



# sash

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ISSUE  
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## Cover note:

*Our cover design was inspired by the ceremony, at the National Conference's public meeting, symbolically marking the erosion of human rights in South Africa.*

*Using the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a yardstick, burning candles, symbolising the Declaration's articles, were lined along the stage of the Witwatersrand University's Great Hall. As each article was read, a candle was snuffed, denoting the abrogation of that Right in South Africa. But one candle was left burning, symbolising the Declaration's emphasis on the duties of each person towards her community - a commitment that lies at the heart of the Black Sash's work. The burning candle also embodies our hope for the future, of which we have much, despite the odds.*

# THE UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

## Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of sisterhood.

## Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

## Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.

## Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

## Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

## Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

## Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

## Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted her by the constitution or by law.

## Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

## Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of her rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against her.

## Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which she has had all the guarantees necessary for her defence.
2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

*On 10 December 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Following this historic act, the Assembly called upon all member countries to publicise the text of the Declaration and 'to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded.'*

*It is a matter of historical record that many member states of the United Nations that endorsed the Declaration have fallen far short of these standards in their own countries. South Africa declined to become a signatory to the Declaration.*

*The Black Sash believes the Declaration offers a basis for attempting to achieve universal recognition of the rights of individuals and the need to limit state power.*

*(Note: As a women's organisation, we considered it appropriate to change the use of generic terms from masculine to feminine).*

## Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with her privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon her honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

## Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including her own, and to return to her country.

## Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

## Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of her nationality nor denied the right to change her nationality.

## Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.

## Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of her property.

## Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change her religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest her religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

## Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

## Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

## Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of her country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in her country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

## Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realisation, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each state, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for her dignity and the free development of her personality.

## Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for herself and her family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of her interests.

## Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

## Article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of herself and of her family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond her control.
2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

## Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

## Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which she is the author.

## Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realised.

## Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of her personality is possible.
2. In the exercise of her rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

## Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any state, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

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### sash magazine

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## editorial

Of the four annual issues of SASH, the National Conference Issue is the most inward looking. Its purpose is to distil the essence of the Black Sash's most important annual event - the National Conference - and record it in an accessible form.

It is not possible within the confines of a magazine to do justice to a four-day conference comprising over 50 formal papers, many workshop groups, video presentations and a public meeting. Our yardstick in selecting material has been to give our readers (members and non-members alike) a sense of what the Black Sash is: the concerns that motivate us, the work we do and the issues we debate.

But looking inward at the work of the Black Sash is, by definition, to delve deeply into aspects of our society that are all too easily overlooked. Indeed, the most powerful impression one gains from a systematic reading of the conference papers is the extent to which the Black Sash's hands-on work has enabled the organisation to gather new information, grasp fresh insights and develop some original analysis.

This sort of involvement is its own best defence against self-satisfaction and complacency, because it keeps us acutely aware of how little we can do in a situation that demands much. It keeps us conscious of the need for on-going self-reflection and re-appraisal; of being open to the advice of others while remaining true to our own ideals and objectives. And it is this on-the-ground work that has saved the Black Sash from succumbing to a style of self-righteous moralising that could so easily have been the lot of a human rights organisation in South Africa.



**why  
do we  
kill people  
who kill people  
to show  
that killing  
is wrong?**

*The phrase  
'capital punishment' is far  
too respectable and clinical  
to describe the medieval ritual that  
regularly plays itself out in  
South Africa's places of execution.  
Anne Colvin, Jenny de Tolly and  
Sheena Duncan take us  
beyond the euphemisms.*

In February, when the Black Sash began planning its National Conference focus on capital punishment, 14 people had already been executed in South Africa in the first seven weeks of 1988. By May, when we were working on this National Conference issue of SASH, 50 people had reportedly gone to the gallows and 274 were waiting their turn on death row. By the time the magazine went to press in June, 71 people had been hung in circumstances that a former Minister of Justice considered 'too gruesome' to reveal in an answer to a Parliamentary question. Last year, 164 people were executed. In the past ten years 1 100 people have gone to the gallows.

The fact that South African courts impose the death sentence more than in any other country that lays claim to a 'Western' judicial system has long been of grave concern to the Black Sash. The issue has been on the agenda of National Conferences before. But never has it stimulated the concern or follow-up it did this year. Perhaps this was partially due to the fact that there is a greater public concern about the death penalty than ever before. Individuals and organisations that have not paid much attention to the issue of capital punishment in the past are doing so now, mainly because 53 people on death row at the end of 1987 had been sentenced for actions arising directly out of the political conflict in this country.

This has given added impetus to the Black Sash's long-standing opposition to capital punishment. It has been more important than ever for us to raise our voices in this debate, not least to make the point that our opposition to the death penalty applies in all circumstances, not only to sentences arising out of 'politically motivated' crimes.

The Black Sash opposes the death sentence because we believe that the deliberate, planned killing of any human being is indefensible. It has a brutalising effect upon society as a whole; it debases those who carry out the execution, those who must witness it and all those who are members of societies which authorise it; there is no satisfactory evidence that it is effective as a deterrent, and there is always the possibility, however small, of judicial error which in the case of the death sentence is irreversible. In this year of our human rights campaign it is particularly appropriate to reassert that the right to life is the ultimate human right, a right that no other person should be legally empowered to remove. Experience has shown that society can effectively protect itself from recurrent violent crimes by methods that do not include killing the criminal.

Our focus on capital punishment has a practical and achievable goal: it aims to build up public pressure on the government to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the death penalty and declare a moratorium on all hangings until the commission has released its findings.

To do this we have to ensure that the issue of capital punishment becomes a priority in South Africa's political debate - not as a point of party

*There is no greater terror...than knowing in advance the exact moment of one's death.*

political conflict but to encourage people across the spectrum to consider the issues at stake. We may find powerful allies on this issue within the National Party, and who knows, maybe even to their Right. We need to involve everyone in turning the spotlight on one of the darkest and most hidden facets of our society.

Very few people know anything about what capital punishment means in practice, which is probably the major reason why so many people still defend and condone it. Years of intellectual debate and moral argument have done little to shake the prevailing view that the death penalty has its place in a society's legal system as the ultimate penalty for those who calculatedly and deliberately take the lives of others.

Even the fact that the death penalty is imposed for a far wider range of crimes in South Africa has made little impact. Hangings in our society have become so commonplace that they rarely impinge on public consciousness. The process is so remote that few feel a sense of joint responsibility for what is done in their name.

People begin to think differently only when they know what the death penalty means in practice. It is therefore central to our campaign to take ourselves and others beyond the analytical debate. We need to break through the clinical neatness of the term 'capital punishment' and face what it means to go through the process, from the moment the judge informs a convicted criminal that he will hang by the neck until he is dead.

This is what we know to date:

- after people are condemned to death they are put into cells on death row where they will wait for weeks, months and sometimes years

Our campaign for the abolition of capital punishment aims to mobilise support for the appointment of a Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the death sentence and a moratorium on all hangings until the commission's findings are released.

As a potential first step in this direction, we welcome the recent statement by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, that he is prepared to take advice from judges as to whether the mandatory death sentence for certain convictions should be removed, and discretion restored to the judiciary.

While we recognise the need to put the issue of capital punishment on the agenda of public debate, we are aware of the fact that in countries where the death penalty has been abolished, the weight of public opinion has actually been in favour of retention. Where abolition has occurred, the scales have been tipped by influential opinion formers and political representatives. Our campaign will primarily aim to reach such people. This is what we

until the day of their execution.

