

Vol. 18, No. 1

February 1981

Price 40c

SASH

The Black Sash magazine

CONTENTS

FEBRUARY 1976

The fourth report of the Christian Institute of South Africa on detention and trial under the Terrorism Act was declared undesirable under the Publications Act of 1974. Large extracts from this report have therefore regrettably had to be deleted from this issue of SASH.

	Page
EDITORIAL	1
YOUTH SPEAKING	2
CROSSROADS BABY	9
M. C. Orpen	
TWO PORTRAITS OF RURAL SOUTH AFRICA	10
Lily Herbstein	
A SOCIAL CASUALTY WARD	11
Anthony Delius	
THOUGHTS ON ECONOMICS	12
Joyce Harris	
AFRICAN SOCIALISM	14
Paul Rich	
WOMAN TALK	17
Sheena Duncan	
CONGRATULATIONS	19
THE PRESS — IT'S DEEDS AND MISDEEDS	20
from a talk by Benjamin Pogrund	
ROCKLANDS BEACH	21
R.S.B.	
JOHANNESBURG ADVICE OFFICE	22



1975 was a troubled and confusing year. Events outside the borders of South Africa pushed ever and more ominously closer.

Mozambique has a Marxist-orientated government, a tottering economy and a rumbling dislike of inequities here.

Rhodesia is beset with its own problems which are also ours.

Angola is waging a bloody civil war which invites the intervention of outside powers and threatens both world and African stability.

Namibia, itself in a state of flux, has its troubles compounded by an unstable and insecure common border with Angola.

Africa, Southern Africa, South Africa are vulnerable as they have never been before, and everyone is scuttling around seeking succour of a kind in the arms of the Russians, the Chinese, the Americans, the French — whomever they think will help them or is willing to do so. And over everything hangs the spectre of inflation.

Each country seeks its own solution — in socialism, communism, tyranny, civil war, dialogue, delaying tactics. What can be done to enable communist, socialist, capitalist, Black, White, ethnic group, race to inhabit this continent and this world amicably together? What is South Africa doing to solve its problems?

Fundamentally the policy of the Government is a divisive one — Black from White from Asian from Coloured, group from group, language from language — even to carving up the country into South Africa, the Transkei, BophutaTswana, and, in the fullness of time, no doubt KwaZulu, Gazankulu, and all the other homelands.

What an admission of defeat for the human race this is — a tacit acceptance of its inability to come to terms with itself in its different guises. So must we all then identify with our own particular group, withdraw within its fold, live snugly behind its barriers never venturing forth into the wider world, and hope that every other member of every other group will be similarly satisfied so that there is never any temptation to stretch, to widen horizons, to overlap the territory of anyone else's group and thus cause friction?

This is the inevitable but unattainable final goal of apartheid. If it could work it might even be a solution of a kind, albeit a not very inspiring one. But it cannot work.

Just as the countries of the world need each other, for trade, the exchange of ideas and know-

ledge, for cross-fertilisation, so do the people of this country. We are inter-dependent. Our very survival depends upon co-operation, not separation. Each can enrich the other and each is impoverished by separation.

If the policy of this Government were an acceptable solution to the problems of the country it would not have to be enforced by so many restrictive laws and regulations. If people voluntarily chose to retreat into their groups there would be no need for pass laws, influx control, compulsory migrant labour, endorsement out of urban areas, job reservation, Bantu education, the Coloured Representative Council fiasco, the security police, punishment without trial, all the repressive legislation that is so bitterly resented.

Certainly people like to identify with and be recognised by a group. This creates a sense of security and well-being. But they do not like to be forcibly confined within prescribed limits.

Rather should the security and confidence engendered in them as individuals by their group belonging encourage them to step out beyond its confines as free human beings to participate in and contribute towards the all-embracing totality of life with its enormous potential, created by the ingenuity of man.

Nor can people afford to be compulsorily separated from each other. Quite apart from the fact that there is likely to be far more friction between tightly-knit, mutually exclusive groups than between people who are encouraged to mix and learn to understand and respect each other, the cost in hard cash of maintaining so many different units is untenable.

Far too high a percentage of the working population is unproductively employed in administrative jobs, services are duplicated and triplicated ad infinitum, efficiency and productivity suffer, the balance of payments drops and inflation is uncontrollable.

Apartheid is not only unwise, uncalled for and de-humanising in its enforcement, it is also uneconomic, actually counter-productive to the well-being of the entire country and everyone in it.

Youth talks in this issue of Sash — youth representing a broad political and colour spectrum. By and large youth wants a society with freedom and justice for all, though it differs on its final form.

Opportunities should be created for youth to talk, to consult, to compromise, to apply itself to the manifold problems, for today's world, and tomorrow's, is theirs.

Youth speaking

Six young men and women give their personal views on South Africa — what it is and what they would like it to be. The views are not necessarily representative of those of the political parties to which some of the writers belong.

'We must learn that dividing people who belong to a common country into various groups can only spell a bleak future for us all.'

20-year-old Soweto high school boy.

NEEDESS to say, the future of South Africa lies in the hands of the Black people.

What about the White man's future in South Africa? His future lies in his own hands. It is his attitude towards the Black man's struggle for liberation that will determine his future in the land.

So, for a White man to speak of the future of South Africa he must clearly understand the situation as it stands now. Black people have no time for White people who think that our problems are imaginary.

One would go even further and say that the nature of the Black man's struggle will be determined by those in power, who in our opinion, hold a representative White view.

The events in Mozambique and Angola, to mention but two, dispel the myth prevalent in most minds of South African Whites that the White man will never bow to pressure to face reality and give to the Black man what rightfully belongs to him.

When I speak of South Africa, I speak of one united country and not a South Africa divided into several mini states that will never be economically viable, as long as they have a capitalist White government in their midst.

If events in some independent African countries are not an eye-opener to those in power in South Africa, they will only have themselves to blame if things take a turn for the worse for them in the future.

We must learn that dividing people who belong to a common country into various groups can only spell a bleak future for us all. Indeed, what the White man has done over the past 300 years is going to take us Black people in whose hands the future of this country lies a long time to undo.

The fragmentation of people into various groups coupled with differential treatment certainly spells doom for South Africa. In fact the big lie behind the different homelands was recently exposed with the sacking of Sonny Leon of the Coloured Representative Council.

If those in power naively pursue the idea of allocating Blacks to different status then they must be prepared to face the repercussions. The division of people into ethnic groups has no moral or Christian justification but has been formulated by egocentric, selfish individuals who are in fact leading the country into an economic crisis.

'Political freedom lies in the granting of political rights and responsibilities to every citizen to participate in the process of government.'

Daan Prinsloo, 27, a National Party supporter.

THE past, present and future are one continuous movement broken only at the time and place at which I am at this present moment.

The past is everything that has happened up to now, a battleground of human weaknesses, values and goals; the future is a value-oriented perception based upon history and experience; the present is a mere interlude between these two, to reflect on the past and to project into the future.

Implicit in this historical movement of past into future is continuous change and adaptation. In my opinion it is therefore wrong to say that South Africa is today in the process of change, because it has been in constant change since 1652.

What I therefore perceive for the future of South Africa is nothing else but what I believe to be the correct and justifiable way in which the movement of past into future, and the continuous change and adaptation of our society must flow.

In judging the past, no one, not even the most highly acclaimed historian can pretend to be completely objective, because as in the case of projecting into the future, so judging the past history of South Africa, is a matter of personal selective and subjective appraisal.

We only see what we want to see, and what is advantageous to our own viewpoint. There is, however, a way in which our history can be put into some perspective, and that is by comparison with similar situations in comparable countries.

In South Africa we have a country where White people from Europe colonised the land, sparsely inhabited by local Blacks. This was also the case in the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, to name a few. In the last four countries, which are isolated from other areas from where non-Whites could emigrate, the numbers of the natives dwindled rapidly through natural death and also from mass extinction at the hands of the Whites.

In Australia, for example, the number of Aborigines fell from nearly half a million in the early 19th century to about 50 000 today. In South Africa, by contrast, the number of Blacks rose from a few thousand to approximately 20m today.

One of the conclusions that can be drawn from this, is the fact that White South Africans recognised the Blacks as fellow human beings, recognised their existence, and their claims to the land which they effectively occupied. It is also in my opinion significant proof of the commonly disputed sincerity of the Afrikaner's practical application of his religious beliefs.

Comparison might provide some perspective relating the general trend in South Africa to that in other plural societies, but should not necessarily be seen as justification of past or present wrongs in South Africa or abroad. It must, however, serve one purpose, and that is to show that South Africa is not unique in this world in differentiating between people or groups of people, but that her treatment of those people is much more humane and civilised than is the case in many countries which rank among South Africa's most vehement critics, for example, India.

To bring some perspective to my remarks about the future of South Africa, I would like to mention a few past occurrences that might influence our future. Values and goals arise from hardships. The denial, suppression or deprivation of ideals and values serves to strengthen them.

The violent death of Socrates immortalised his ideas, the death of Christ made Christianity a living reality, the suppression of freedom in 18th century France brought about a violent revolution which changed the scope and horizons of political thought in the western world.

This phenomenon is also to be found in South Africa's history. The denial of freedom and participation in the Dutch period of history, brought

about the creation of the first political movements of our country.

The suppression of the Afrikaner after British annexation resulted in the Great Trek towards freedom and the creation of independent democratic Boer republics, and the first physical separation between Afrikaner and Englishman.

The experience of violent clashes between Black and White in the 18th and 19th centuries, especially the murder of Piet Retief and his men by Dingaan's followers, resulted in a deep-seated alienation between them, and created the atmosphere of distrust which has endured up to now.

The crushing of the Boer republics by British imperialism and greed and the subsequent attempts to suppress the Afrikaans language strengthened the Afrikaner's determination to regain his political self-determination, his language and his self-respect, thereby enlarging the political gap between Afrikaner and Englishman.

The denial of the Black man's right to political self-determination and full economic participation, led to the creation of movements, sometimes violent, to gain those ideals.

What can we learn from these traumatic historical experiences that can help us to shape a better future for everyone concerned? I think we must recognise the realities of our past as an indelible fact, we must analyse the mistakes and misfortunes and try to learn from them, and we must use these lessons to acknowledge and recognise our future needs.

One of the most important lessons we can learn from our history, in South Africa, and indeed in this chaotic world we are living in, is to stop being hypocritical, and to stop applying double standards when we are dealing with the present situation in South Africa or with the present Government.

No man has ever been, or will ever be, perfect, and no system devised by man can be perfect. At present it is highly fashionable to criticise and abuse South Africa's present Government, to close an eye to the evils of our own past or of the rest of the world, and apply the standards of selective morality to the South African system.

South Africa is expected to be perfectly racial and perfectly free, in a world rife with immorality and the suppression of the freedom of almost a quarter of the world's population. South Africa is attacked and criticised on religious grounds in a world in which the World Council of Churches aids and applauds the torture, maiming and murder of innocent people in Africa and turns a blind eye towards the injustices of the Marxist world.

Is there any sense in decrying detention without trial in South Africa, when it happens in the majority of the states of the world, and has happened in our own country under other governments.

