used in order to harass and finally cripple people is hard to avoid. Defence funds instituted to aid people involved in political cases of a non-violent kind have been declared illegal and closed down. All these devices involve the police being employed as instruments of policy.

Detention without trial in South Africa must be seen in the context of the prevailing 'agitator' theory of social change. The South African government has provided ample evidence of its belief in the 'agitator' theory, unrest having been blamed upon 'communists', 'liberals', 'outsiders', 'foreigners', 'radicals', and 'agitators', and the practices of banning and detention without trial are logical consequences of this theory. 'Agitators' are seen as not only the root cause of social unrest but as constituting a basic threat to white security. Under these conditions it would be nothing short of the miraculous were detained people, isolated as they are from public access, and believed by the police to be 'agitators' and therefore the prime cause of social unrest, not the main focus of whatever abuses of police powers there might happen to be.

The inquests on persons who have died in detention have provided evidence of a cynicism and a contempt for the law on the part of some policemen, which unless it is eradicated, can serve only to undermine whatever attempts are made by government to bring about peaceful change. Deaths in detention now number well over forty and the case for a judicial enquiry into the treatment of detainees could hardly be stronger. One of the most serious charges against the South African Police is that of torture, and members of the public can hardly be blamed for seeing possible connections between deaths in detention and these allegations of torture. Persons appearing in court as defendants and as State witnesses have frequently alleged that they have been tortured and that statements have been extorted from them under duress. Many have detailed the treatment which they allege they have been subjected to. There are instances of actions having been brought against the police by such persons where the matter has been settled out of court, **ex-gratia** payments having been made by the State. That in itself is sufficient reason

for the holding of a public judicial enquiry, but there has yet to be such an enquiry despite the frequency of the allegations. Far from instituting an enquiry, attempts have been made to prevent collected and collated evidence from reaching the public. Thus a document published by the Christian Institute in which details of such allegations were presented in a factual form, was banned not only for distribution, but also for possession..

The refusal by the government to institute an enquiry is seen by many people as an attempt to protect the police and to cover up whatever abuses of powers there might be, and, what is even more disturbing, it is tantamount to a licence or warrant for the continuation of whatever abuses there might be. The South African government and the police have far more to gain in the long run by instituting a public enquiry so that it can be seen and believed that the practice of torture is disapproved of and will not be tolerated. **The need for proper and just procedures, for police accountability and responsibility to the public, is greater, not less, in deeply divided and polarized societies.** Only in this way can government credibility be restored among blacks. It cannot be repeated too often that justice must be done and be seen to be done if there is to be any hope of dissolving the polarization.

Mr. Schlebusch, while Minister of Justice, published the conditions of detention in a Government Gazette. Among the conditions is one which provides that "A detainee shall not communicate in writing with any person outside the place of detention, except with the consent of the officer in command of the place of detention." (10). This means **inter alia** that apart from being held in solitary confinement, detainees may be prevented not only from communicating with their families their lawyers or their Members of Parliament, but also with the Minister of Justice or even the Prime Minister or the State President! There is absolutely no recourse to anyone outside the place of detention unless the police permit it. This is a provision appropriate only to a police state.*

While detentions without trial may enable the government and the police to achieve what they perceive to be short-term objectives, not only do they involve an abandonment of due process of law and the basic principles of justice, but it is extremely doubtful that they are other than counter-productive in their long-term social and political effects.

The detention without trial of political leaders serves to give to those leaders an added charisma, for in the eyes of their followers they are deemed to have proved their willingness to suffer and make sacrifices on behalf of the oppressed. And deaths of leaders while in detention not only bring the police into disrepute, it inevitably makes martyrs of those leaders. Thus it was with Steve Biko.