- Once all appeals for clemency have failed and a date for execution set, the condemned are given seven days notice and taken to the 'waiting cells'.
- Some people on death row receive no visits whatsoever and they do not know whether any appeal has been made or if there has been any plea for clemency. They seem to know nothing more from the time they are sentenced to the day they get the notice that they are to be hanged. This ignorance may sometimes be due to the fact that many condemned prisoners have pro-deo counsel whose interest in the case is decidedly limited.
- One of the cases that came to our attention early in June was that of a 60-year-old man who was sentenced to death in 1986 for a crime committed in 1985. He had no idea that anything could be done on his behalf. At the last moment a new lawyer was briefed to take over the case and an 11th hour application was lodged in the Supreme Court for a stay of execution. The application succeeded – a day before the man was due to hang.
- A condemned prisoner usually receives notice of his execution date seven days in advance. There is no greater terror that can be inflicted on a person than knowing in advance the exact moment of one's death.
- A chilling detail that emerged from the case of the 'Sharpeville Six' was that two days before their due date of execution, they were taken to be weighed and measured. They

are doing about it:

1. Working groups have been established in the Transvaal, Western Cape, Natal Coastal region and the Eastern Cape in order to make the campaign for the abolition of capital punishment a central theme in our human rights focus this year.
2. The Transvaal region will be hosting a film festival, screening several commercial films on the lives and circumstances of people sentenced to death. Each screening will be preceded by a talk on the issue, and there will be time for discussions and questions afterwards.
3. We have asked David Dalling, M.P. to ask the same question in the House of Assembly that he asked in 1981 - and subsequently withdrew after the Minister of Justice made earnest personal representations to him, saying the answers would be 'too gruesome'. Mr Dalling wanted to know the average waiting time for condemned people from the time of arrival at the gallows to the

## The Campaign Outlined

*(a person) hits the end of the rope with a terrible crack.*

understood that they were being measured for their coffins but, as we recall from English literature, hanging necessitates the executioner knowing the height and weight of a person in order to fix the noose properly. On the same day their clothes were given to their relatives.

- The authorities notify prisoners' families of the execution date and for those who live away from the execution centre, a third-class rail ticket is enclosed with the official notice. Gallows are situated at Pretoria Central, Rooigrond (Bophuthatswana) Middledrift (Ciskei), Wellington (Transkei) and Venda Central.
- For many prisoners, the final visits are the first time they will have seen their relatives since sentencing. No contact visits are permitted, not even for families - a pane of glass and bars separate relatives and death row prisoners during the last meetings, which are monitored by a warden.
- In South Africa, seven persons can be hanged simultaneously. Few other details are known of the actual hanging, although some details have leaked out. In 1981 it was reported in the press that four men had resisted when warders entered the death cell to escort them to the gallows and that teargas had to be used to 'calm down the prisoners'.
- The names of those who are to die are not available officially until after the execution has taken place when the list is posted up in the magistrate's court in Pretoria. The only way one can know is if relatives or friends

come to the church or others for help or if the lawyers make it known. We were horrified that during all the relief about the stay of execution for the Sharpeville Six, we had not known that a seventh man was hanged alone, and that no one knew until it was published the next day.

There are still many unanswered questions: how long do condemned people wait from the time they arrive at the gallows until they are hanged? Are they sedated? Is each condemned person accompanied by someone like a doctor or minister or do they go to their deaths alone?

We know from medical evidence that death by hanging is not always instantaneous or painless. As a medical witness to a hanging in Iowa State Penitentiary described it: 'I learnt. . . that a man hits the end of a rope with a terrible crack; that he doesn't just dangle but is likely to writhe for some time; and that the heart stops reluctantly. As I listened for an interminable 13 minutes to the dying heart of a victim, there was time for me to ask a host of troublesome questions.'

It is precisely these sorts of 'troublesome questions' that we are committed to ask, encouraging more and more people to ask them too as we take forward our campaign against capital punishment.

We need to ensure that no Minister of Justice can ever use the argument a former incumbent used in 1969 to dismiss Helen Suzman's call for a Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the desirability or otherwise of abolishing capital punishment: that there was negligible public demand for abolition. It is part of our role to help create that demand. □

hanging; whether they were given sedation; whether they were accompanied by a doctor, minister or anyone else; how many people could be executed at a time; whether each man had his own executioner in multiple hangings; what procedure was followed and how many times physical force or teargas were used to get the men from their cells to the gallows.

4. We will be attempting at every opportunity to stimulate public debate around the death sentence. We will consider choosing this topic when we are invited to speak publicly. We will make maximum use of the media to raise the issue, writing articles and replying to every letter than appears in the press on the issue, either to support or criticise the views expressed.
5. We have requested the Progressive Federal Party to use one of their two private members' motions in the next Parliamentary session to call for a Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Capital

Punishment. They cannot do so this year as they have used both their opportunities. We will use the intervening period to raise public awareness of the issue.

6. We are planning to ask lawyers throughout the country through the law societies to notify the relatives of those condemned to death that the churches can help to get them to Pretoria for visits if they cannot afford the expense of the journey.
7. We have received material from Amnesty International and are considering ways of using it innovatively in promoting our campaign.
8. We intend asking the Human Awareness Programme whether they will be able to produce one of their comprehensive dossiers on the subject and if not, to seek their help in doing it ourselves. □





Rand Daily Mail

# a tribute to Barend van Niekerk

As we take up our campaign against capital punishment, we look to the example of the late Barend van Niekerk, legal academic and tireless campaigner against the death penalty.

In 1982 Jill Wentzel prepared a National Conference paper on capital punishment, in which she said: 'What Barend van Niekerk did was to inject blind energy into the task. Determinedly he used his intellect and his considerable ability to write and talk persuasively over a concentrated period in the late 1960s and his achievement was

a marked drop in the execution rate in the early 1970s. Between 1968 and 1971 the annual number of executions had climbed to 80 and over. In the years 1971 to 1976 executions dropped to between 43 and 60 per annum. As the interest he had aroused began to fade, the execution rate began to climb again, with 71 executions in 1976/77 and over 100 every year since then.'

It is more important than ever to take up the campaign where he left off. Barend van Niekerk remains an inspiration to us. □

## What Others Have Said about Capital Punishment.

Albert Camus described capital punishment as: 'The most pre-meditated of murders to which no criminal's deed, however calculated, can be compared. For there to be an equivalence the death penalty would have to punish a criminal who had warned his victim of the date at which he would inflict a horrible death on him and who, from that moment onward, had confined him at his mercy for months. Such a monster is not found in private life.'

Arthur Koestler: 'Innocent men have been hanged in the past and will be hanged in the future unless the death penalty is abolished worldwide or the fallibility of human judgement is abolished and judges become supermen.'

Albert Pierrepoint (the last executioner in Britain) on his retirement: 'The fruit of my experience has this bitter aftertaste: that I do not now believe that any one of the hundreds of executions I carried out has in any way acted as a deterrent against future murder. Capital punishment, in my view, achieves nothing except revenge.'

Sue Cook (co-presenter of BBC's *Crimewatch*): 'All the work I have ever done has shown that the law can be wrong; people can be convicted for crimes they did not commit. The machinery of the law means a lot of evidence comes to light after a court case and in a system where that can happen, and where there is the slightest element of doubt, you simply cannot have capital punishment.'

Hugh Lewin, a former political prisoner in Pretoria Central: 'I think that any person, in any society, should know what it is like to live in a hanging jail'.

### Should Hangings be Carried Out in Public?

No doubt, you blanch at the very question. You may be recoiling from this article as a whole, questioning our sense of judgement in running it. If so, we will have made the point. South Africans - and people the world over - are sheltered from the reality of judicial killing, which is why so many still defend and condone it.