Is there any sense in "remembering Sharpeville" and forgetting the deaths of millions of

people under Marxist domination, or forgetting the death of Blacks at the hands of General Smuts by gunfire and bombing at Bulhoek and the Bondelswarts, or not remembering the deaths of 26 000 Afrikaner people during the Second Anglo-Boer War and in British concentration camps.

Is it moral to condemn the life imprisonment of Abram Fischer, while forgetting the death by firing squad of Jopie Fourie.

I do not think it is moral or justifiable, but I also think that it would be much more worthwhile for everyone in South Africa to forget the injustices of the past and build a better future for everyone based on our urgent needs of the present.

But then everyone should lay aside their present selfrighteous hypocrisy, and accept the realities of South African history and society, of Africa and the world.

Our responsibilities for the future arise out of our present realities. South Africa is a complex multi-national society, with a large variety of ethnic, linguistic and cultural groups. Neither the White nor the Black groups in South Africa have a first claim on the whole of the country.

The first Whites arrived at the Cape a few years after the first Whites settled in North America, and more than a century before the first Whites settled in Australia. Why, therefore, are the Whites in South Africa called "settlers" and not those in the USA, Canada or Australia?

The Whites in South Africa handed back to the Blacks through legislation, the areas originally occupied by them, while their fellow Europeans in North America and Australia went about destroying the indigenous peoples and cultures. Why then, is the concept of the homelands vilified and rejected?

We must all accept the presence of our fellow South Africans of all colours and creeds as being here permanently, and draw our plans for the future accordingly.

The structure of a future South Africa also arises from our multi-national society. A safe future for everyone in South Africa can only be guaranteed in a system in which every national group has full jurisdiction over its own affairs and its own peoples, and has the right and the ability to survive and develop to a high standard of living.

Why should we at great peril to all our peoples experiment with a fully integrated and enforced common society proposed by certain elements of phoney liberalism in South Africa?

We can learn from history how White people killed millions of other White minorities in the Soviet Union; how the Chinese killed millions of their fellow Chinese who did not agree with their political beliefs; how White people exterminated

Blacks when the former had the power, such as in Australia; how the Blacks killed the Indian and Arab minorities in Uganda, or how the Blacks exterminated millions of fellow Black minorities in Biafra.

Can we in South Africa afford to have millions of our own people killed in a senseless bloodshed just to prove to ourselves that history repeats itself? I do not believe that we are, or should be so naïve.

There are, of course, people and groups in South Africa who are working towards the disruption of law and order, who are either terribly naïve, or are deliberately trying to steer South Africa towards chaos. Do we need to look further than Angola to realise that Marxism has concern only for furthering its own interests, and does not care anything for the physical or spiritual well-being of individuals. And that also goes for those groups who are working under some credible or even praiseworthy disguise in South Africa to reach the same goals.

I therefore believe that the future structure of South Africa should be woven around some fair and acceptable application of the concept of multi-national development wherein final political power is not shared between the different groups.

In applying this concept in practice, the Whites who at present hold power over the whole of South Africa, should be fair and honest, and should:

- consolidate the homelands to be politically and economically viable;
- decide finally what areas are to be given to the Coloureds and Indians.
- grant to them as soon as possible full jurisdiction over their own affairs, starting with fully elected Indian and Coloured Councils;
- create consultative bodies representing all national groups to plan for the future; and
- work for the harmonising of relations between all peoples.

I agree that this is an idealistic view of the future, but only out of positive ideals can we create and shape a safe future. The future implementation of these ideals calls for dedication by all of us.

Our ideals for the future should, however, also be a reflection of our beliefs. Our beliefs should reflect what we hold to be valuable for ourselves and for others.

I believe in the maintenance of the moral and religious character of our society, based on the eternal truths of the Christian religion, but also that every man should be free to practise his own religion thereby ensuring freedom of belief.

On religious grounds I reject the basic beliefs and application of Marxism, which aims at destroying every trace of religion and all aspects of freedom of belief.

We must therefore be wary of those who, under the guise of freedom of belief, want freedom for the Marxists to operate in our country.

I believe that every person must have freedom to participate in the political process of his group. In recognising our multi-national society, this freedom must be exercised by every person within his own group, so that what the Zulu believes to be right, should not be forced upon the Venda, who might not necessarily share that belief.

Political freedom lies in the granting of political rights and responsibilities to every citizen to participate in the process of government. It does not lie in granting freedom to a person who wants to abuse that freedom to work for the overthrow of that system and replace it by an authoritarian system under which no freedom exists.

I believe in justice, and in the freedom of the courts to exercise justice. Every group in South Africa, White, Tswana or Xhosa, should therefore have its own system of law and its own courts to administer that law, ensuring no encroachment of the human rights of one group by another, guaranteeing the rights of all minorities.

I believe in the maintenance of law and order, to prevent the unnecessary suffering of the weak, and to prevent chaos and anarchy. This would also prevent the transgressing of the rights of one person by another. We must therefore be grateful to the law-enforcing agents in our country for ensuring a safe livelihood and not criticise them at every opportunity.

I believe in fairness (regverdigheid). This entails equal treatment, opportunities, recognition and respect irrespective of colour. But this must come from all sections of our community, and we must be able to speak other's language, Afrikaans or any of the Bantu languages.

I believe that South Africa is a wonderful country with wonderful people. It would therefore be a great pity if our present and future actions are such that we destroy this beauty.

Only by acting responsibly and by accepting the challenges of the future can we work towards a safe and prosperous future for everyone. Nothing has ever been achieved without sacrifice, but let us sacrifice our selfishness, hypocrisy and prejudice instead of unnecessarily sacrificing the blood of our fellow men.

On this basis I am optimistic about the future of South Africa, and the role that all the peoples of South and Southern Africa can play in building up an Africa of which every inhabitant of this continent can be truly proud.

'Often when I find the time to reflect . . . I feel a deep, excruciating pain . . . which eventually subsides and is replaced by bitterness . . .'

19-year-old Indian student.

AS a member of the youth of the day, I write with first-hand knowledge, though not of all the race groups.

Circumstances in each particular case differ and there is no basis for equating the various members of the various race groups. Even if it were possible to form a basis for a veritable equation, the individual character and mood would nullify this.

Psychologically, during one's youth one weathers many storms and those who remain stable or relatively stable seem to come out best. This is the period which decides eventually what sort of individual one later becomes.

If a great and lasting influence is exerted during this stage it may form a basis for all later acts, which may or may not be to society's satisfaction or liking.

In South Africa, which can boast of a comparatively cosmopolitan society of sorts, the youth differ from one race group to the next. Dissension is rife and integration does not seem immediately possible.

This "split" attitude causes many differences which often build up to such an extent that one could easily and with reasonable correctness label it as hate.

The political situation gives rise to many hardships which are profoundly felt by the Blacks. The Whites live in a system of emotional rigidity and inflexibility which prevents them acknowledging the reality which threatens to overtake them.

They will not face the fact that equal facilities and recreation should be provided for all race groups, which would lead to the nullification, to some extent, of the prevalent and often contagious dissent.

The White youth is given every opportunity for the betterment of his life and his future. Yet, often he appears to kick back at the system and rebel.

The Black youth, on the other hand, has got to make do with whatever he can and hope for the best.

Wouldn't it then be more realistic to suppose that if equal opportunity were given to everyone, irrespective of race, colour or creed, that one

would have a more potent and reliable society, one which could lead to harmony, peace, closer co-operation and the extermination of the dissent which so often breeds hate?

We are all human, capable of thought and susceptible to emotional strains which sometimes tend to rend the very innards from within us, and then go on and on hurting everyone in our paths whether they be innocent or not.

Often when I find the time to reflect and look back at my school days, I feel a deep, excruciating pain tear through me which eventually subsides and is replaced by bitterness, so great that gall would not be a sufficient comparison.

This deplorable emotion, if it could be so termed, evidently stems from the fact that I've seen so many people with such a great potential literally fall by the wayside because they did not have the means to proceed any further.

As the economists are all busy looking for causes of inflation and recession and other economic ills, here is one more they can add — a waste of productive potential.

The evils of inflation, recession and unemployment would diminish quite considerably if this huge reservoir of apparently "concealed" potential could be utilised and put to the best productive use, instead of having people who quite evidently are useless fill a position which does not suit them one iota, causing such a chaotic state as to throw us 10 years back in time.

There are times when I feel completely frustrated and wish the entire human race would be exterminated for the evils they practise and then maybe we would have a superior species which is capable of intelligent and logical thought.

A time when I was particularly galled and embittered was when I answered an advertisement in the daily paper which read: "Varsity Students on Vac., rewarding jobs available — apply . . ." Naturally, being on vacation and needing a job and of course being a university student, I applied.

The look on the personnel officer's face was enough to compare with Medusa's stare. He was flabbergasted to find I was not a White and almost immediately I knew my fate. He blabbered something about there being no discrimination about the vacancies already being filled. I heard this through a mist of astonishment which was slowly transformed to anger and then to hate. I'm absolutely sure I'd have gone on rampage and torn the place apart though I'm of feeble build. I had never hated anyone so much in my life as I hated the man who sat before me and all that he stood for. I felt my innards churning, not from hunger but from a mixture of pain, anger and oh-so-terrible hate.

But youth will live on and the system will change.

'It is an illusion to believe that the problems of poverty and wealth in South Africa will be solved without a radical change in the lifestyles of many White people.'

Ann Bernstein, 21, a Progressive-Reform Party supporter.

A few months ago, David Curry, the deputy leader of the Coloured Labour Party, said that "White politics is based on fear and Black politics is based on hope."

For most White South Africans that statement is all too true — their political lives are governed by an all-embracing fear of the realities of their existence in South Africa — but for some, perhaps a growing number, the future holds the potential not of a threat but of a promise.

Like the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, they confirm that they are "of Africa" but, unlike the honourable member for Nigel, they accept the consequences of this belief — that if White people are to live in Africa they will have to share power and recognise other Black Africans as their equals.

I am one of those who falls into this latter category, and it is some of the challenges and paradoxes that confront such White South Africans with which I shall attempt to come to grips here.

I believe that there is a role for liberal Whites, limited perhaps, but necessary, in determining the shape of things to come. That is the challenge facing those opposed to a discriminatory society; to map out, not only an alternative policy, but an alternative philosophy of society and the very limits of politics itself.

White people must be educated to change their most fundamental beliefs: about Black people, about themselves and about their way of ordering society.

There can be no denying that the more Whites prepared to accept the inevitable — rule by the majority of people in the country — the easier the mechanics of the transition period will be and the better for the future society.

However, to accept the relevance of an influential White liberal voice does not deny the very real dangers that beset such an opposition. The bridge across the ravine of a crippling irrelevance is narrow and dangerous.

A White political party torn between the demands necessary to maintain and increase its electoral strength and those which are a prerequisite for its continuing relevance has a difficult task. The conflict, not necessarily an inevitable one, between gaining White support

and saying what has to be said, although real is not insoluble. It is frequently an electoral advantage to be consistent and stick to one's principles whatever that cost, as Helen Suzman has done.

But, most important of all, to cloud one's policy, to fail to define the full consequences of all that one advocates, is to deny the very *raison d'être* for existence.

To come to power with an uneducated, unprepared White electorate, misled about the demands of the situation, would be disastrous.

Because the likelihood of the liberal coming to power is very remote, the primacy of his educative function must be seen as paramount.