The analogy of Jopie Fourie is illustrative of this. Fourie, a volunteer member of the South African Defence Force, and bound by an oath of allegiance, elected nevertheless to join the 1914 rebellion. He was involved in skirmishes with loyal forces, raised a flag of truce, and then proceeded to shoot at those approaching him. He was captured, court-martialed, an

*FOOTNOTE

* It might be objected that all detainees are subject to regulations of the Department of Prisons and that this affords them protection. Without public scrutiny through public accountability, there is no means of knowing whether the regulations are being adhered to or not. There is no guarantee that the officer in charge of the place of detention will permit a detainee to write or complain to any of his superiors. The regulation does not require it and in fact gives the officer total discretion.

subsequently executed. Although his crimes were of a nature which carry the death penalty in any army in the world, were committed at a time of war and under a regime freely elected by whites, and under which he himself enjoyed the vote, and although the government was headed by former Boer War generals, Jopie Fourie is today regarded by probably a majority of Afrikaners as a martyr and folk hero. A memorial to him was unveiled a few years ago by the then Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, who delivered a eulogy. The treatment of Fourie involved no abuse of powers, yet his execution was nevertheless a political error, and had his treatment involved abuse of powers there is no doubt that Afrikaner anger would have been considerably greater than it was.

In deeply divided societies the harm done by governments in dealing with opponents only serves to sow the seeds of hatred and discontent and to widen and deepen existing social cleavages, and often outweighs any short-term advantages which governments might be thought to gain.

Crimes, particularly those of a political nature, have been so extended as to embrace acts which in many countries would be regarded not only as innocuous but as rights or even as civic duties. *The attempt by Mr. Donald Woods to draw an alleged police malpractice to the attention of the Minister resulted in his being arraigned before a court, and only after the case had been taken on appeal was the charge dismissed. The very notion of crime becomes debased under these circumstances, and the stigma attached to imprisonment begins to evaporate and to be replaced by status. There is no doubt that persons who have been imprisoned on Robben Island enjoy a higher status on that account, and that detentions and bannings serve also to increase the status of the victims among large numbers of people, especially blacks.