If hangings were carried out in public, people would at least know the dreadful things that are

done in their name. The citizens would see that death is not always instantaneous. They would see that when people die in the extremity of fear, their bowels may turn to water and they may defecate or urinate involuntarily. They would see that there are sometimes emissions of blood. They would know what the cold and deliberate taking of life means. □

# death by 'common purpose'

The doctrine of 'common purpose' is entrenched in our legal system. It is regularly cited in judgments, and people are convicted and sentenced on the strength of it. Its underlying rationale is that an accomplice or instigator may be as guilty as the perpetrator of a crime - and should therefore be equally sentenced. This thesis is rarely challenged. Indeed, it is often considered just. However, in the case of the Sharpeville Six - who were found by the court to have been part of a crowd whose 'common purpose' was to murder township councillor Dlamini on 3 September 1984 - the doctrine became extremely controversial. The Black Sash was one of many organisations world-wide that called for clemency for the Six. In doing so we were not only protesting the death penalty. We were challenging the application of the 'common purpose' doctrine in sentencing to death six individuals, who formed part of a much larger emotion-charged crowd in politically fraught circumstances. (There was no proof that any of the Six actually committed the murder).

The 'common purpose' doctrine has recently been applied again in a case that could prove even

more controversial. Twenty-five people from Upington have been found guilty of a 'common purpose' murder in roughly similar circumstances as the Sharpeville Six. A number of the 25 insist they were not even part of the crowd that pursued and murdered a municipal policeman. (The person responsible for delivering the fatal blows was identified and apprehended). Some of those convicted for 'common purpose' have alleged they were mistakenly identified at an identification parade.

Lawyers who have been briefed in the matter after the conviction are now preparing at great length to argue the case for extenuation in the hope that some of the accused may be spared the death sentence.

There is a great deal about this case that cannot be published as the matter is sub judice. We can only recall Sue Cook's words, on the opposite page, which have potential relevance to this case: 'The machinery of the law means a lot of evidence comes to light after a court case and in a system where that can happen, and where there is the slightest element of doubt, you simply cannot have capital punishment.' □



Merry Dewar.

29 Black Sash members hold a group picket outside Parliament on 17 March - the day before the Sharpeville Six were initially due to hang. The execution was postponed because of indications that state witnesses at the trial may have committed perjury. The Six are fighting a legal battle to have the trial re-opened.

# conference collage





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1. *Rosemary Meny-Gibert and Tish Haynes in the moments before conference began.*
2. *A large working group getting to grips with a conference topic.*
3. *Smaller, informal discussions such as this one featured regularly outside the formal agenda. (note the quilt Jean Sinclair made in the background).*
4. *Ruth de Vlieg and Gill de Vlieg.*
5. *Judy Chalmers and Janet Small.*
6. *Margaret Nash and Nora Chase.*
7. *Ann Colvin.*
8. *Jacklyn Cock.*
9. *Mary Jankowitz, Ethel Walt and Verne O'Riain.*
10. *Cassandra Parker and Lucille Kent.*
11. *Joyce Harris.*
12. *Netty Davidoff, Jill Wentzel, Selma Browde.*
13. *Priscilla Hall.*
14. *A rare, but welcome occurrence: a working group on the lawn made possible by the sun's first appearance during the last hours of conference.*



Paul Weinberg.

## a binding kind of wealth

aninka claassens

*Through thoughtful involvement and reflection, the Black Sash's Transvaal Rural Action Committee is achieving transformed understandings of the relationship between people and the land their families have tilled for generations. In this summary of her key conference paper, **Aninka Claassens** shares her insights on the motivation of these peasant farmers, and the self-questioning role of fieldworkers.*

**T**he Black Sash's Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC) has been working with African people who live on white-owned farms in the South-Eastern Transvaal area. Most of these people find their way to us via legal clinics operating in Driefontein and Amsterdam. These

are black villages which managed to win reprieves from removal after years of struggle.

The going wage for farmworkers in this area is about R30 per month. In a few cases people earn a bit more. In others they earn no cash wages at all. These workers live on the farm under a

system known as 'labour tenancy'. This is a system whereby a member of the family works for alternate periods of six months or a year in exchange for being allowed to keep cattle and plough fields. Typically people have large homesteads which they build from wattle and daub. It is quite common for there to be up to ten buildings in a homestead and an extended family of twenty people.

Most of the people who come to the legal clinics come because they are threatened with eviction from the farms. Eviction is often very violent. People may be given virtually no notice and then find their cattle impounded and their houses burnt down or demolished.

Again and again people take a militant stand in resisting eviction. They stay on the farms notwithstanding trespass fines and the fact that farmers may have destroyed their fields or houses. If they are finally physically evicted they often return to the same farm or land adjoining it. Because the white farmers are often tenants themselves, and the farms in the area change hands frequently, it is quite common that the farmer who evicted them will move on after a few years and the African family that has lived on that land for generations will return and re-establish itself.

At first we found it very puzzling that people should be so determined to remain in a way of life which is utterly exploitative. But over time we began to realise that these farm dwellers have a lot in common with people in the reprieved 'black spots' and locations.

This common identity springs from a shared purpose: to remain in occupation of the land which has been their historical home for generations.

In the case of the farm dwellers there are particular elements to this determination. One is the often expressed outrage that the terms by which they have lived (and suffered) are so easily flouted by the white farmers who take overnight action to evict large families and destroy the houses, stock and fields that have been accumulated over generations.

Another is that people's livelihood is not derived primarily from wages, but from their own farming activities on the land and from support by family members who work outside the farm. Thus the battles they fight are not about increased wages or shorter working hours, but about numbers of cattle allowed, and security on the land. In many cases the black tenant families employ other people to fulfil their labour requirements for the farmer. In some cases the tenants have become independent contractors and business people either on the farms or elsewhere. To the extent that people are not strictly 'employees' they have maintained an independent attitude which seems to be a component in their determination to remain on the land.

The fact that there are areas where African farm dwellers still manage to subsist as farmers

is amazing in view of the state's attempts to stamp out all forms of black tenant farming in the white rural areas and to turn all blacks in these areas into conventional wage labourers.

There is an ideological element to this process. As long ago as the turn of the century, Cecil John Rhodes spelt out clearly that blacks would never be resigned to the status of servants while they had alternative ways of living. This refrain has been echoed by the government in all the decades since then and especially in the 1950s and 1960s, when a series of laws and physical blitzes were implemented to wipe out labour tenancy. Notwithstanding these government efforts, various forms of black subsistence farming still exist in areas of South Africa.

The work that we have been doing with people in these areas is limited, but it indicates that the solution to their problems cannot be found primarily within improved conditions of employment but in increased security of tenure on the land.

The agricultural skill and love of the land which these people possess points to a viable potential for productive small-scale farming. At present the laws of the land prohibit this, but the *de facto* situation is one where black families have held on to their ancestral land against all odds, and there is a steady stream of whites leaving farming in this area.

Our work at present is to assist the farm dwellers in their battle to assert their rights to an agricultural way of life which is secure and independent and not necessarily limited to being the servant of a white baas. This support work is a joint endeavour undertaken by the Driefontein and Amsterdam committees, TRAC and the Legal Resources Centre. There is at present a relatively wide space for legal test cases because of the hiatus in laws affecting farm workers.

Our work is based on the principle of supporting the choices of our clients who are mostly individual families, but sometimes also groups of villagers from forest estates. At times it has been very difficult to get a wider perspective of the overall direction of this work and we have felt that we are propping up an archaic feudal system.

But we have slowly been educated to realise that people's choices to stay on the farms do not spring from an acceptance of the terms of labour tenancy and a satisfaction with 'wages' of R30 or nothing, but from a determination to keep access to the farming land which they have occupied for generations.