As Colin Eglin has said: "We will make mistakes, but if we err let us err on the side of boldness and not timidity."

This is the challenge and great opportunity that confronts the White liberal — to find the best possible way to prepare Whites to accept the changes that must come and simultaneously to help propel White people towards accepting those changes as desirable.

Within this framework, however, there are numerous paradoxes and dilemmas which confront the White liberal. To give people the vote on a non-racial basis is only a means and not an end.

The question is, what will millions of newly-enfranchised voters do with this political power and how, if at all, are Whites being prepared for this eventuality?

It is an illusion to believe that the problems of poverty and wealth in South Africa will be solved without a radical change in the lifestyles of many White people. Perhaps more important, how does one communicate this without frightening back into the laager the very people one is trying to convince of the necessity for real change?

How many White liberals even contemplate or accept the consequences or possible results of what they are advocating, never mind communicate these ideas to other Whites?

To claim to be "of Africa" entails far far more than merely accepting other Black Africans as equals and partners. It entails the realisation that you are part of a continent where capitalism is fighting for its continued existence and where other means of distributing wealth are being explored and developed; it entails the realisation that Westminster-type democracy is a rarity if not non-existent throughout Africa; and finally it entails the possibility that South Africa cannot remain the haven of White colonials and their ideas for very much longer.

South Africa is a unique country on the African continent and will find its own solutions to its particular problems. To be "of Africa" does not mean to be Black, but it does entail a realisation that the problems confronting us are African ones and that the solutions to our dilemmas need not necessarily be traditionally western.

'We are not interested in detente. As far as we are concerned, it is one big fraud.'

19-year-old Coloured student.

I am going to begin with something which, as a student, has a direct effect on me — education.

What should be the function of a university? First of all it should be to advance the frontiers of knowledge through teaching and research.

It must also provide society with men and women equipped with skills that enable them to participate freely in the economic and social developments of the country.

It should also act as an instrument for the consolidation of national unity — meaning that it should oppose tribalism and encourage the exchange of ideas through being thrown open to all students who are capable of benefitting from a university education.

In this country we do not have one Black university. To refer to the tribal institutions as universities is self-deception. They are in fact educational ghettos intended to separate the Black people.

The so-called Indian, African and Coloured educational systems have been established to control Blacks.

This is why the White staff of these tribal universities are almost all Afrikaner nationalists who are determined to indoctrinate Black students to accept nationalist ideology in its entirety.

We are studying under the oppressive restrictions of a racist education. I therefore believe that education in South Africa is unashamedly political and in certain instances it becomes intolerably frustrating.

Next I want to discuss the living conditions of the Black people in South Africa and here I want to refer especially to the slum areas.

The unhygienic conditions under which our people live are the cause of many of the illnesses which prevail amongst the people in these areas. Because of Government policy there is a critical shortage of housing. Because of this many families are forced to split to find lodging. Then there are the hostels in which our people are forced by law to live apart from each other. They are deprived of the most basic human rights. Inevitably this results in a great number of illegitimate children and a great deal of venereal disease.

Poverty has become a part of these people's lives. It has in most cases brought about the lack of education, broken families and neglect. Many children have died of malnutrition. It becomes obvious that what is required for change is a complete change of the system in South Africa.

Black children have so very few recreational facilities that frustration and boredom lead them to gambling, killing and stealing. Crime in our townships is far worse than we realise or suspect. It has shocked many White people who have no knowledge of the conditions in which our Black people have to live.

It ought to be known that environment plays a very important part in a person's life. Our environment lacks almost everything that is needed — sufficient internal transport, recreational amenities, schools and adequate shopping facilities.

The lack of the necessities of life debases the quality of life.

Recently an evening newspaper carried an article on how the Black children were not allowed to join in the games at the Carlton Centre and all they could do was allow that yearning feeling to join in the games to die. This is one of the reasons why Black children turn to gangsterism and develop a criminal mentality at an early age.

The next and one of the most important points is the pass laws and influx control system. The pass laws and township regulations all serve to cause the greatest insecurity and instability. Family life depends on a permit — the right stamp in a reference book.

It is dehumanising to allow a piece of paper to be your point of departure.

These pass laws totally deprive the African section of the Black community of the most basic human rights. They are prevented from choosing employment where they wish to. They are prevented from staying where they wish to stay and consequently with whom they wish to stay.

This is about the most disgusting, disgraceful and debasing aspects of the regime. And now the establishment of rehabilitation centres! In other words our people are treated like a lot of sheep with a leash around their necks.

Our lives are dominated to the extent that we are even told what to do and how to do it. Daily, sections of our people are moved to the homelands against their will. We are told where to live whether we like it or not and then the Government speaks about detente.

We are not interested in detente. As far as we are concerned, it is one big fraud. What the Government understands by detente is the preservation of the status quo in South Africa, the acceptance of White domination by the peoples of Africa and the world. It has been proved that Mr Vorster's "Give me six months" was another big fraud.

The removal of a few apartheid notice boards and the admission of Blacks to a formerly all-White theatre do not in any way compensate for the continued raids, arrests and trials of opponents of apartheid under the notorious security laws.

The announcement that the Government plans to open in the "homelands" concentration camps

for the "re-orientation" and "rehabilitation" of persistent offenders, "idlers" and "vagabonds" who refuse to accept apartheid for their own good has effectively negated the promised independence of the so-called Bantustans.

As long as laws and regulations like these continue to be applied in South Africa there is no possibility of detente, in the Vorsterian or any other sense.

The number of people being detained daily is increasing. The system of detention without trial, solitary confinement and banning orders has proved to have a startling effect on detainees, banned people and their families, both physically and mentally.

Mr Dirk Rezelman, "Nationalist Viewpoint", (Rand Daily Mail), continually praises the Government for its excellent way of governing the country. He and his sort must definitely be suffering from myopia and therefore lacking the foresight to see any further than their White-supremacist egos.

There is no advantage in the influx control and pass law system and no advantage in rehabilitation centres and homelands.

To sum it all up there is no advantage in apartheid and any of its laws! All it does is dehumanise a people because of the colour of their skin.

What we want is a people's democracy and ultimately a truly socialist South Africa, with equal rights and opportunities for all. This is the only true detente which will bring peace to South Africa.

In conclusion, I want to sum up what I would like the country, South Africa, to be:

- A totally united and democratic country, free from all forms of oppression, discrimination, racism and exploitation.
- A country in which all people, regardless of colour, shall be entitled to take part in the administration.
- An anti-racist society.
- In this country we would have:
- The right of free movement.
- The right to work where we can.
- The right to live where we can.
- The right to restore healthy relations between the people of South Africa.
- The right to be free from all racial frustration and tension.
- The right to be free human beings.

'Ek het niks daarteen dat die meerderheid in Suid-Afrika regeer nie — maar ek wil n waarborg vir my bestaansreg hê.'

a United Party supporter.
Dick Davel, 24,

GEEN mens glo ek, kan 'n definitiewe antwoord op die toekoms van Suid-Afrika gee nie. Dit maak nie saak wie regeer en watter party aan bewind is nie, probleme sal ons altyd hê.

Suid-Afrika is 'n land van ekstrimiste, kapitaliste, konserwatisme, rasisme en barbarisme. Dit geld nie net vir blanke Suid-Afrika nie, maar vir Suid-Afrika as 'n geheel.

Kom ons gestel die Blanke rasistiese ekstrimiste moet aan bewind kom, die Herstigte Nasionale Party. Gedwange apartheid wat deur die Nasionale Party bewys is as nie beslaagd, 'n beleid van ekonomiese agteruitgang, wantroue en vyandskap. Die H.N.P. is net 'n party wat nie kan aanvaar dat hulle beleid; wat oorspronklik Nasionale beleid was, nie beslaag het nie.

Apartheid kan myns insiens om vier redes nie slaag nie. Dit sal en kan ekonomies nie slaag nie, net so kan dit polities en vredesantialwe nie slaag nie, om nie eens van strategiese redes te praat nie.

Dan kyk ons weer na die huidige regering. Ek dink hulle het hul self met die huidige toedrag van sake self bewys. Kom ons kyk maar na ons regstelsel, ekonomie, staatkundige polisie, sport en algemene staatsdepartemente soos die poskantoor, spoorwee en nie eens to praat van die onderwys nie.

Dan sien ons weer 'n meer middeweg konserwatiewe party, wat bewys lewer van demokrasie

deurdat sy beleid uit 'n fondament van breë dankwyse op bou na 'n konstruktiewe beleid nl die Verenigde Suid-Afrikaanse Nasionale Party — 'n Party wat glo in die reg van die individu; wat verskil met blanke baaskap, maar glo in blanke leierskap in die verdeling van mag onder alle mense in Suid-Afrika; 'n gesonde ekonomiese struktuur wat deur almal geniet kan word wat daartoe bydra; wegdoen met diskriminasie van vel of kleur in alle sektore, mits dit die keuse is van die betrokke instansie.

Dan sien ons hierdie nuwe linkse liberale ekstrimiste in teenstelling met die HNP — gedwange integrasie en verwerking van persoonlike keuse. Ek het niks daarteen dat die meerderheid van Suid-Afrika regeer nie — maar ek wil 'n waarborg vir my bestaanreg hê. Wat hierdie Liberale Progressiewe Party moet beseft is dat onder die ander groepe van die gemeenskap ook ekstrimiste is — die sogenaamde „Black power” en „White freedom”.

Hier will ek ook aan die hand doen dat my vriende moet 'n bietjie bestudeer hoe die swartman „freedom” sien. 'n Duidelike voorbeeld is Kenie, Angola, Zambia en ander Afriastate.

Daar is vir my as jong Suid-Afrikaner, wat my land lief het wat ek van my vaders, geërf het, wat sal lewe en sal sterwe vir my God en Valerland, net een antwoord vir 'n trotse erfenis vir my nageslag — 'n Federasie — 'n Verenigde Party aan bewind van sake.

Crossroads Baby

HOME is a tin shack, a wooden shack, a paper shack,
Burning in the summer when the sand blows hard;
Ants in the jam tin, rats in the mealie bin,
But home for the baby in his own back yard.
Home is an old hut, a mildewy and mould hut,
Bitter in the winter when the wet wind howls;
Grey fire smoking, grey sacks soaking,
But an egg for the baby from the tough old fowls.
Pappy's fishing in the bay, Mommy's gone for washing day,
Sister feeds the baby with a bent old spoon;
Everybody's trying,
So what's the use of crying?
Sitting in the sandhills, crying for the moon?

M. L. ORPEN.

● *With acknowledgement to the Cape Times, November 25, 1975.*

Two portraits of rural S. Africa

LILY HERBSTEIN

The hopeless . . .

TO get to Welcome Wood one drives past Mount Coke (about 14 km from King Williamstown) turning off to the right and after a few km reaches this most recently established re-settlement camp — situated in the usual beautiful Ciskei surroundings.

This new community of 50 families was endorsed out of a place named Riemvasmaak near Upington, as they constituted a "black spot". There are about 300 people — as usual, mostly elderly or very young.

In Riemvasmaak, I was told, they had ground and cattle but were told that they would not have ground in Welcome Wood so they got rid of whatever cattle they owned. However, they *do* have ground in Welcome Wood but of course now have no cattle!