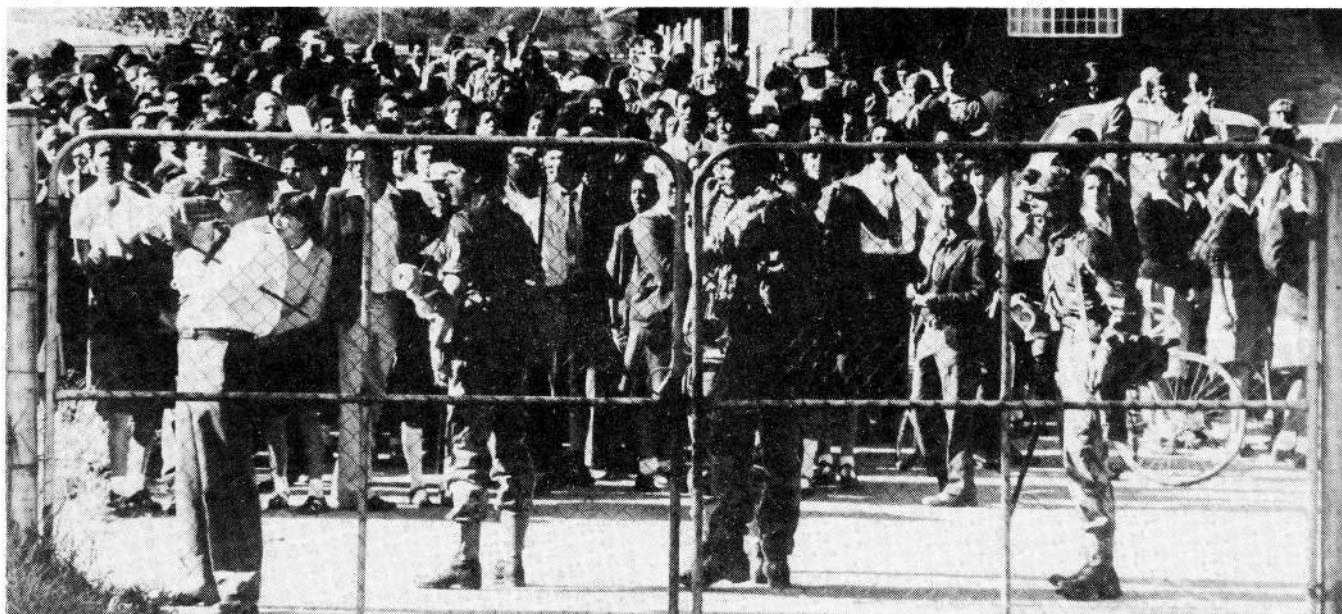
*FOOTNOTE

Professor M. A. Rabie of Stellenbosch has described what he terms the 'Overkill of laws in the South African system'. (Evening Post, 13/8/80). He places the blame for the plethora of laws on the legislators who define crime in their legislation, and states that too many prohibitions have created too many criminals and that the entire system of criminal justice is threatened with collapse. "An overworked and understaffed police-force, overcrowded courts and prisons can no longer effectively cope with the inflation of crimes and the consequent flood of criminals. As a result, the deterrent effect of the threat of punishment itself has been severely affected." And also: "Sometimes the consequences of criminalising certain types of behaviour could be worse than the effects of the behaviour itself."

Human beings are naturally social and gregarious and there are very few persons indeed who seek solitude as a way of life or who will not suffer stress from enforced solitude. The conditions attached to banning orders can thus be said to constitute punishments which are meted out without trial at the stroke of an administrative pen. To prevent persons from having contact with other human-beings by making such contacts criminal offences, is to require those persons to refrain from participating in normal human activities, the business of everyday life. This kind of treatment is not only cruel and unjust but implies a lack of imagination and basic humanity on the part of those responsible for introducing and enforcing banning orders. That banning orders are enforced as a system of punishment is clear from the fact that banned persons have been refused permission to attend funerals of close relatives, weddings, and other social celebrations which they have sought special permission to attend. That bannings have been and are being treated as a form of administrative punishment without trial is beyond doubt.

Banned persons have *inter alia* been charged in the courts for having tea with one or two friends in public tea lounges, of conversing with more than one person at a time, and of forgetting to report to the police at a stipulated time. Bannings are cruel and vindictive forms of punishment, and the duty of enforcing them falls to the police. The police thereby become symbols or instruments of man's inhumanity to man, debasing them and adding to their image as instruments of oppression. And if this is true in the case of bannings, how much more so is it true of detention in solitary confinement without trial, which so clearly constitutes not only a gross injustice, but what the American constitution terms a 'cruel and unusual punishment'? It is, furthermore, not fair on the police to expect them to enforce cruel and inhuman punishments. Their job is not to punish in any case.

A source of great discontent and anger among blacks are police raids. The systematic raiding of black residential areas by large contingents of police at night or in the early hours of the morning is feared and resented. Nor does it pass unnoticed that such raids are confined to black areas. Imagine the outcry were the police to raid the Pretoria suburb of Sunnyside, say, at 4 am., waking up all householders and house occupants, searching their premises, demanding the production of identity documents, and arresting everyone not able to produce them! * (See Footnote next page)



"Armed police surround school children : 1980."

Acknowledgement : Pic. Paul Weinberg

An impartial observer could hardly fail to notice the discriminatory practices of the police towards the different sections of the population. Police are obliged to enforce the laws of the land, and because so many of those laws are of a discriminatory nature, the police are trapped in a situation not of their own making. And because blacks are the discontented, civil disturbances occur most frequently in black communities, and the use of force by the police is usually against blacks. Thus while batons and tearsmoke have been used against whites, firearms as well as batons and tearsmoke have frequently been used against blacks. This must be seen as a consequence of racial discrimination enshrined in the laws of the land and of the basic inequalities which those laws maintain.

A particular cause for concern is the use of firearms against black children. Recently the press reported a case in Klerksdorp in which a white pupil, dressed up to simulate a terrorist during a school-lesson, was mistaken for a real terrorist by the police, and very nearly shot. The head of the police contingent was quoted in the press as saying that he had only very narrowly averted having had to hold a dead child in his arms.⁽¹¹⁾ A similar attitude towards black children would go a long way towards counteracting the deterioration in relations between blacks and the police.