No doubt some people have made this choice because of the lack of alternatives and they may decide to move away as other alternatives become viable (for example with the abolition of influx control, or the acquisition of education). But there are people whose determination can only be understood in terms of a century long battle to be independent producers on the land.

# lifting the veil

*Aninka Claassen's anecdotes explode the myth of 'country life' to give us a glimpse of what still occurs on the South African platteland in the late 20th Century. These are only extracts. Her conference paper is essential reading for us all.*

Parts of the South Eastern Transvaal, heading towards Natal and Swaziland are very beautiful. One drives through rolling grasslands, through rock kloofs and along mountainsides with panoramic views stretching to the foothills of the Drakensberg. Every now and again one passes men on horseback who are herding cattle, a cluster of mud huts, a field of mealies and established white farm houses surrounded by outbuildings. The area seems wide and empty and predominantly peaceful; as though mankind has not imposed much on the land and people don't particularly interfere with each other.

An old man from Driefontein, which is a 'black spot' in this area, once started to point out landmarks as we drove through the white farms towards his home. What I had noticed as a clump of trees on the hillside, he told me, was the ruins of 30 huts. Two extended families had lived and farmed there for generations. In the mid-1970s they had been told that their labour tenant contracts were illegal and they must leave. They had ignored this instruction and continued ploughing. Finally 'the whites' had set fire to their houses. Virtually all their possessions were burnt in the blaze. The families had gathered the remnants together and taken the children and the cattle and the sheep and trekked off to the reserves.

He told me that at that time some people were braver than others. We passed a big hill called the Ngwempisi mountain. He described how many families had lived on its slopes and had their fields at its base. They had ignored all warnings to leave, and when they were evicted they had come back and settled on the mountain again. They were re-evicted by various methods: fire, bulldozer, arrest, and in the end their cattle were impounded and sold. As we drove further he pointed out where these families live now, some are just opposite their old homes, some are a few farms away.

Four years ago, a young widow, Aslieta Mavimbela, came to ask the Driefontein committee for help after the death of her husband, Mandla.

*Most of the farmworker deaths that we hear about take place in the Dirkiesdorp police station.*



Cedric Nunn

She explained how one day the police had arrived at her homestead and asked where her husband was. She answered that he had left the previous day on horseback to look for another farm to which the family could move. They opened the van and showed her the dead body of her husband. Then they put her in the back of the van with him and took her to the Wakkerstroom police station. There they explained that a farmer, Andries Delpport, had shot her husband and his horse. The reason he gave was that Mandla must have ridden across his property to reach the public road. Delpport said the Mavimbela didn't answer when he called to him, thus he fired two shots to warn him. Mavimbela and his horse, both shot in the back, died outright. Delpport was acquitted on all charges in the Volksrust Regional Court on the basis that he stumbled as he fired the shots.

I asked Mrs Mavimbela questions so that we could assist her with a claim against Delpport. She told us that Delpport had paid for her husband's funeral, but his mother had refused her request that Delpport come and plough the family fields. She had said: 'What if your husband had been killed by lightning? Would you expect lightning to plough your fields?' The issue of ploughing the fields was very important because Mavimbela had not earned wages on the farm; he worked for access to land. In other words, he was a labour tenant.

Mrs Mavimbela sat looking down and nursing her tiny baby as she answered our questions. The only time she looked up was when I asked her whether she and her seven children were her husband's only dependents, or if he had another wife. Then she sat back and looked straight in my eyes and said 'he loved only me'.

Most of the farmworker deaths that we hear about take place in the Dirkiesdorp police station. Four of these have been the result of torture during interrogation into alleged stock-theft. Last year a group of young men who had been detained on another charge told us of a group of farmworkers who were systematically tortured by the police. The subject of the interrogation



Paul Weinberg

*Above left: Mrs Judith Nchunu outside her house that was destroyed just before she and other tenant farmers were served with eviction notices on a farm in Natal.*

*Right: Ploughing the fields.*

was the theft of certain sheep. Finally they were taken to court. One of them, Krans Mlangeni, was carried in a blanket as he could no longer walk. The case was dismissed because of lack of evidence and Mlangeni was left lying semi-conscious outside the court. The other farmworkers arranged to hire a vehicle to take him home, but he died within two days.

In the course of assisting his father to prepare a damages claim, we needed further information. We asked the committee of KwaThandeka township to find witnesses from the area where he had worked. They found three groups of people and we proceeded to take statements from them. Their information was utterly confusing until we realised that only one group was talking about the same man as we were. The other two were talking about other Mlangenis who had been killed by whites; one by a road worker and the other by a farmer.

There are many types of violence apart from murder and physical assault. There is also the violence of exhaustion and hunger. Petros Ngwenya and Aaron Zwane from farms in the Panbult area describe how they work from before it is light until after sunset, six days a week. There is no annual leave, either for them or for any farmworker I have ever met in the South Eastern Transvaal. If you miss work because of taking a sick child to hospital there is a deduction from your wages. In Zwane's case his wages are R10 per month for six months and R20 per month for the other six months of the year. He is thin with a dark, lined face and hands that shake; he has bitter, burning eyes. His family has always lived in the Panbult area, although not always on the same farm. They have been evicted, moved away, moved back, been evicted, moved next door and came back again. The Zwanes used to have large herds of cattle, now the farmer has said they cannot keep more than six. Zwane is dismissive about the 'wage' he earns. He calls it 'tobacco money'. He asked me why whites are so selfish, and what they feel when they see hungry children.

Another kind of violence is what happens to farmworkers who are crippled as a result of accidents at work. Again and again they and their families are evicted from the farms and left entirely to their own fate. An example is provided by the case of Timothy Hlatshwayo who worked for a farmer, Mr E Paul, in the Piet Retief district. He and 24 other workers were being transported on the back of a small bakkie when the bakkie over-turned. Hlatshwayo broke his neck and is now paralysed from the neck down. He spent 18 months in hospital in Johannesburg and was then sent back to Paul who refused to assist him in any way. Hlatshwayo's wife's brother helped the family to move to Driefontein where they live in a crumbling mud hut.

I was taken to meet him at night and found him and his children sitting in darkness. When we arrived they made a show of looking for a candle, but it was obvious that there wasn't such a thing in the house. They were waiting for his wife to return from her job in a forestry plantation. She earns R30 per month. We were to assist Hlatshwayo to get Workmen's Compensation money and a Disability Pension. His own efforts had been thwarted because when Hlatshwayo had hired a vehicle to be taken to the District Surgeon in Wakkerstroom 50 kms away, the District Surgeon had told him that he had run out of application forms for Disability Pensions.

Another serious problem for farmworker families is the education of their children. Often children walk for four hours, getting to school and back. Sometimes small schools have been established on the farms. A few years ago a farmer, Gillespie, acquired the farm Heyshope. He found an established, registered school operating on his property. He went to the headmaster, Mr Nxumalo, and insisted that he close the school. Nxumalo refused, Gillespie responded by arriving at his house at night and firing at it. Luckily he missed Nxumalo, the bullets lodged in the wall of the house next to where Nxumalo had been standing. The police identified these bullets as having come from Gillespie's gun. Nxumalo laid a charge of attempted murder. Gillespie then arrived at his house, apologised and offered to let the school continue operating. On this basis, Nxumalo withdrew the charge of attempted murder and life continued as usual.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to record examples of all the abuses taking place on the farms in the four South Eastern Transvaal magisterial districts where we work. Suffice to say that these include child labour, physical assault, debt to the farmers and impounding of cattle.