The area is dry and barren and there is very little water. The tiny two-roomed houses, built of planks are shocking — a few that I entered had no furniture, some not even beds, and belongings were piled up in corners.

They worked together as a community and the day I was there they were busy making two tiny huts into a "creche" with a "lean-to" kitchen.

Men and women worked together mixing mud, sand and manure into a "plaster" for the walls and floors. No furniture and the social worker said he hoped to obtain some second-hand mats for the children to sit on!

There is a clinic with a Government social worker on duty and the usual fee of 20 cents which is waived when necessary (I think). There is a tiny school with three teachers — none properly qualified.

The people are desperately keen to work their land but have no farm implements or sufficient water. If they could get just *one* tractor they would work together, helping each other — as a community — but, I was told — no one wants to know their troubles!

There is no work available and no source of income at all. Border Council of Churches supplies rations. There are six taps in the camp, and a bucket system for each hut. A really horrible place that made me feel nauseous and miserable. Humans should not have to live like that.

Lily Herbstein.

. . . and the helpful

THE Zanempilo community health clinic is situated in Inyoka Location, 9 km north of King-williamstown among the beautiful Ciskei hills and valleys.

It was built by the Block Community Programmes Ltd., a welfare organisation registered in 1973 as an autonomous Black company with a board of directors. The land was leased to them at a reasonable rental by the Church of the Province.

The area is rural, populated mainly by women and children since the men go to the mines to earn a living for their families. It is very obvious that there is an urgent need for health services. A generous donation helped to start this project and today there is an excellently equipped clinic.

I was shown over this recently completed project by a charming sister and was completely overwhelmed to see what had been achieved by dedicated communal workers who believe in "self help".

The clinic has everything. It is complete with reception room, dispensary, examination rooms, maternity and labour wards, preventative medicine

lecture room, staff room, kitchen, sluice, toilets, incinerator room and a general waiting room.

I met the young, attractive and dynamic medical officer, Dr. M A Ramphele and her staff of five, Sisters Nongauza, Moletsane, Sokupa and Ngenya and Staff Nurse Qodi.

Although only a few months in operation there has been a daily attendance of 60 patients to date. Maternity cases are admitted and kept for 48 hours after confinement and patients are given pre- and post natal instruction and care and regularly attend monthly lectures.

The clinic hopes to pay its way, as a basic fee for consultation and treatment is fixed, except in cases of obvious destitution where free treatment may be considered by staff.

It was interesting to hear what the clinic hopes to accomplish — to combine curative with preventive medicine.

Curative medicine will give attention to paediatric, general medical, obstetric and minor surgical problems. Preventive medicine will take the form of an education programme, through which in-

(Continued on page 21)

A social casualty ward

ANTHONY DELIUS

Cherry Michelman: 'The Black Sash of South Africa'. 198pp. Published for the Institute of Race Relations, by Oxford University Press. £6.50.

IF ever there was a lost cause it would seem to be that of the Black Sash of South Africa. Could there have been a more pathetic belief than the one which first brought the mainly middle-class and middle-aged White women of this organisation together, that by haunting various political occasions wearing the black sash of official mourning they could bring about a moral reformation in South African public life? Their faith was that the sight of this lugubrious emblem would somehow pierce the chainmail of nationalist righteousness and prick the consciences of the country's Afrikaner rulers into shame and repentance.

Yet from such unpromising beginnings these tenacious women have struggled through 20 years of disillusion to play a unique role among the harshest realities of South African life. From the ineffectual gestures of the mid-1950s the 1200 Black Sash members who have survived cheers, mockery, and finally almost total disregard now find their main task is to be Florence Nightingales among the social casualties in the shambles of apartheid.

The course of their conversion to this reality has been traced by an American lecturer in government, Cherry Michelman, in what first saw light as a doctoral thesis. Indeed her subtitle is "A Case Study in Liberalism". Her book, however, is an absorbing account of how once politically innocent women have turned from high-minded 19th century optimism to face the more brutal confusions of the 20th century. Some of the worst of these confusions lie in and around apartheid.

One of the main aims of the apartheid or "race separation" policy is to remove as many as possible of the Black citizens, who are in the majority in every so-called "White" city in South Africa, to officially decreed "Black areas", the largely economically stagnant tribal homelands. Daily it traps thousands of Africans in bureaucratic mazes that would stagger even the imagination of a Kafka. The only light in this man-made Hades is provided by the advice officers of the Black Sash, where the members labour to extricate as many victims as they can from being "endorsed out".

These tireless women do not regard themselves, or invite others to regard them, as heroines. They are not even very hopeful that what they are

doing is ultimately going to have any influence on the future. They are inclined today to accept Pastor Niemoller's reason for his lonely resistance to the Nazis, that to do what one considers right is its own justification.

But, then again, to quote Dr Michelman, "South Africa, in spite of many alarming parallels, is not yet Nazi Germany". It has a relatively free press, law courts capable of independent action, a (White) opposition, and some sharp Black and Coloured critics still tolerated inside the country.

The Black Sash leader, Jean Sinclair, still feels that, just as increasing experience of the social realities of Black existence in South Africa has changed the views of the Black Sash over 20 years, it will change the attitudes of most of the Whites. So the Black Sash continues to show up repressive legislation, organise protests, and issue Fabian-style pamphlets advertising the miseries of the Blacks and the Coloureds under apartheid. The question is, has White South Africa got another 20 years to absorb the lessons of this re-education?

The Black Sash are sometimes accused by some of retarding revolutionary change in South Africa by softening the impact of apartheid. Certainly its members are not supporters of revolution. They believe that, at best, revolution "would exchange White racism for Black racism".

Dr Michelman speaks of the "double burden of fear" of liberals in South Africa:

They see that the political and economic repression of the non-Whites, to which the White supremacists are resorting in the name of Western civilisation, is inviting the very holocaust the Whites so openly fear. They see the spiritual degradation of the beneficiaries as well as the victims of apartheid . . .

And what goes on in so much of the rest of Africa is not helping to increase White sensitivity to Black suffering, or lessen White dread of majority rule.

Despite all distractions, the women of the Black Sash go steadily on with their self-appointed task of providing what relief they can in the conviction that "apartheid is wrong and the suffering it entails is evil".

They have little hope that their work will be justified by any events in the immediate future. But one dares to cherish greater expectation for the long-term future of humanity because there are such people.

Published by kind permission of the London Times Literary Supplement and Mr Delius.

Thoughts on economics

JOYCE HARRIS

THE choice of a guiding economic policy to be adopted by any society at any given time has been strictly limited. It has been more or less confined to capitalism with its offshoot, the welfare state, on the one hand, and socialism and communism on the other — free enterprise versus a controlled economy, with localised variations.

Each broad policy has advantages and disadvantages, but neither adequately reconciles the need for human freedom with a reasonably equitable distribution of wealth.

Capitalism has provided the incentive without which it is unlikely that the world would have achieved that degree of material progress it presently enjoys. It has encouraged personal ambition — in itself a very strong motivating force — and has created the opportunities for free self-determination and the liberty of the individual, confined though it may be by the limitations of his own wealth or poverty.

It has worked very well in the developing world, which needed initiative to explore and use resources and individual courage to open up new horizons, both of which have been stimulated by potential rewards for efforts made.

It is in the nature of man to require recognition for services rendered — be it material acquisitions or the boosting of morale — and as technical progress has created more desirable goods which become increasingly available with wealth, the motivation to acquire wealth has grown stronger.

This in turn has stimulated those with ambition, initiative and ability, who have become the leaders of the capitalist world.

But capitalism has created a world where the distribution of wealth is very uneven. More and more money has accumulated in fewer and fewer hands, though this tendency has been controlled to a certain extent by the gradual growth of worker power and the emergence of trade unions to protect the workers' rights of freedom from exploitation.

In a profit-motivated society the entrepreneur aims for high prices and low costs, and while rising prices are controlled to some extent by free competition the workers, who are an integral part of the cost structure, have needed organisation to protect themselves.

But trade unions, while providing security of job and wages for the worker, seem also to have sapped his incentive to get on with the job. Unlike his employer, he is not stimulated by the profit motive, and the protection afforded him tends to lead to a running battle between employer and employee to the detriment of both themselves and the economy.

The welfare state is an offshoot of capitalism, where the right to free enterprise is recognised

but where the wealthy are heavily taxed in order to subsidise the poor, to such an extent that the incentive of both is killed.

The entrepreneur considers himself insufficiently rewarded and the worker has no motivation to work because all his needs are taken care of by the state. This is more or less a free enterprise economy with a less inequitable distribution of wealth, but it lacks the driving force of reward for effort on the one hand and the need to work on the other.

The distinction between socialism and communism is a fine one, though both are totally opposed to capitalism.

The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary defines socialism as "a theory or policy of social organisation which advocates the ownership and control of the means of production, capital, land, property, etc., by the community as a whole, and their administration or distribution in the interests of all".

Communism is "a theory of society according to which all property should be vested in the community and labour organised for the common benefit".

Capitalism, on the other hand, is "the condition of possessing capital or using it for production; a system of society based on this; dominance of private capitalists".

Socialism can apparently creep up on capitalism, with large and complicated economies requiring more organisation and a developing social conscience demanding a more equitable distribution of wealth.

More industries are nationalised. There is an increase in state control, a growth of bureaucracy. The insidious erosion of individual freedom leads eventually to total erosion until the system might well be equated with communism.

Communism, of the Marxist genre, has as its guiding light the ideal of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need", which takes it out of the realm of pure economics into the field of sociology.

The idealism is orientated towards the interlocked needs of the individual and society and the economy is geared accordingly. But who judges ability, who judges needs?

The concept of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is unworkable, because power is inevitably wielded by the few. In such an interlocked unity of the state and its citizens there is a total loss of personal freedom.

Such a system might be to the advantage of the masses for there is, at least theoretically, equality of opportunity — something which is lacking in a capitalistic society — but opportunity itself is

limited by the so-called needs of the state, controlled from above.

Individual initiative is stifled under such a system and individual freedom does not exist, though there is undoubtedly a far more equitable distribution of wealth.

It would appear that no system yet devised can reconcile the retention of individual freedom and rewards for initiative while still creating equality of opportunity and reducing the gap between wealth and poverty. How can this be achieved without stifling the motivation to work, to create, to earn?

The technological age has created a world too complicated, too vast, too inter-related, too thickly-populated to allow for the *laissez faire* of a purely capitalistic society. More control is needed to guide the sick and struggling world economy and to provide for the hungry, but at the same time individual freedom and the opportunity to exploit his own potential is too valuable an asset for man to lose in the interests of control.

Given the thesis of capitalism and the anti-thesis of communism, it is yet possible that a new synthesis might emerge, a welding together of the two systems combining the best elements of both.

Already it is evident that the Western world is beginning to call for more conformity and to exercise more control, while in Soviet Russia, at least, there are indications that citizens are seeking more personal freedom.

Perhaps a new system will evolve historically, but can mankind afford to wait for this, while economies collapse and various threats of confrontation of one kind and another can erupt into an awful reality at any time?

Surely thought must be given, here and now, to devising a way of life that can meet all the pressing needs of our time.