A senior police officer in the Western Cape, in replying to charges of police over-reaction in quelling civil unrest there in the early months of 1980, pleaded for understanding, reminding the public that the police are only human. ⁽¹²⁾ He was quite right of course, for the police are indeed only human, while their duties in a racially divided society call for super-human powers of understanding and tolerance. On the other hand, **it is precisely because the police are only human that checks against the abuse of police powers are so essential.** Accountability to the public and parliamentary scrutiny of police activities afford protection not only to the public but also to the police themselves. That this is so has been arrested to by heads of the London Metropolitan Police. ⁽¹³⁾

Pleas made from time to time by Ministers, exhorting the public to understand that the police have a difficult job, and attacks upon those who are critical of the police, are of little avail in the absence of public scrutiny, and are likely to fall upon deaf ears. Curbs upon the press and other forms of secrecy result in rumours and are bound to be damaging to the police. Furthermore, police moderation under provocation – for provocation there is bound sometimes to be – is less likely when the police are protected by secrecy than when their actions are subject to public scrutiny. The press ought to have access to every police action, subject only to their not hindering police activities, and reports ought to be tabled in Parliament on every major police action in the community. Police secrecy is counter-productive, and public accountability affords a far more efficacious mode of protection of the police as well as of the public.

*Since the writing of this paper a suburb in Port Elizabeth was raided in terms of the legislation governing domestic servants. While the raid was not carried out by the police but by the officials of the Eastern Cape Administration Board, there was an immediate reaction from the Public. The raid was prominently featured in the Evening Post (19/2/81) on the front page and under the headline: "ECAB check at 4 a.m. angers PE home owners." One person was quoted as saying "We object to this Gestapo treatment of civilised people", and another as having said "They are lucky I did not put a bullet through them." Such is the reaction of whites to pre-dawn raids.

The Information scandal has shown how secrecy can foster corruption, and the incidence of corruption is bound to be far higher wherever there is secrecy than where there is accountability to the public. **For secrecy is the handmaiden of corruption.**

Reference has been made to the use of firearms by the police in civil disturbances. The use of firearms against persons escaping from arrest or resisting arrest is another matter. Members of the police appear to be authorised to shoot at anyone attempting to avoid arrest regardless of the seriousness of the crime, whether the escapee be a petty pilferer or an escaped murderer. But even in the case of an escaped murderer it is not the function of the police to administer punishments; that is a matter for the courts and the prison services. Police ought to be under strict orders to use firearms only in self-defence or when life is threatened, and the principle that the minimum force necessary to achieve a police objective ought always to be strictly adhered to.

The practice of shooting at escaping thieves or in car chases is not only a barbarous practice in itself, but can easily endanger the lives of innocent people. What after all is the difference between this practice and that of the East German police shooting at persons attempting to escape over the Berlin Wall? (It is a criminal offence in East Germany to try to escape over the wall.) Cases of this kind bring the police into disrepute, sometimes involve the unnecessary taking of life, and imply a callousness and a disregard for the sanctity of human life.

The Prime Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, has made it clear that the government has no intention of abolishing detention without trial or indeed any of the other security laws, and has given the public no reason to believe that any of the laws which place the greatest burdens upon blacks are to be repealed – certainly not in the near future. It is arguable firstly that the security laws in their present form are incompatible with Mr. Botha's promise to run a 'clean' administration, for the employment of secret police powers inevitably results in abuse of those powers. Secondly, until these laws are amended to allow for fair procedures and due process, it is arguable that appeals to the public to improve race relations are of little or no avail, and it will be virtually impossible for the police to improve their relations with the black public.

The government appears to hold the belief that the path to peaceful change lies in elite accommodation, in the creation of advisory bodies at the highest level, and in the maintenance of stability at the lower levels by strict application of the security laws. Such a strategy ignores the remoteness of the decision-making centres from the people who will be affected. Little thought seems to have been given to the fact that it is the poor and the powerless who are the real sufferers, the real discontented, and that they have not only given every indication that they will repudiate any black leaders who compromise with the government on any basic issues, but they have also made it clear that discriminatory laws and police actions to enforce those laws are among their chief grievances.