The nightmare quality of the situation does not lie in the detail of events. Somehow, these are familiar to us from stories of the Italian countryside 100 years ago, or of the Deep South, or of feudal England. The real horror lies in the fact that these things are happening now, everyday, and that they form the parameters of life for hundreds of thousands of farmworkers. □



# piecing the picture together

mary burton

*In her Presidential address delivered at the National Conference's public meeting, **Mary Burton** cut through the confusion, and analysed the major trends of a politically intense and violent year. This is an extract from her speech.*

Looking back on the past year in preparation for this National Conference, it is the words 'terror' and 'disorganisation', that seem more and more to express what is happening in South Africa. The government tries to convince the extreme right wing that the on-going State of Emergency is permitting it to restore 'law and order'; instead the inhabitants of the towns and townships, the urban squatter settlements and the rural or semi-rural villages, are subjected to terror and disorganisation by those very forces which ought to exist for their protection. In Crossroads in 1986, in the Pietermaritzburg area, in KTC in Cape Town, in so many towns in the Eastern Cape there are violent confrontations between different groups. Time and time again we hear allegations that the security forces favour one group above the other, providing protection or even support.

## The Rule of Law

The grip of terror replaces trust in the Rule of Law where Emergency regulations are invoked to quell opposition to government policies, and when the courts seem to offer little or no protection against arbitrary detention and other official action. The ap-

proach of the (then) Acting Chief Justice Rabie is not reassuring:

'We must be realistic. We have strangers coming in across the borders with bombs and mines. There is nothing in the common law to deal with a situation like that. We must get information from people we arrest, especially when they are carrying weapons from the Soviet bloc, otherwise we can't defend ourselves. The situation in the country is pretty near that of a civil war. It is naive to think you can quell it by bringing people to court' (*Sunday Star* 3 May 1987).

Parliament may pass legislation, and the security forces may enforce regulations, but the South African legal system is 'on the brink of dying', as Professor Dennis Davis has said.

It is inevitable that there will be a degree of conflict in any society, particularly one which is in a process of transition, about how to reconcile the protection of freedom with the need to maintain necessary restraints. This is where there is a need for guarantees of basic human rights, which I shall discuss further. But it is also essential for a legal code to have the acceptance of the majority of the population. That is the only way to ensure reverence for the body of the law. Laws which are passed by an unrepresentative govern-

ment cannot command this kind of respect.

If the Rule of Law is to be respected, the laws must have the legitimacy that stems from the participation of all the citizenry in their formulation, and they must be seen to protect rights as well as ensuring that justice takes its course.

When, for example, 'warlords' in areas surrounding Pietermaritzburg are believed to act with impunity and to have the tacit approval of the police, the law is brought into disrepute. When laws allow discrimination on the basis of skin colour and ethnic origin, the law is brought into disrepute. And when this happens, when a legal system loses legitimacy, or does not meet the needs of the people, the people will formulate other systems of justice. (This theme has been covered by Wilfried Schärf in the article on 'People's Justice,' SASH Vol 30 No.4, March 1988).

## The Year Behind Us

The events of the past year are somewhat overshadowed by the announcement on 24 February of the latest and most overt attack of recent times on opposition groupings. Here indeed is disorganisation at its most visible.

Looking back, we follow the chain

of events bringing us to this point. Last March we were concerned about the growing militarisation of our society and the rise in emigration figures. These two factors persist. We had to face the prospect of the whites-only election, and this resulted in the 'lurch to the right' which jostled the National Party off its 'reform' path and replaced the Progressive Federal Party with the Conservative Party as the official opposition in the House of Assembly.

Since then there has been a string of interconnected events, all of which have been influenced by, and have had an effect upon, one another:

- the swing to ever more conservative attitudes continues in several sectors of the white population, evidenced by the Standerton, Schweizer-Reneke and Randfontein by-elections.
- increased poverty and unemployment, despite schemes initiated or supported by the Department of Manpower.
- the escalating cost of maintaining the homeland system where barely viable, overcrowded entities are spuriously defined as independent or self-governing states.
- ongoing dissatisfaction and anger

with schools and other centres of education. (It is not coincidental that education and student bodies figure prominently among those restricted by the new regulations.)

- the struggle of the homeless, which continues on the bitter soil of dispossession and alienation from the land.
- the tense relationship between South Africa and her neighbours. Disturbing questions about the role of the SADF in our contiguous countries are a major factor in the decision of young men to risk prison or exile in preference to military service.
- government attacks on its critics, especially the press, the universities and the churches.
- the continued resistance to the government's proposed restructuring of regional and local administration, with no sign of willingness among credible black leaders to support them.
- ongoing detentions in terms of the State of Emergency and security legislation.

These developments culminated in the restrictions on 17 organisations, so severe, that they are effectively

banned. At the same time 18 individuals were restricted.

In spite of this the spirit of resistance is not broken. There is a strong determination in many communities that a new society must and will be carved out. Not only among the voteless and the ever more militant youth, but also in the electorate there is a growing need to be more widely involved and more deeply committed. Alliances over specific issues, which have allowed cross-fertilisation of ideas, have been notable developments.

This is the 40th year since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

We believe the defence of human rights and the pursuit of democracy to be a challenging and noble vision for us to follow. In this year ahead, culminating on 10 December with the anniversary of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, we re-dedicate ourselves to the long, hard struggle to make South Africa a country in which those ideals are shared and upheld and where the reality will keep step with the dream. □

## WHO'S LEFT?

by Stent

Trouble is the system starts changing and down goes education



Just look at Rhodesia - or Zimbabwe as they call it now. My wife's family tried to stay. They were prepared for hardship.



Well, when they visited and compared the kids' school syllabus to ours, that was it - they moved down here - he had to start fresh with a new firm...



And now he says he can see the identical thing is going to happen here



Perhaps we should try to see it differently. Even with a temporary drop in our education standards, think on the other hand how many more people will become educated.



What do you think the weather will be like for golf tomorrow, Sam.



Oh, not bad

Who is that woman?



I think it's Harry's wife

Poor chap - if there's one thing I can't stand it's an aggressive woman.



©stent '87

frank chikane says

## 'use your space'

*As the government increasingly blocks off avenues of non-violent resistance, those who still have 'political space' face the challenge of showing that non-violence can still deliver results. This is a grave responsibility, argues Frank Chikane, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, in his keynote address at the National Conference's public meeting. This is an extract from his speech.*

Never have organisations working for human rights faced such obstacles in South Africa as they do now. On 24 February 1988, the Minister of Law and Order issued a proclamation prohibiting 17 organisations from undertaking 'any activities or acts' whatsoever, apart from routine administrative and book-keeping functions. All these organisations were involved in non-violent 'activities and acts' to protest against and resist apartheid, and to assist the victims of this system.

I submit that the Minister's proclamation is devastating for our country. For it effectively tells the oppressed majority: you cannot engage non-violently to end your oppression.

People often talk about the victims of apartheid resorting to violence. But the Minister's order makes it quite clear that the South African government has chosen the violent way of resolving our country's problems. The regime is saying: 'We in the government have opted for the battleground. Come and challenge us there.'

The Bill to curb foreign funding to anti-apartheid groups is a further indication of the government's determination to undermine all forms of opposition.

I submit that when a situation has been reached where the country's laws and promulgations deprive people of the right to resist apartheid in a non-violent way, then those laws are not worth obeying.

The Churches are saying that they are not prepared to reach the stage where we live in a war-torn country.

We have appealed to people who still have space - and there are still people who have space - to use it to influence



change. There is no way the children in Soweto can change this system except by resorting to violence. The government has closed other options. But there are still at least three groups of people inside South Africa who have the space to do something to save this country.

The first group is the white community. Whites need to begin looking at strategies and saying 'What is the potential within the system?' They need to analyse whether there is potential and then develop the strategies. But if those strategies do not deliver

results for too long, it is important to reconsider them. Nevertheless, the point remains: the white community has the space to do many things, and that community therefore has an extraordinary responsibility to do them. If you do not use that space, it means that when people continue dying, you will bear co-responsibility for those deaths.