One inescapable truth is that men are not born equal, but come into this world with varying attributes and abilities which they proceed to employ with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

All are entitled to equality of opportunity, but not all can or even care to achieve equality, and this must be recognised so that people are entitled to enjoy the fruits of their endeavours. If they are not permitted to do this they will cease to try.

Unless fruits other than material ones can be devised, it seems inevitable that wealth must continue to be unequal, though extremes such as those common in the capitalistic world are clearly undesirable.

Might it not be possible to control extremes of wealth by abolishing all, or a major percentage of, inherited wealth? It is fair and just that a man should be able to accumulate wealth in his own lifetime through his own efforts, should be so desire. It is not fair and just that some members of the next generation should receive a head-start which is unearned.

Instead of being passed on to a few privileged individuals, could accumulated wealth not perhaps be used, at the end of a lifetime, to finance the provision of equality of opportunity for all, with everything that this implies?

Might it not be wise to abolish the easy credit system, so that people could only buy what they could afford to pay for? This would be an incentive to work, for the technological world provides much that is materially desirable. But a hefty reduction in the availability of easy credit might help to control that periodic inflation which is endemic to capitalism.

People should be free to choose the work they do, and should be rewarded for doing it well, so that advancement is an attainable objective. But the maintenance of a profit system would make it essential that a minimum wage be laid down to prevent any undue exploitation.

Perhaps what applies to people could also be applied to countries. In this increasingly inter-dependent world could there not be one unified monetary system to simplify exchange and trade, and to allow for a more even distribution of resources and earned wealth?

Mankind can no longer afford the law of the jungle in international affairs. It is too dangerous.

It is obvious that these suggestions are simplistic in the extreme and are wide open to criticism. They can undoubtedly be torn to shreds by theoretical and practical economists. But they are tentative, and are put forward with deep humility merely to provoke thought — the more expert and educated, the better.

The over-riding problem appears to be the creation of order without the destruction of liberty in all spheres of life including the economy . . . truly a challenge to man's ability and ingenuity.



African socialism

PAUL RICH

Mr Rich is a lecturer in African Government in the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

CRUCIAL to the understanding of contemporary political trends in the African continent are the ways that different African states seek, in the era of post-colonialism, to transform their societies.

One of the most important of these strategies of transformation is the ideology of African socialism which has become the official ideology of such countries as Tanzania, Zambia, Senegal and Kenya. It is the purpose of this article to analyse this ideology and to assess its relevance in current African political change.

The first important feature of African socialism is that it has largely grown up as a means of resisting the intrusion of Marxism into the African continent. This may possibly surprise many people in South Africa where there has been a tendency to equate "socialism" with "communism" but in actual practice African socialists have rejected the tenets of communism as merely another form of colonialism.

Marx, after all, was a western thinker and the Soviet Union is a European power: there is thus no inherent reason why African states should seek to thrust off one type of colonialism to merely take on another.

In addition, the leaders of the independent nations in Africa have been influenced, to a very considerable extent, by the values of the former colonial powers: President Senghor of Senegal is a French-speaking Roman Catholic; President Nyerere of Tanzania is also a Catholic with a degree from Edinburgh University, while President Kaunda of Zambia, educated at a mission school, is also a Christian with "humanist" inclinations. None of these men can, in the slightest way, be described as "communists" or as having communist leanings.

African socialism, therefore, should be seen as rather an indigenous attempt by various African leaders to develop a distinctly "African" path of economic and political development. While colonialism has obviously left an indelible mark on their societies, it is now thought that a return should be made to traditional African values of the era before the advent of colonialism in the last quarter of the 19th century.

This has been especially the view of Nyerere of Tanzania who has developed the concept of "Ujamaa" socialism, a term borrowed from Swahili, as a means of transforming Tanzanian society. The emphasis here is on the traditional role of the village and the rural community in African life which is summed up by "Ujamaa" or "familyhood". This type of community, Nye-

rere says, is really socialist and can thus be upheld as the model of development to be impressed on people's minds:

"Socialism — like democracy — is an attitude of mind. In a socialist society it is the socialist attitude of mind, and not the rigid adherence to a standard political pattern, which is needed to ensure that the people care for each other's welfare". (1)

This view of socialism is very different to Marxist doctrine where socialism is only seen as capable of being attained through class struggle and the victory of the exploited classes — the workers and the peasants — over the exploiting classes of landlords and capitalists.

Nyerere does not deny the actual existence of classes in society but he argues that these classes exist more through social outlook than through objective social conditions:

"Destitute people can be potential capitalists — exploiters of their fellow human beings. A millionaire can equally well be a socialist; he may value his wealth only because it can be used in the service of his fellow men. But the man who uses wealth for the purpose of dominating any of his fellows is a capitalist". (2)

"Ujamaa" socialism as a consequence is very much concerned with the transformation of people's attitudes in Tanzania.

To this extent, it can be compared with Maoist ideology in China where, through repeated "cultural revolutions", the Chinese peasantry has been exhorted to abandon bourgeois and individualist values in favour of communism. But here, I think, the analogy ends.

Nyerere has sought to impose on the Tanzanian peasantry a strategy of "Ujamaa" villages whereby the peasantry, through a system of co-operatives, will attain a higher agricultural output.

In 1967, he announced the famous "Arusha Declaration" which sought a policy of "self-reliance". It was recognised that Tanzania could not rely on grants of aid from Western countries in order to develop her economy: this aid was neither predictable nor desirable since it produced a dependent mentality.

The only strategy that was open to Tanzania was to mobilise what resources she already had and to obtain a higher output through the exertions of her populace. As a result, therefore, the Arusha Declaration saw Tanzania as involved

"in a war against poverty and oppression" (3) and a heavy emphasis was laid on hard work.

"Let us go to the villages", the Declaration went on "and talk to our people and see whether or not it is possible for them to work harder" (4). This was what, in fact, Nyerere has tended to do and in 1967 he went on a famous march through the countryside in an attempt to mobilise the peasantry to newer feats of economic achievement.

This stress in African socialism on the role of hard work is another distinguishing feature. There is almost a puritan obsession with the moral value of work which is quite unlike the welfare state type of socialism in the West. Though Nyerere and Kaunda have always been quite friendly to the Labour Party of Harold Wilson in Britain (in 1964 they stayed up late with ears glued to the radio listening to the election results when Harold Wilson defeated the Tories under Sir Alec Douglas-Home), there, again, the analogy ends.

None of the African states at present can possibly afford to finance a welfare state and they are not, in fact, trying to espouse that kind of socialism. Their objectives can rather be seen as trying to *avoid* many of the mistakes of contemporary industrialised societies and to seek some completely different way of economic development.

In this respect, the ideas of President Leopold Senghor of Senegal are very interesting. Senghor has been very much influenced by French metropolitan culture: in the 1930s he studied in Paris where, together with other alienated Black intellectuals, he helped form the concept of "negritude" as a means of maintaining a Black identity in a culture where it looked like being completely swallowed (as Sartre was to say, negritude was a kind of "anti-racist racism").

Senghor was also influenced by Marxist ideas in a period (the 1930s) where leftist ideas were growing in their influence in the struggle against fascism. But he absorbed Marxism only to reject it.

African societies, he said, do not necessarily have to go through the same kind of class conflict as European societies have done. Like Nyerere, Senghor also stresses the traditional communal values in what he calls "Negro-African Civilisation" which lead to the formation of a distinct culture that can transcend class divisions. This means that Marxism cannot fully interpret African realities:

"West African realities are those of underdeveloped countries — peasant countries here, cattle countries there — once feudalistic, but traditionally classless and with no wage earning sector. They are community countries where the group holds priority over the individual; they are especially, religious countries, unselfish countries, where

money is not king. Though dialectical materialism can help in analysing our societies, it cannot fully interpret them". (5)

This has led Senghor to develop a socialist ideology that pays obeisance to traditional African values.

In his poetry, Senghor has sought to define these values of "mother Africa". Here the consumer values of Western capitalism are rejected since they lead to the alienation of the individual from his surrounding society (Senghor spent a period in New York where he felt this especially strongly). The quest is, rather, for a return to the traditional and earthy values of rural life personified in his poem to the "Black Woman":

"Naked woman, black woman
Clothed with your colour which is life, with
your form which is beauty!
In your shadow I have grown up; the gentleness
of your hands was laid over my eyes
And now, high up on the sun-baked pass, at
the heart of summer, at the heart of noon,
I come upon you, my Promised Land,
And your beauty strikes me to the heart like
the flash of an eagle" (6)

This stress on "Blackness" and "Negritude" has always played a vital role in Senghor's thought in a period when ideas on "black consciousness" did not really exist. As such, Senghor has sought, as President of Senegal, to make a major contribution to the development of African culture: Dakar, the capital, for example, has been the mecca for a number of African artists and writers as well as various arts and film festivals.

In the years after independence in 1960, however, Senghor has also been confronted with the problems of economic development and there has been an increasing emphasis on "technicity" and the values of technology. In some ways, this can be seen as a shift from his earlier views and, indeed, an original strategy of "animation" in Senegal, which would mobilise the masses in Senegal on lines similar to "Ujamaa" socialism, has been halted.

The result has been, in fact, a depoliticisation of development in Senegal and the system has become increasingly bureaucratised through such organisations as the *Centres Regionaux pour le Developpement* (CRAD) and the *Centres for Rural Expansion* (CER) which have gradually taken on a life of their own. Whether there will be an eventual unfreezing and a return to rural mobilisation remains to be seen, but so far Senghor's strategy has not been so successful in its emphasis on African socialism as Nyerere's.

The failure, by and large, of Senghor's strategy also raises certain general questions on the very nature of African socialism. It seems, in fact, to be increasingly confronted with the more radical ideas of the Marxist left which, of course, have

been given a tremendous boost by the Frelimo victory in Mozambique.

Perhaps the central weakness of African socialism is its inability to recognise the existence of classes in African society. It has come to be recognised by many observers and analysts of the African scene that independence for African states since the early 1960s has not brought all the fruits that were expected.

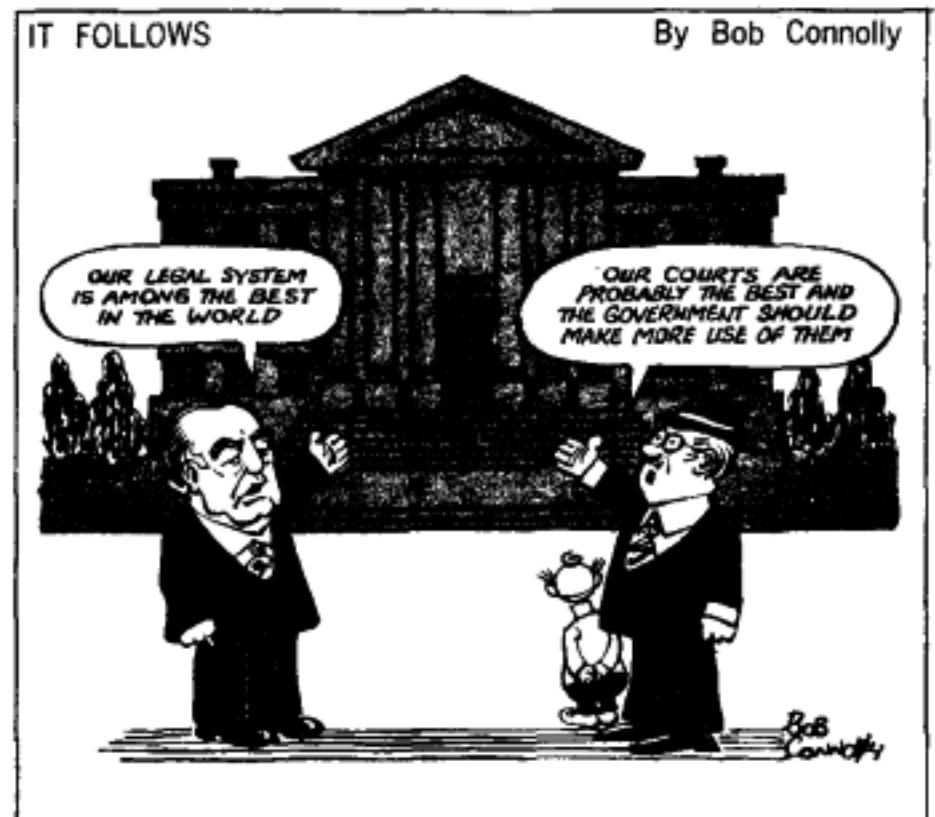
When the initial euphoria of independence had worn off, it was realised that the economics of most African states were still largely in foreign hands; hence the charge by Nkrumah of "neo-colonialism", a term that has now entered general usage. Any successful strategy for economic development, therefore, had to confront the structures that maintained neo-colonial domination.