The recent series of school boycotts have illustrated this government misconception, for had it not been for police actions against pupils and the refusal of the Minister of Education and Training to consult directly with the pupils, or with their parents, the boycotts could in all probability have been quickly ended. The detention without trial of pupils and the deaths and injuries caused during the school riots inflamed passions and served to spread and intensify radicalism in the schools. The strategy adopted by the government directly contributed to the prolonging of the

boycotts, and reliance upon the police rather than upon direct consultation with pupil leaders right at the outset served only to worsen relations between the police and the black public.

Black attitudes are affected in fundamental ways by daily contacts with the police which are too often of a confrontatory nature. Without visible improvements in the daily life experiences of blacks, black leaders who accept nomination to advisory bodies will, as has so often happened in the past, within a short time lose whatever grass-roots support they might happen to have, and become heads without bodies. Visible change productive of stability means change not only at the level of the elites but also at grass-roots level, for otherwise the elites will be isolated from the mass of the people.

If wedges are not to be driven between black leaders and their followers, real attempts must be made to remove the main grievances. A phasing out of present methods of influx control and of the pass laws is a necessary condition of this, and, what is more, would enable the police to focus more of their attention upon crimes which fall under the ordinary criminal law rather than upon statutorily created crimes. Police activity could then in principle receive a much larger measure of support from the black public. But to achieve popular support radical economic changes would first be necessary, for while discriminatory laws are the most immediate causes of discontent, blacks have over the years come to perceive their economic deprivation as a direct consequence of white privilege and power. Thus even were all discriminatory legislation to be repealed, blacks would still perceive the police as bulwarks of white domination.

The policing of economically depressed areas is never an easy task, but when it is exacerbated by racial polarization it becomes a super-human task, as is revealed in Britain where the popular image of the 'English bobby' has taken a severe knock with the growth of black economically disadvantaged immigrant populations in some of the larger cities. The recently formed black umbrella body in Britain is reported to have refused "all co-operation with the police whose alleged harrassment of blacks is blamed for much of the current ill-feeling." (14)

If South Africa is to have peaceful change it is absolutely essential that people of all colours and persuasions be permitted the right to participate in political organizations of their choice and to articulate their ideas and their interests without the threat of arrest. This would mean making a clear distinction between legitimate expressions of grievances and of ideas by the general population, and calls for revolution and violence. In many Western countries the law guarantees this right which, in at least some cases, is supported by the police as providing a safety valve essential for stability. The law remains adequate to deal with genuine cases of conspiracy, riotous assembly etc. . People may say what they like as long as they do not propagate violence or acts of subversion. Societies which do not support freedom of assembly and expression depend upon terror and force to maintain an often precarious stability.

South Africa no longer permits these rights, and there is little doubt that in spite of the immense strength of the military, internal stability is becoming more and more precarious in the sense that it depends increasingly upon the containment of the discontented majority by the police and the paramilitary police, the riot police. In racially polarized societies every possible effort ought to be made to diffuse and dissolve the polarization if violence is to be eliminated and stability is to be based upon the firm foundations of public consent

and consensus. The actions of the government with respect to the two Post newspapers would seem to indicate that this is a lesson which they still have to learn, for the stifling of these newspapers prevents opinions and grievances from being aired and will have effects directly opposite from those intended by the Minister of Justice.

If communism is a danger in South Africa then it has only become so through the short-sightedness and foolhardiness of successive South African governments which have continually ignored the advice and warnings of black and white leaders and members of the public who have been aware of the growing discontent. The treating of 'agitators' as causes rather than as symptoms of the discontent results in conspiracies being seen everywhere and scapegoats being sought out rather than the real causes being attended to. It should be realised too that force is inversely related to power so that the more a government relies upon force, the less power it actually has. Power is greatest where the populace willingly obeys and respects the law, and **not** where people have to be forced or terrorised into observing it.

It is essential that fair procedures and due process of law be adopted if justice is to be done. The bulk of the laws must be acceptable to the vast majority of the people. Only if these conditions are present is a stable society attainable. It is arguable that the economic, social and political conditions in South Africa today, together with the law-enforcement strategies and procedures, have contributed more to the polarization of society and to the radicalization of blacks, and to make communism seem a viable or even a preferable alternative than all the 'agitators' put together. It is easy to forget the Aristotelian dictum that 'he who wears the shoes knows where they pinch', and that the black people of South Africa do not need 'agitators' to tell them what their grievances are. They know their grievances only too well at first hand.