A second group that retains some space is the churches, particularly church leaders. We could still march in protest against the bannings, from St George's Cathedral, in the direction of Parliament (although we did not get very far, which showed me that the road to non-violence is indeed short). Church leaders who talk about non-violence must prove it works. If we do not do it effectively then we may as well surrender and say we have no solution.

Another group that has space is the business community. We have seen in the last few months how the government has tried to woo the business community. There has been 'privatisation', and restrictions on the trade unions. But if business people remain silent, they will also bear responsibility for the lives that are lost.

I commend you in the Black Sash for maintaining a public witness. It is worth mentioning that when church leaders recently discussed non-violent methods - effective non-violent methods - of opposing apartheid, the Black Sash was one of the organisations that was commended for trying to do whatever it could in a repressive situation. □

nora chase says

**'remember namibia'**

Most Namibians will not be aware of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights because 1988 will be overshadowed by the commemoration of two major events in our history: the tenth anniversary of the Cassinga massacre and the tenth anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435, which established a process of transition for Namibia's independence.

For many Namibians the connection between these two events has left a deep and painful scar, not just because 600-750 Namibians died in the SADF raid on the Cassinga refugee camp, but because it took place at a time when South Africa was heavily engaged in negotiations leading to the acceptance, by both Swapo and South Africa, of Resolution 435.

The actions of the SADF were, at the time, a crucial indicator of the dual strategy which has characterised South African policy for the next ten years. On the one hand there was the facade of being ready to negotiate Namibia's future; on the other hand South Africa created obstacles to a negotiated settlement by escalating the conflict, engaging in wholesale aggression and destabilising neighbouring states. □

*As background material we have collated the following information on the Cassinga massacre and Resolution 435.*

**Cassinga**

On 4 May 1978, between 600 and 750 Namibians died at Cassinga in a joint SADF operation consisting of about 1 500 troops from both the army and the airforce. The SADF claimed that Cassinga was a SWAPO headquarters and military base. However Nora Chase dismissed this claim saying that it was a transit camp for Namibian



refugees inside Angola, including old men, women and children. Over 450 people were wounded, 112 taken prisoner of war, while the dead were buried in a mass grave at Cassinga. The prisoners of war were interned in a camp at Marienthal for the next six years. The camp was kept secret from the outside world for all that time.

**Resolution 435**

The Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 ratified the proposals of the 'big five' Western nations for Namibia's transition to independence. (The 'big five' were the United States, Britain, West Germany, France and Canada.)

UN Resolution 435 provides the only chance of a peaceful solution to the Namibian question and was accepted by all parties including the SA government. Hopes were high that Namibia would attain independence during 1978, but after the accession to power of Mr P W Botha, it became clear that the South African government had no intention of allowing Resolution 435 to be implemented. □

**The proposals called for:**

- The appointment of a United Nations Special Representative to ensure conditions that could allow a free and fair election.
- The election of representatives to a Namibian Constituent Assembly which would draw up and adopt an independence constitution for the country, comprising a single political entity.
- The repeal, by the South African Administrator General in Namibia, of all discriminatory and restrictive laws which might impinge on the election process.
- The release of all political prisoners and detainees;
- The free return of exiles to participate in the election process.
- The cessation of hostile acts by all parties.
- A 12-week deadline for the withdrawal of the majority of South African troops from Namibia. Only 1 500 soldiers would be allowed to remain for the duration of the election process, but would be confined to barracks.
- The monitoring of the agreement by the military section of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag).

UN Resolution 435 provides the only chance of a peaceful solution to the Namibian question and was accepted by all parties including the SA government. Hopes were high that Namibia would attain independence during 1978, but after the accession to power of Mr P W Botha, it became clear that the South African government had no intention of allowing Resolution 435 to be implemented. □



## another kind of noose

sheena duncan

*The implications of a draft Bill, expected before parliament within a year, are enormous.*

**T**he Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill has been introduced in Parliament by the Minister of Justice. It has been referred to a Joint Committee of Parliament which invited submissions before 15 April 1988.

If the Bill is not passed this session it is almost certain to come before Parliament in 1989. Its primary purpose is to cut off the foreign funding of a wide range of anti-apartheid organisations.

The Bill can be divided into four parts. Two of these are of vital concern to us.

The Bill firstly introduces entirely new legislation regarding foreign funding and secondly amends the Fund Raising Act in order to tighten control.

The press has focused disproportionate attention on those aspects of the Bill which will allow the Minister of Justice to declare an organisation restricted and to confiscate all the foreign money

in its possession. This is important but it seems unlikely that many organisations will be treated this way because the Bill gives the government total control over all funding without any dramatic action against any particular organisation.

If it becomes law it will affect our day-to-day work and administration very seriously indeed.

Until after the Fundraising Act was passed in 1978 the Black Sash had never received any foreign funding whatsoever and we raised all the money we needed through our own efforts (morning markets, etc.) with a small grant from the Donaldson Trust each year for the advice offices and occasional grants from the Chairman's Fund, also for the advice offices.

But things changed after 1978 for the following reasons:

1. A great many of our members became what is commonly known as 'working women' - although, as we all work, we prefer to use the term 'salaried women'.
2. The demands upon us in the advice offices and from rural communities became greater and greater. We could no longer cope with voluntary workers only. They had to be supplemented with some paid workers.
3. The Fund Raising Act prevented us from accepting any donations at all so we lost the extra financial support from sympathisers who were not members of the Black Sash.
4. Donor agencies began offering us money to assist with our work.

A combination of all these factors compelled us to look very closely at the Fund Raising Act, which required organisations to be 'registered' in order to raise money from the public. The Black Sash decided not to seek registration as a Fund Raising Organisation in terms of the Act. The Black Sash Advice Office Trust has never sought registration either.

On examining the Act, we found we were able to continue to receive money from those with whom we had a long-standing relationship such as the Donaldson Trust and the Chairman's Fund because they were not 'the public' to us. We could receive money from embassies of foreign countries in South Africa because embassies are not the public either. We could receive money given to us as part of a contract between us and the donor which obliged us to furnish the donor with reports and information required in return for financial support.

New problems then arose because the money received as payment for reports and information is income and taxable. The Black Sash then formed the Advice Office Trust which was registered as a trust in 1985 and began operations at the beginning of 1986. The Trust was granted exemption from Income and Donations Tax.

The Trust receives money for the work of the Black Sash advice offices and rural programmes and for the publication of information. No money whatsoever goes from the Trust to the other work of the Black Sash Regions and no

*... 'No organization ... may directly or indirectly receive from outside the Republic, ... any money which is intended to be used, ... to propagate... or oppose any political aim or object.'*

money whatsoever goes from the Trust for Black Sash work that promotes a political objective (e.g. when we produced the booklet VOTE 'NO' at the time of the constitutional referendum, no Trust money was used for that purpose as it was a direct political call). The Black Sash has continued to fund all its work outside the advice offices and the rural programmes through its fund raising efforts and its membership subscriptions.

At the end of 1987, the Trust's tax exemption was withdrawn by the Receiver of Revenue without any warning and for no stated reason. Our attorney, auditor and financial adviser are working on this on our behalf. We cannot think that this action is unrelated to the government's sudden interest in the funding of opposition organisations. It is a nuisance but it is not related to the new measures contained in the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill and it is only relevant to this discussion in that there has been some confusion about the two issues.