It is in this respect that we must therefore judge African socialism for the most part a failure. For these neo-colonial structures depend on the maintenance of certain classes which extract profits from the economy and repatriate them to overseas investors. In Kenya, for example, the overseas control of many sectors of the economy, like manufacturing has increased since independence.

The response of African socialism to this challenge has been largely a populist one: the people are seen as an homogenous unit and development has been undertaken in an organic sense, thus perpetuating the very classes that inhibit economic development.

Until a more radical strategy is evolved, and there are now signs of this in the case of Tanzania, African socialism is probably doomed to repeat the mistakes of other societies in other continents; industrialisation and economic development will bring problems of class conflict, pollution and rural-urban disparities that may in only a very long-run-sense lead to a net improvement in the human condition.

1. *J Nyerere — Ujamaa, Essays on Socialism — OUP Eastern Africa, 1968, p. 1.*
2. *Nyerere, op cit, p. 1.*
3. *The Arusha Declaration — 5 February 1967.*
4. *op cit.*
5. *Leopold Sedar Senghor — On African Socialism — New York, Frederick A Praeger, 1964, p. 77.*
6. *In John Reed and Clive Wake (eds) — Senghor, Prose and Poetry — London, OUP, p 105.*



VIEWPOINT

The editors of Sash invite readers to contribute to this column. Comment on, and criticism and discussion of articles appearing in Sash will be welcomed. Personal points of view are stimulating and interesting to others, and the problems besetting the world in general and South Africa in particular demand the provocation of thought.

Woman talk

SHEENA DUNCAN

*Ms Duncan takes a look at women and South African politics in her speech to the International Convention of Women in Grahamstown in December . . .
. . . and focuses on the pros and cons of the Convention as a whole.*

I have three quotations:

'It is not necessary for women to serve on a Committee if we want to sound the conscience of a nation?'

'I prefer to believe that woman is in fact a component of man.'

'if one had to go merely according to sex, any legislation would lose some of its values. Why then, should a certain number of ladies not be included on any select committee?'

These remarks are not from records of 18th century speeches, but are statements made in our own Parliament in February 1975 in the debate on the Abortion and Sterilisation Bill.

I had intended to speak this afternoon on male attitudes to women in politics, and how these attitudes prevent us from playing a really effective part in political dialogue.

The attitude blatantly verbalised in these quotations is more often expressed in a courteous tolerance which disguises a complete disregard of female opinion as a political factor.

In other western countries no candidate for public office would dare to so disregard the opinions and voting power of over 50 per cent of the electorate. It would be political death for him to do so.

But we have asked for it, and I feel we should instead spend some time in discussing how our own attitudes as women prevent us from having any meaningful role in shaping the future of this country.

I speak as a White South African and, because the overwhelming majority of us here are White, I am addressing myself to you as White women.

We have asked for our opinions to be disregarded in this country by the way in which we have failed to recognise our own role as political units.

We have chosen to opt out of the political arguments which rage about us.

We have chosen to be political half-wits and have not shouldered our responsibility to take part in shaping the society of the future.

To substantiate this statement, I want to use only two illustrations because I hope to be brief in order to allow time for discussion.

The first is from our experience (that is the Black Sash) as a political organisation in International Women's Year here in South Africa.

During this year, women's groups have organised endless meetings, seminars and exhibitions, and on several occasions these groups have objected to the Black Sash being invited because we are political. Sometimes we have been asked to attend as individuals and not as representatives of our organisation, because Politics with a capital "P" must not on any account be introduced. We are accused of being "political" as if this were some sort of crime.

There are several petitions on women's disabilities doing the rounds at the moment, and it is quite astonishing how many women will say: "I quite agree with you but I cannot sign anything that is going to the Government" OR "I must ask my husband first".

We are told that the place for politics is in Parliament as if our elected representatives found themselves in their seats there, by some process of osmosis, and, once they are there, are no longer answerable to the people for whom they legislate.

Women in this country do not recognise that, whatever field they work in, whether it be as housewives, in community development, in welfare, in education, family planning, the administration of law, or medicine — whatever they do or are able to do, is shaped and limited by legislation — legislation which is the final result of a *political* process and which gives legal expression to a particular *political* ideology.

In other countries, it is recognised that members of the public, men and women alike, have the right, and the duty, to limit the powers of the lawmakers, to lobby for legislation to be repealed, alerted, expanded or formulated in different terms, but here we are content to leave it to the party politicians to decide the fabric of our lives.

As consumers, taxpayers, mothers, patients or pupils, everything we do is decided by the

political debate. Why should we opt out and feel entitled to leave it all to be decided by the professional politicians?

The second illustration is closely connected with the first and is another indication of our failure as women. It arises out of one of the seminars at this convention yesterday.

A member of the audience registered an objection to the address of one of the speakers in the following terms: "I strongly object to Mrs Naidoo's address, because it is an attack on the Government".

The objector was clearly giving expression to the opinions of a significant percentage of the audience, and this illustrates what I am trying to say. The Government, any government, here or in any other country, is a collection of politicians who, for purely political reasons, act in a certain way to give practical expression to political ideas.

By standing for election and seeking power, they invite political criticism, and it is not a crime or treasonable to offer such criticism. It is our duty to do so.

To act in any other way is to abrogate our responsibility as citizens, and to invite the kind of dictatorship we most abhor when it exists in other countries, for example in communist countries in Eastern Europe.

It is precisely because such governments are not responsive to criticism by members of the public that we fear them so much, and it is because they are not vulnerable to defeat by democratic processes that we condemn them. Those problems in which we are all involved here are political problems and political solutions must be found.

Are we, as South African women, going to be content to dish out palliatives without at the same time seeking the political solutions which would make the palliatives unnecessary?

Jane Raphaely said yesterday that it is a well-known fact that bad news sells newspapers, but that women's magazines sell only if they present a rose-tinted view of life.

Are we content to be thus condemned?

ANY assessment of the Convention must necessarily be subjective, and there will no doubt be almost as many different judgements as there were delegates. With close on 800 participants, and a very crowded programme, it is impossible to come to any comprehensive over-all view.

For a Convention of Women in International Women's Year, the average age was astonishingly high, and what Professor Margaret Mead refers to as post menopausal zest, was sadly lacking.

We were a very passive audience waiting to be fed and not much concerned to feed back, and when Emily O'Meara, full of enthusiasm from the Mexico Convention, prefaced her address with

a "right on girls!" she might have been exhorting a gathering of male chauvinists for all the response she received.

We were all too smart, and much too formal. Our name-tags labelled us as Mrs X, Browns and Miss Y, Smiths and Christian names were undiscoverable, which is odd at any kind of conference these days.

The urinals in the Gents were bedecked with potted plants and bouganvillea, and the no doubt apocryphal story went the rounds, of the woman quartered in a male university residence, who said that it was all very comfortable, but she could not get near enough to the wall in the showers to get wet all over!

Sexism was hardly mentioned. Only one hour in the whole week was devoted to the subject of feminist action, and one of the small group of young feminist activists was overheard to say that if she heard the word "tea" once more, she'd scream.

We did eat endless meals, and drink tea and coffee for interminable hours, from 8 o'clock to 9.30 am; breakfast; through 10.30 to 11.15 am, tea; through 12.15 to 2.30 pm, lunch; through 3.30 to 4.15 pm, tea; to 5.30 pm when some of us made a thankful dive for alcoholic refreshment prior to 6.30 pm dinner.

It is true that at conferences some of the most useful contacts are made, and the most stimulating discussions take place over meal breaks, and it is enormously difficult to get 800 people into their seats in the right auditorium at the right time for the next session.

The organisers did a grand job with everything going like clockwork, but it so often happened that, just as discussion looked like getting off the ground with a degree of interest and audience participation, it was tea time again.

Each day was divided into four one-hour sessions, and in no case did the subject matter of one session follow on the one before, so that a summary of the week becomes a series of unfinished thoughts, undeveloped ideas and unanswered questions.

There were many stimulating addresses from outstanding women with brilliant minds, and we did long to be able to prolong these sessions to discuss and debate the ideas they laid before us.

Conflict arose early on in the week with the good old South African custom of labelling all facts we don't want to hear as "politics". It was OK to thank the Government for all it has done in the sphere of Black education or to cheer the new Chairman of the Coloured Representative Council, but not OK to detail differentiated spending on education in different race groups, or to mention the Group Areas Act.

You were OK if your organisation received its directives from Holy Scripture, but not OK if you were a political pressure group. It is very OK to say that you work for the removal of

legal, economic and social disabilities of women, but not at all in order if you actually want to do something about the dreadful disabilities suffered by Black women.

So the conflict grew through Tuesday and Wednesday, expressed more in the conversation of like-minded groups during tea breaks than in the more healthy open forum of the sessions. In response to the escalating ill-feeling, the organisers (full credit to them for being able to make arrangements at such short notice), scheduled a special lunch-time session to allow people who were not featured on the official programme a chance to speak.

Most women there came away from this session feeling that all had been smoothed over, so maybe it is unreasonable of me to complain, but I received a strong impression that we talked *past* each other, not *to* each other, so we thankfully cheered the two delegates who denied that there was a conflict at all and blamed the Press for

making it all up. We had found a scapegoat.

We did not resolve anything, but took refuge in our shared courtesy to leave it there. Probing each other's wounds had just before too painful.

There were relatively few Black women there, and those who did come were not on the whole representative of radical Black thinking. Radical women had refused the invitations, or withdrew at the last minute.

This is part of the reason for the feeling of depression with which I left Grahamstown. If we cannot even bear to hear the truth when voiced in quiet and gentle voices, how will we encounter the truth when it is shouted at us?

So many women were saying what a wonderful week it was, and how wonderful it was that we, Black and White, had lived together, eaten together and talked together for the first time.

The trouble is that it is too late for first times, and we are overshadowed by the fear that the first time will also be the last time.