In this article I have suggested some of the essentials for the creation of a stable society. I have tried to make it clear that at the best of times a policeman's job is far from easy and that in a racially divided society it is a job requiring more resources than the average individual possesses. In a society based upon racial discrimination the policeman's lot is hardest of all, for he is placed in a no-win situation, and this can only be changed by changes in the basic laws of the country.

I end with a plea.

Why not begin by considering what changes are necessary in our laws and our legal procedures which would enable our police force to be transformed into an institution which will be perceived and whose members will be seen by all sections of our population as **supporters** of the public rather than as agents of an oppressive government acting against the public? At present only members of the white community see the police that way.

As Robert Reimer has put it: "The quality of policing is the litmus test of a political system's character: the ultimate criticism is to label it a police state." (15) South Africa is precariously close to becoming a police state and on some definitions is already so. Why not reverse this trend and proceed by keeping changes at the various levels, the level of the elites and the level of the man in the street, in phase? The chances of peaceful change, I believe, will thereupon become significantly enhanced. White politicians of all parties are always putting themselves forward as democrats; what is being pleaded for here is that they practice what they preach and show a little more faith and confidence in democratic practices than they are wont to do.

Appendix:

The following are the nine principles upon which the British democratic police system are based. Readers will be able to judge for themselves the extent to which these principles are presently being lived up to in Britain, and also the extent to which in South Africa they are lacking altogether. The principles were collected together by Charles Reith and all are taken from public records and police manuals. (16)
They are:

- 1) To prevent crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment.
- 2) To recognize always that the power of the police to fulfil their functions and duties is dependent upon public approval of their existence, actions and behaviour, and their ability to secure and maintain public support.
- 3) To recognize always that to secure and maintain the respect and approval of the public means also the securing of the willing co-operation of the public in the task of securing observance of law.
- 4) To recognize always that the extent to which the co-operation of the public can be secured diminishes, proportionately, the necessity of the use of force and compulsion for achieving police objectives.
- 5) To seek and preserve public favour, not by pandering to public opinion, but by constantly demonstrating absolutely impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy, and without regard to the justice or injustice of individual laws; and by ready offering of individual sacrifice in protecting and preserving life.
- 6) To use physical force only when the exercise of persuasion, advice and warning is found to be insufficient to obtain public co-operation to an extent necessary to restore order; and to use only the minimum degree of physical force which is necessary on any particular occasion for achieving a police objective.

- 7) To maintain at all times a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and that the public are police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen, in the interests of community welfare and existence.
- 8) To recognize always the need for strict adherence to police executive functions, and to refrain from even seeming to usurp the powers of the judiciary of avenging individuals or the state, and of authoritatively judging guilt and punishing the guilty.
- 9) To recognize always that the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder, and not the visible evidence of police action in dealing with them.

- 1) Richard Clutterbuck, p11
- 2) Eastern Province Herald, 8/8/80
- 3) Evening Post, 6/6/80
- 4) Evening Post, 30/5/80
- 5) See for example the autobiography of Sir Richard Mark: **In the Office of the Constable**
- 6) Eastern Province Herald, 13/8/80
- 7) Robert Reiner, **New Society**, 10/4/80
- 8) Charles Reith, pp 155-157

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Vortex ●

One liked the story of van Tonder who, taking a rest from his bulldozing (it was a routine job of demolishing black houses), opened his newspaper, read about the demonstrations in New Zealand and exclaimed angrily: "Has the rest of the world forgotten about fair play?"

Vortex ●

Then there was the report of English-speaking white South African, his elation at the SADF's destructive exploits in Angola undermined by news of tussles at a rugby match, who offered the view that the outside world would soon be engulfed by violence.

Vortex ●

South Africa is a striking instance of a strictly Christian state: its townships are paid for, poorly, by alcohol, and its new "national states" get their meagre cash-flow from casinos.

Vortex ●

The South African Government, seriously worried about the shortage of housing for blacks, has vowed to knock down 10 000 homes every year.