The amendments to the Fund Raising Act contained in the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill establishes total control over all funding. If it becomes law the Black Sash and the Trust will be unable to receive any money whatsoever from sources inside or outside South Africa unless we apply for and are granted registration as a Fund Raising organisation. The only money we will be able to accept is money from our own members who are resident inside South Africa and money we make by selling things inside South Africa. The one exception is money received from embassies but that is only exempt if it is not used for any political purpose whatsoever as outlined in the next paragraph.

### **No foreign money for political purposes**

The main new provision of the Bill says: '...no organisation or person may directly or indirectly receive from outside the Republic, or directly or indirectly bring in or cause to be brought into the Republic, any money which is intended to be used, or in the discretion of that organisation or person may be used, to further, propagate, pursue or oppose any political aim or object.'

I do not know whether to pursue justice, democracy and peace is to propagate a political aim or object, but the pursuit of those ideals certainly involves opposing the political aims and objects of apartheid.

Even if we did decide to apply for fund rais-

ing registration and were granted it we would still not be able to receive money from foreign sources if we intended to use it for opposing or furthering any political aim or object, or if it could be so used in our discretion.

The penalties for disobeying this provision are a fine of R20 000 or a fine of twice the amount of money involved or ten years' imprisonment or both.

The Bill provides that in any prosecution for contravention of the above prohibition if it is proved that the money has been received from outside the Republic and if it is proved that the organisation or person concerned 'engages or participates in the furthering, propagating, pursuing or opposing of any political aim or object, it shall be presumed, until the contrary is proved, that the money is intended to be used...or may be

used to further, promote, pursue or oppose a political aim or object.'

The onus of proof is once more placed on the accused.

If this Bill becomes law it will emasculate much of the valuable and constructive work which is being done at the present time by a variety of extra-parliamentary opposition organisations and it is clearly designed to do just that. There can

be no illusions. The government is intent on wiping out all opposition to its apartheid policies and all work which is directed towards the creation of a democratic society in South Africa. The Bill is potentially much more damaging than the Emergency regulations and the banning of organisations, persons and newspapers which have not succeeded in crushing resistance.

If it succeeds in its purpose the way will be opened for money to be diverted into programmes which are 'approved' - evangelical conservative church movements, well-meaning but naïve charitable programmes which are unwittingly used for the political purpose of the state, 'reform'-oriented groups.

It seems probable that great pressure will be brought to bear on the governments of Europe and America for action in response to the SA government's intentions. It could be that they will say that if South Africa does not permit foreign funding, it shall not have it - not any of it - and that this Bill will lead to the financial sanctions which have been hovering in the wings for so long. This time there will not be any easy ways to negotiate with the banks any long term let-out.

It is essential that South Africans do everything in their power to force the government to withdraw this Bill. □

### **STOP PRESS:**

As SASH went to Press, reports indicated that the Parliamentary Select Committee examining the Bill intended proposing significant amendments. No confirmed details of the proposed changes were yet available, but reports indicated that the committee will propose legislation, similar to that of the United States, requiring non-profit organisations to disclose all sources of foreign funding and to have audited accounts. It remains important for us to examine and understand the Bill - that still stands unamended - in order to assess the significance of any changes that may be made.

*A broad range of media representatives have rallied around the embattled 'alternative press', determined to resist government attempts to define and restrict the role of the media in South Africa.*

# standing together in defence of the right to differ

mignonne breier

**S**outh Africa's 'alternative Press' - born to articulate concerns generally ignored by the 'mainstream' media - is fighting for its life.

Its workers have been harassed, detained, even injured. *New Nation* and *South* have been closed temporarily in terms of the Government's latest media regulations and others, including *Weekly Mail* and *Grassroots*, have been warned their turn might be next.

But in Cape Town, representatives of publications ranging from the threatened 'fringe' to glossy *Cosmopolitan* and *Femina*, have united to oppose the clampdown and have resolved to campaign for freedom for all sectors of the media.

About 200 delegates and observers, including members of the Black Sash, attended the launching conference of the 'Save the Press' campaign held at the University of Cape Town.

Throughout the conference there was an empty chair at the front table, marked 'Zwelakhe Sisulu', a poignant tribute to the editor of *New Nation* who is in his 19th month of detention.

Numerous examples of harassment were related.

\* Mr Patrick Nyuka, of the Oudtshoorn community newspaper, *Saamstaan*, said he had been shot - 13 pellets in the back and 10 in the hand - during an incident involving 'kitskonstabels' (special constables).

According to the March issue of *Saamstaan*, available at the conference, the incident took place last year following a welcoming party for two members of the Bhongolethu Youth Organisation who had been released from prison.

Mr Nyuka was going to fetch more film for his camera when he was confronted by three 'kitskonstabels'. They wanted to take his camera, the report stated, and he refused. A confrontation developed. He got away and ran to the nearest house. He was ordered to come back and did so. A second constable moved in behind him and shot him, the report said.

Mr Nyuka said he was hospitalised for three weeks after the incident, then arrested and charged with various alleged offences, including public violence. The charges were later withdrawn.

\* Mr M J Fuzile of *Veritas*, a King Williams Town news agency, said he was detained on 14 June 1986 under the Emergency regulations. He was not given any reasons, and only learned much later that he had been detained because of his plans to put out a community newsletter for the area.

'The idea in itself was enough for 17 months' detention,' Mr Fuzile told the conference. He was released on 10 November 1987.

\* Mrs Rashieda Parker, of Allie's Printing Services, the Cape Town printing firm that often does work for community organisations, told of repeated harassment and questioning of staff by 'agents of the state'.

She said her husband, who had been detained several times, had been treated at Valkenberg psychiatric hospital for depression during his previous spell in detention. He could not attend the conference as he was resting, but sent a message in which he vowed to continue to print 'even if we have to pay the ultimate price'.



The conference was also told about:

- \* A warning in Parliament, by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, that he would not condone women's magazines questioning conscription.
- \* A move by the Department of Education and Culture to stop the distribution of the children's magazine, *Molo Songololo*, at certain schools.
- \* Harassment of the Lenasia newspaper, the *Indicator*, by the tax authorities.
- \* The Post Office's closure of UCT radio.

Mrs Jane Raphaely, editor-in-chief of *Cosmopolitan* and *Femina*, said she had been 'bounced off' the Media Council for 'expressing views I was not put there to express.'

Professor Jakes Gerwel, Rector of the University of the Western Cape, urged the media to unite and find ways to resist the 'culture of silence' being imposed by the Government.

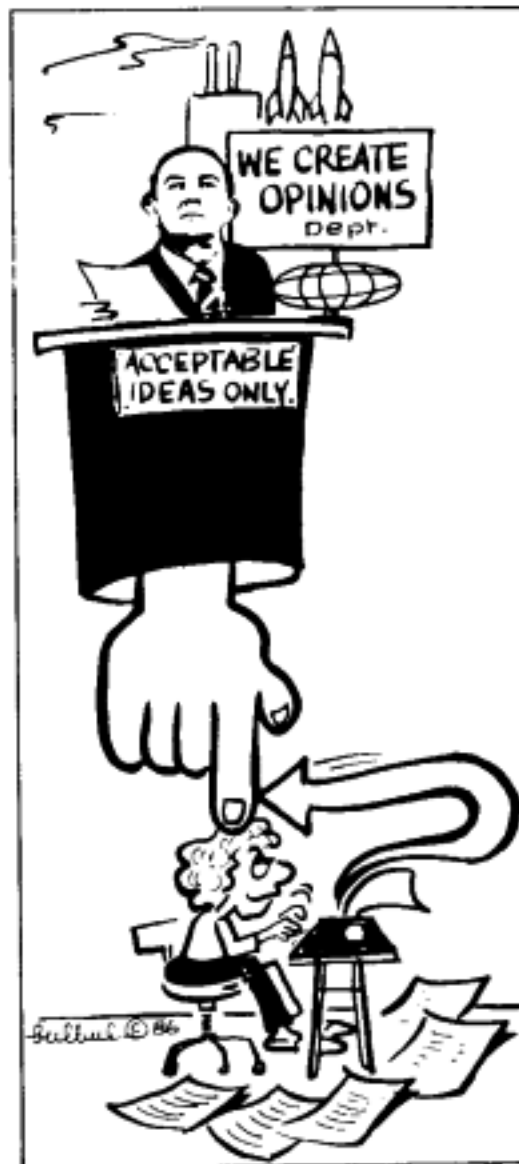
He said the press in South Africa was ideologically and politically diverse. It was essential to defend the right to hold different opinions.