Jean Sinclair

The election of Jean Sinclair by readers of the Johannesburg evening newspaper, The Star, as Woman of the Year, is a tribute indeed.

And the honour is all the greater because it was bestowed by a spectrum of women, most of them, probably, uncommitted, some, perhaps, even hostile to the principles for which the Black Sash and Jean Sinclair stand.

It is recognition of determination and dedication, of care and concern, the qualities for which Jean is admired and loved by everyone who knows her.

The Black Sash is proud that Jean's years of hard work have culminated in so fitting an accolade.

Eulalie Stott

The Black Sash is also proud that one of its longest-serving and most active members, Mrs Eulalie Stott, has been elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Cape Town City Council, which makes her one of the five managers of the Cape Town Municipality. This is well-merited recognition for services rendered, and we congratulate both Mrs Stott and the Cape Town City Council.

The Press—its deeds and misdeeds

*A report of a talk delivered to the Transvaal Region by Mr Benjamin Pogrund,
Assistant Editor of the Rand Daily Mail.*

SOME months ago the following letter, written by a Black Sash member, Barbara Waite, appeared in the Rand Daily Mail under the heading "Press nurtures public apathy".

"With reference to your rather sneering and superior attitude in your leader (August 4) with regard to public apathy surrounding detentions without trial, I feel the Press is entirely to blame. The way you present the facts is abominable.

"On July 30 you published a minute account on an inside page concerning the removal of Gaby van Rensburg from her home in Coronationville on July 17, and about her friend Belinda a week or two previously.

"Publicity is the *ONLY* protection these two young women have — the law is no protection in this country.

"You certainly did not trace her as missing, the information was fed to you by the Black Sash.

"There was absolutely nothing in your miserable little account to convey her terror before she was detained. There was nothing to arouse any public sympathy for or indignation on behalf of her elderly parents, who are utterly distraught.

"Her father is desperately ill but he is being given no reason for the removal of his only child. They are heartbroken, terrified and completely intimidated — so much so that they fear even to consult a lawyer.

"There is no indication of the relentless intimidation of these ex-pupils of Coronationville High School by the Security Police since Republic Day last year.

"You nurture and encourage public apathy. Perhaps if Gaby and Belinda were White students at Wits, with homes in the Northern suburbs, you would consider the matter warranted a front-page story."

Mr Pogrund said the writer of the leader was particularly upset by the criticism, as he had written it from the heart and had had no intention of appearing "sneering and superior" — (which goes to show how the means of communication fail even when employed by professionals).

While concurring that there was no defence of the way in which the story was run, Mr Pogrund indicated that there is a very big step between obtaining information and publishing it.

Facts have to be established, which is a major problem. On an issue such as detention it is difficult to persuade people to talk. They are frightened. Nor are the police forthcoming.

In reply to Mrs Waite's implied demand that the Press should run propaganda material in order to elicit sympathy, Mr Pogrund pointed out that, while it might be a political decision to highlight any particular news item, it is passing the buck unfairly to the Press to expect them to solicit sympathy-rousing news.

It is very difficult to continue to run stories on detentions, because the longer something goes on the less newsworthy it is.

It is no longer an event and people switch off. This is the hard reality of the news.

However, Mr Pogrund admitted that the letter had focused attention on the role of a newspaper in a community, and he remarked that this was a matter of particular interest to the Black Sash for whom publicity for its various causes was of great importance.

He pointed out that there are two types of newspapers. There are propaganda papers such as those to be found in authoritarian states or those with a very particular and narrow viewpoint such as some of the Nationalist papers, which were now changing, and those with a particular stance which yet try to provide the broadest possible spectrum of news, such as the Rand Daily Mail.

However space is limited, and an enormous mass of news has to be distilled.

Relativity is the essence of news. There is relativity in magnitude — the importance of one item of news in relation to another.

There is geographical relativity — items of news change in importance in relation to where the particular newspaper is sited.

There is relativity in individual attitudes of those who sort the news — a matter of differing priorities.

And there is relativity of the context in which events are occurring which might give certain items an edge over others.

A discussion of the function of newspapers poses an interesting question: who should be entitled to decide what readers should know and to pass value judgements in editorials? In theory it is illogical for the Press to be privately held and profit-making. Ideally it should be in state hands, but in practice this creates devastating problems.

The Press functions best when it is privately owned. A better, more rounded picture of events is presented, although personal prejudices still intrude. This is inevitable, for people are involved. There is no satisfactory definition of "objectivity" — that word that dogs the footsteps of every journalist and causes much agonising.

Mr Pogrand preferred the word "dispassionate" though he found himself hard-pressed to define that too.

The Rand Daily Mail attempts to control the personal prejudices of its staff members through the creation of a series of filters through which the news is processed. There are always people looking over other people's shoulders, so that there is a constant attempt to maintain balance at all times.

News selection is a matter of professional training, and experience provides an awareness of what is news and what is not. There is a deliberate intention to put forward news that will sell papers — a very necessary approach if a paper is to survive, particularly in South Africa with its small reading public. But obviously this is not the only type of news that a paper will publish.

In this country newspapers must be all things to all men and editors must walk a tightrope in an effort to keep all types of readers satisfied.

Press people suffer constant anxiety about whether they are really in touch with the public; with what they want; with trends of thought, while at the same time having to consider whether a newspaper must follow or lead.

It is part of the community it serves, and must be careful about getting too far ahead of its readers.

There are constant tensions on a newspaper — good, inter-active tensions between newspaper people which help to maintain an even keel. As different influences are brought to bear a newspaper will veer around to some extent. In addition there is the plethora of laws restricting what the Press may publish, and the pressures from the Government which arise from time to time.

Newspapers like a first-class mix of politics, crises, crimes, rapes, disaster — these are what sell — and of course all these matters taken together reflect existence.

All newspapers have their own special interests. The Rand Daily Mail is particularly concerned with such matters as poverty, wages, the

pass laws and other allied topics, and this influences its choice of material in the news and feature articles.

Mr Louis Luyt's recent attempt to gain control of SAAN has served to remind the public of the importance of a free Press, imperfect though the Press may be.

The tensions and anxieties aroused by this attempt caused newspaper people to wonder whether the Rand Daily Mail was worthwhile preserving and whether it can achieve enough, and the feeling was very strong that it was still meaningful. The public will surely endorse that feeling.

● *Barbara Waite's letter is published here by kind permission of the Rand Daily Mail.*

Two portraits of rural South Africa

(Continued from page 10)

formation regarding health matters will be given to the community by means of personal contact and through lectures and demonstrations.

Patients attend Monday to Wednesday from 8 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. Patients are also visited in Ginsberg Location, Kingwilliamstown, a few kilometres away from the clinic on Thursday afternoons, and at Ugwenya-Middledrift on Friday mornings.

Water was a major problem and initial expense was involved in prospecting for water, which fortunately after much searching was struck near the site and piping laid on in time for construction to start on schedule.

The Zanempilo Clinic is a significant step taken by a Black voluntary agency and it is hoped that it will be followed by other similar projects. Like all other voluntary organisations the clinic is heavily dependant on grants and donations for its work.

Zanempilo is a splendid example of dedicated community work and all those concerned are to be congratulated on succeeding in achieving a project which will benefit many of the poor and destitute Black people in those areas.

Rocklands Beach

○ ON a hot summer Sunday afternoon I lie upon this little beach
Children and parents dip in and out the sea, others enjoy a picnic tea.
Yachts and speedboats passing by, gulls awheeling in the sky.
I should be thankful and serene, enjoying the beauty of this scene
But my mind is a turmoil of despair — why me down here those up there?
Where well-dressed dark people line the rails and longingly upon us gaze.
You men who enact our laws — pause.
How would it be if your children and you lined those walls?
And they ask, "Why can't we go down, Daddy?"
What would your answer be?

"RSB"

Johannesburg Advice Office

Report for February to October, 1975.

IN October 1974, Mr Punt Janson, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, said "bad housing means irritation. Irritation means bitterness, and it all escalates into terrorism."

Over the past two years we have approached the Director of Development for the West Rand Administration Board, the Chairman of the Board and the Minister of Bantu Administration in attempts to point out to them the horror of what is happening in Alexandra. We have tried to help many individuals to prevent the total disruption of their family lives which is caused by the order to move into the hostel and to "send your children away".

Some of these people have sought legal advice. Members of the opposition in Parliament have tried to intervene. But nothing has been achieved. The destruction goes on.

If a family has no male head or if there is a male head who does not qualify for permanent urban residence in terms of Section 10(1)(a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act the people have no choice when the roof and walls are bulldozed around them but to obey the order to separate and move into the hostels, or to add to the existing overcrowding in Soweto by seeking a room in which they may lodge in a house usually already overfull.

Not all the people whose cases are outlined below appear in the statistics for the shortage of accommodation. Some do not qualify to get on to the waiting list for a house.

If the true figures for homeless people in the urban areas were known they might shock the Administration Board, the Government and the White public into taking the necessary emergency measures.

We are in a crisis situation and Mr Janson's words should be taken very seriously indeed.

MISS M E M has three children and lives with them in Alexandra where she was born. The children all have birth certificates to prove that they were born in Alexandra and she herself has an endorsement in her reference book acknowledging that she has a 10(1)(a) right to be in Alexandra because she was born there and has always lived there. But she is a woman so does "not qualify" for family accommodation. She has been told to get married or to move into the hostel and to "think of something to do with your children".

MRS E T has been deserted by her husband. She is in registered employment in Johannesburg and lives in Alexandra with her two children. She has been told to move into the hostel and

receives no reply when she asks what she must do with her children.

MRS N is a widow who has occupied her house lawfully with her two adult daughters and their children. Now the Superintendent has cancelled the children and grandchildren from the permit and compelled each daughter to take a separate lodger's permit with their children enumerated on the respective lodger's permits. The old lady remains the only person on the actual residential permit and between them the two daughters must pay the increased rent for the house plus R2 a month extra for the lodger's permits.

MR. M R M has been ordered to vacate his house because his wife has gone temporarily to the Transkei to look after her aged and ill father.

MRS M S R is a widow. When her husband died, her son took over the house. Her son died last year and his wife became the permit holder. She has turned Mrs R out of the house and makes her sleep in the garage. Mrs R cannot find any alternative accommodation.

MRS W M M is a widow who qualifies to be in Johannesburg in terms of Section 10(1)(b) because she has worked as a domestic for the same employer since 1963. Her home is in Dordrecht where she purchased a plot of land in 1956 and built a house. She left her young sister there to look after her four children because Mrs M was then the sole breadwinner for the whole family and had to leave home to find work. She has paid the site rent for the house every year. Her eldest daughter is now 22 and the younger three children — two boys and a girl — are still at school. There is also a two-year-old grandchild. On September 2 Mrs M received a notice posted by the township manager in Dordrecht on August 27 that her family must vacate the house by September 20 because she works elsewhere and has lost her rights to be in Dordrecht.

MR L S lives lawfully in Soweto with his wife and seven children but his mother, who was the registered tenant of the house, has died and he and his family have been ordered to vacate the house and find lodgings because he does not qualify as 10(1)(b).

MRS E M M lives in the Meadowlands transit camp with her customary husband and nine children. She shares one room with two other married couples and their families. She has rights to remain in Johannesburg in terms of Section 10(1)(a) but because she is a woman and her husband is a foreigner, they do not qualify even to go on the waiting list for a house of their

own and they have been quite unable to find lodgings for their family in anyone else's house.

MRS E M is a single woman with two very small children. She has no home and sleeps in the streets or wherever she can find shelter. She cannot find anywhere to live and cannot get work until she has somewhere to leave her children during the day.

These are the people behind the statistics. Recently much has been written about the critical shortage of houses for Black people in the urban areas.

The latest figure for *families* who are on the waiting list for houses in Soweto is 17 841 and this does not reflect the thousands of people who do not qualify even to be accepted on to the list. The recent growth of squatter communities is just the beginning of what must happen in the next few years as existing houses become more and more overcrowded and as living conditions in these overcrowded homes become increasingly intolerable.

Yet there seems no sense of urgency on the part of the authorities as they press ahead with the destruction of existing houses in Alexandra and in areas affected by the Group Areas Act. The new regulations for leasehold home ownership promised months ago are still not yet promulgated and the West Rand Board expects to complete only 4 000 new houses in the whole area of its jurisdiction in the current year.

From April to July 15 per cent of the people who came to the office for the first time came with housing problems. Added to these, nearly all those seeking to establish Section 10 qualifications wish to do so in order to be able to apply for houses. Many of those who have been endorsed out or who cannot obtain issue of a reference book are in this position because they have had nowhere permanent to live and are therefore not enumerated on any residential permit.

Many of the men who are refused permission to have their wives to live with them are told that the reason is lack of accommodation and a proportion of those refused permits to work are told that they must find accommodation before they will be registered.

Behind the statistics are homeless people for whom life is a constant struggle to find someone to take them in for a few nights at a time. Sometimes they sleep outside, in outhouses, in empty buildings in town.

They have no possessions and no security. But they do have anger, anger which is growing as every month passes, and a large part of this anger is caused by the fact that they are *not permitted* to help themselves. They may not seek accommodation where it does exist because these are "White" areas nor may they build or buy.

They must wait for official action and they recognise very clearly that the lack of action has been deliberate policy for many years and that, in spite of recent promises and soothing noises made by deputy ministers and senior officials, no emergency measures are being taken. The waiting lists go on growing longer and the homeless have no patience to wait for a lifetime for somewhere to live.

Now the Aid Centre in Johannesburg run by the Department of Bantu Administration has stopped dealing with Black people who go there voluntarily for help. It seems that this is the result of a directive from the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for Johannesburg and that in future the Aid Centre is to be allowed to deal only with people who are under arrest for pass law offences.

The Black Sash offices in other cities have not found the Aid Centres to be of any significance in assisting people in need of help and have reported that they seem to operate only as clearing centres designed to remove people from the urban areas to the homelands. But in Johannesburg we believe that the Aid Centre has helped many Black people to break out of the vicious circle in which they were caught.

The Manager, Mr Bender, has always been ready at least to read submissions presented to him, to consider each case on its merits and, within the regulations, to assist people who were clearly unable to get a permit to be anywhere at all or those whose difficulties arose through misadventure or ignorance of the law.

There are many Black people in the urban areas who have been unable to prove that they have a right to remain in terms of Section 10, or who have lost that right because they lived or worked temporarily in the wrong place and who have been endorsed out over and over again. But they cannot have a new appeal considered because no one in authority will listen to them.

These people are arrested, imprisoned, released, refused registration in work and then are arrested again. They have no homeland to go to and no area where they are allowed to register as workseekers.

Already in the month which has gone by since people have been turned away from the Aid Centre, workers in the Advice Office have noticed the difference. People are complaining that when they try to submit requests for their cases to be re-investigated they are told to go away; that they cannot appeal twice; that once the Chief Bantu Commissioner has disallowed an appeal they may not try again.

The Deputy Ministers of Bantu Administration and Development have stated on many occasions that they are concerned with streamlining procedures, with removing unnecessary frustrations,

with making life easier for urban people and for migrant workers.

The Black Sash has always stated quite categorically that no amount of cosmetic action can remove the injustice and discrimination inherent in the pass laws. We have always maintained that to control the lives of the majority of our citizens through a system which demands that every Black person must have a permit to be where he wishes to be and to do the ordinary things which all people desire to do and which denies all freedom of movement to millions of people, is so evil that it is totally unacceptable.

We have been accused of cynicism because we have expressed doubts about the intentions and willingness of the Government to bring about real and meaningful change in the urban areas of the Republic. Nevertheless, we had hoped that the assistance given by the Aid Centre in Johannesburg and the evident concern of its manager and staff would prove to be a first step in the right direction.

It seems we were quite wrong in this. That such an attempt to bring some humanity and compassion into the system should have been so ruthlessly stamped out demonstrates that there is no real intention to work for change, that things will continue to go from bad to worse and that the cynicism lies more in the pious statements of the authorities whose deeds belie them, than in us.

MRS A T first came to the Black Sash because she had been refused assistance by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in applying for a travel document which would enable her to emigrate to Mozambique to live in her husband's home.

The Commissioner told her she could not apply for a passport in Johannesburg because she had no permit to be here in the first place.

As her story unfolded it turned out that she had no permit to be anywhere and had only decided to try to leave the Republic because she had been unable to find a legal home for herself and her three children.

She was born in Johannesburg but was orphaned when she was very young and was sent to her grandmother who lived on a White man's farm in the Free State. Her grandmother died and in 1971 she was chased off the farm by the owner. The Bantu Commissioner in the Free State refused to issue her with the reference book which the law demands that she carry, so she came to her uncle in Johannesburg.

She was endorsed out but stayed because she had nowhere else to go. She married a Mozambique miner but of course, could not get a permit to live with him in Germiston where he works. When she came to us she had been trying for three years to regularise her position but no one would listen to her.

She collected as much proof of her life history as she could find and submitted an affidavit to the Aid Centre. She is now registered in employment in Johannesburg and has a lodger's permit to live with her uncle. She is at least near enough her husband to enable him to visit her when he is off duty.

No one can claim that she is in any way satisfactorily settled or that this solution is anything other than horrifying but at least she can expect that her children will be allowed to attend school because their names are on her lodger's permit. Without the help of the Aid Centre, she might well have remained totally displaced, helpless and without hope for a better future for her children.

MISS L M L is a misplaced person. She has lived in Johannesburg since birth except for 14 months in 1973-74 when her employer transferred her to Bloemfontein. Her reference book only has Bloemfontein endorsements in it and when she tried to be registered in her Johannesburg employment, the Labour Officer looked only at the reference book and refused to read her affidavit or to look at the accompanying documents of proof.

He just told her to go back to Bloemfontein where she has no relatives, friends or home. Hers is the kind of case where the assistance of the Aid Centre would have been invaluable. Now that this channel is no longer open to her she has not even been able to have her submissions considered.

MR D F M is caught in another kind of vicious circle. He is a misplaced person trying to get permission to work in Johannesburg. The Labour Officer told him to get a birth certificate, the registrar of births told him this application could not be accepted until the tax place in his reference book was changed, and the Bantu Commissioner to whom he applied for this to be done told him he must be fixed up by the Labour Officer first.

Without the Aid Centre to unwind this bureaucratic tangle for him, he fears he will spend more years standing in queues at 80 Albert Street, at 15 Market Street, at 13 Newton Street, always being told to go somewhere else.

**SHEENA DUNCAN,
Advice Office Director.**

'No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent.'

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1784.

BLACK SASH OFFICE BEARERS

HEADQUARTERS

National President: Ms S. Duncan, 45—22nd Street, Parkhurst, Johannesburg, 2001. Telephone: 42-9713.

National Vice-Presidents: Ms J. Harris, 29—5th Street, Lower Houghton, Johannesburg 2001. Telephone 728-2712.

Ms G. Dyzenhaus, 8 Cowie Road, Forest Town, Johannesburg 2001. Telephone 41-8188.

National Treasurer: Ms B. Beinashowitz

National Secretary: Ms E. Levitan

Magazine Editors: Ms J. Harris, Ms P. Tucker
501 Lestar House, 58 Marshall Street,
Johannesburg 2001. Telephone: 836-0789.

TRANSVAAL

Chairman: Ms J. Harris

Secretary: Ms E. Levitan

Treasurer: Ms L. Brand
501, Lestar House, 58 Marshall Street,
Johannesburg 2001. Telephone: 836-0789.

BORDER

Chairman: Ms V. Sullivan, 3 Warwick Road,
Vincent, East London 5201. Telephone
83720.

Secretary: Ms E. Johnson, 7 Devon Road, East
London 5201. Telephone 82793.

Treasurer: Ms B. Sparg, 33 Elizabeth Court,
Inverleith Terrace, East London 5201,
Phone 25879.

ALBANY

Chairman: Ms A. W. Macdonald, 2 Park Road,
Grahamstown 6140. Telephone: 2689.

Secretary: Ms J. Marsh, 22, Somerset Street,
Grahamstown 6140. Phone 3076.

Treasurer: Ms R. Vaughan, 3, Gowie Street,
Grahamstown 6140.

NATAL MIDLANDS

Chairman: Ms Doreen Patrick, 9 Dulwich
Road, Scottsville, Pietermaritzburg.
phone 5-6461.

Secretary: Ms M. Corrigan, 71 Derek Hall,
172 Loop Street, Pietermaritzburg 3201.
Phone 2-3749.

Treasurer: Ms I. Friday, P.O. Box 1549,
Pietermaritzburg 3200.

NATAL COASTAL

Chairman: Ms C. Lamb, 45 Edgecliff Drive,
Kloof 3600. Telephone 74-1562.

Secretary: Ms A. Adams, 11 Caister Crescent,
Berea, Durban 4001. Telephone 34-6238.

Treasurer: Ms S. Burns, P.O. Box 171, Gil-
litts 3603. Phone 74-1069.

CAPE EASTERN

Chairman: Ms A. Warren, 18 Salisbury
Avenue, Mill Park, Port Elizabeth 6001.
Phone 336242.

Secretary: Ms F. Hartley, Telephone: 335278.

Treasurer: Ms A. Bolton, 19, Linton Road
Mill Park, Port Elizabeth 6001. Phone
336064.

CAPE WESTERN

Chairman: Ms M. Burton, 75 Sandown Road,
Rondebosch 7700, Cape. Phone 6-4381.

Secretary: Ms M. Barker, 11 Twickenham
Road, Mowbray 7700. Phone 694401.

Treasurer: Ms D. Andrews, 35 Almond Street,
Newlands 7700, Cape. Telephone 6-6064.

Office for correspondence: (Mornings only)
310 Rosco Buildings, 105 Main Road,
Claremont 7700, Cape. Phone 6-6827.

Office Secretary: Ms M. Graham. Telephone
6-6915.

SA ISSN 0036-4843

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

All political comment in this issue, except when otherwise stated, by J. Harris, of 501 Lestar House, 58 Marshall Street, Johannesburg. Cartoons by courtesy of Bob Connolly and the Rand Daily Mail.

Published by the Black Sash, 501 Lestar House, 58 Marshall Street, Johannesburg, and printed by Messrs. Pacific Press (Pty.) Ltd., 302 Fox Street, Johannesburg.

Dedication . . .

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

So help us God, in Whose strength we trust.

Toewydingsrede . . .

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

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