Mr Harald Pakendorff, former editor of *Die Vaderland*, said the Government's actions against the alternative press set a bad example for the future when there could be a situation in which 'South represents the commercial press and *Die Burger* the alternative media'.

Delegates to the conference unanimously adopted a declaration rejecting the Government's attempts 'to define and restrict the role of the media in South Africa' and demanding freedom for the media.

They resolved further to support the 'Save the Press' campaign which would be spearheaded by the media but taken also to the community at large. They also called for the unbanning of the restricted media and the release of detained journalists and other detainees.

A committee consisting of Professor Hermann Giliomee, Editor of *Die Suid Afrikaan*, Mr Moegsien Williams, media officer of the University of the Western Cape and Mr Mansoor Jaffer of *Grassroots*, was elected to co-ordinate the campaign. □



**WORK IN PROGRESS**

**South**  
YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO KNOW

ONS EIE NUUSBLAD

**SAAMSTAAN**

Vol. 4 No. 8

December 1987 GRATIS

**THE New Nation**  
**WEEKLY MAIL**

THE PAPER FOR A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA

VOLUME 4, NUMBER 17, THURSDAY MAY 5 to THURSDAY MAY 12, 1988

NON - PROFIT COMMUNITY NEWS

**grassroots**  
THE PAPER ABOUT YOU Vol. 9 No. 3 May 1988

The mastheads shown here do not represent all the newspapers and magazines that have been officially warned. The remaining three are *New Era*, *Azania Focus* and *Die Stem*.





# conference resolutions

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## Resolution on Fedsaw

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This National Conference of the Black Sash believing

- a. that women have an important part to play in building a society free from discrimination and oppression and have a proud history in South Africa of opposition to injustice.
- b. that while there are many barriers in our society, our identity as women provides us with one common bond that can help us to transcend them and so to work for unity instead of division;
- c. that we share with the Federation of South African Women a desire to 'bring the women of South Africa together to secure full equality of opportunity for all women, regardless of race, colour or creed; to work for the protection and empowerment of the women and children of our land' (Draft Constitution of Fedsaw);
- d. that we as an organisation have much to contribute as well as a great deal to learn from participation in a more widely representative body.
- e. that such participation could well provide for us a model of the society which we seek for South Africa in the future: open, participatory, tolerant of difference while committed to overcoming divisiveness;
- f. that a national federation of women's organisations committed to unity, democracy and non-racialism could co-ordinate campaigns with a particular focus on women's rights while allowing each organisation to pursue its own specific undertakings; and

recognising that attempts to create such a national federation or organisation have been hampered by the difficulty of prior consultation on a very wide front;

We do hereby resolve:

1. to welcome the initiative to revive and build a federation of South African women;
2. to encourage all our regions and members to take an active part in seeking and strengthening contact with Fedsaw;
3. to participate in the discussion and consideration of the Black Sash's relationship with Fedsaw;

4. to work in close association with Fedsaw on campaigns and projects so that the process of building trust and friendship may become a reality in practice as well as in principle;
5. to make it our concern to draw other women's organisations into this experience.

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## Resolution on Conscription

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We repeat our call for an end to conscription, to the use of our young men in an overt war in Angola and to their use in clandestine operations in South Africa and neighbouring states.

We reiterate our opposition to their use in an on-going civil war within South Africa where they are used to suppress the legitimate aspirations of voteless people.

Furthermore, we support the End Conscription Campaign in its short-term goals:

1. To extend the right of rendering community service to all those who in good conscience are opposed to serving in the SADF, not just to religious pacifists.
2. That they should serve the same length of time as military service, not a punitive one-and-a-half times the length.
3. That this service should be available in community, religious and welfare organisations and not just in government departments.
4. That those who are conscripted into the SADF are given the right to refuse to serve in townships, Namibia and other southern African countries.

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## Statement on Detentions

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We, the Black Sash, repeat our condemnation of the practice of detention in the overall state strategy of silencing opposition.

We note that an estimated 1 500 people are still incarcerated in political internment in South Africa, many of whom have been held for 20 months.

We also condemn the silencing of all organisations who have had the courage to explore the scale and depth of inhumane treatment of the detention strategy.

We reaffirm our commitment to monitoring and opposing ever-increasing repression in South Africa.

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## Statement on the Restriction of Individuals and Organisations

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Meeting for the first time since the 24 February banning of people and restriction of 18 organisations, this National Conference of the Black Sash reaffirms its commitment to the pursuit of justice.

We condemn the new regulations as we continue to oppose the State of Emergency itself. We demand that the curbs be lifted so that organisations and individuals can continue their important work for justice and freedom.

Increased repression challenges us to review yet more urgently our aims, policies and strategies, to align ourselves with the Churches in their principled non-violent action; and to share more actively and sacrificially in the broad democratic movement for a post-apartheid Southern Africa in which all inhabitants and countries of the region can live together in justice, peace, friendship and mutual assistance in development.




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## Education Statement

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The control of education is control of ideology and therefore is unlikely to be relinquished by the state. The divisive strategies of the different education departments and the increasing use of police, security forces and the SADF in schools requires to be nationally monitored and exposed as each region of South Africa manifests different forms of educational control and repression.

The Black Sash urges its members to involve themselves actively in schools, universities and colleges, in parent teacher associations, school boards, school committees and university councils. Members should identify and support progressive teachers. Members should resist the increasing militarisation of schools, exercise their legal option for their sons not to participate in the cadet system and encourage other parents to do the same.

\* *In response to a suggestion from National Conference a forthcoming issue of SASH will focus specifically on education in South Africa. Ed.*

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## Statement on Homelessness

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In South Africa we are still in the throes of dispossession, the story of our land for 300 years. At a time when one South African out of six is homeless, there are continued forced removals, demolitions and evictions and there is no

priority of state spending on housing for the poor and the very poor.

In many parts of the world countries are trying to repair the ravages of land seizures and to find ways around the vast issues of the economies of housing great numbers of poor people.

The United Nations Charter, Article 17(1) reads: everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others; and Article 25 (1) reads: Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services.

The Black Sash, believing that people should have the right to live where they wish, in adequate shelter, endorses the above code. However, in South Africa, there is no chance of meeting these requirements until the Land Act and the Group Areas Act have been abolished.

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## Statement on Children

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The Black Sash once again pledges itself to work towards the elimination of discriminatory law and practice which is causing gross deprivation to our children, especially those who are deprived of adequate education, health care, housing, proper parenting and protective legislation.

We demand for children in both the rural and urban areas:

1. better health care, including an adequate diet and accessible medical care;
2. an education system which gives each child an optimum chance to develop his/her potential and is acceptable to members of the community;
3. that all children in detention either be released or brought to trial and that the Child-care Act be adhered to for all children at all times;
4. that suitable places of safety be found so that children do not have to be held in police cells while awaiting trial (In 1986, 58 962 children were held in police cells);
5. that children in detention or awaiting trial have access to social workers, lawyers, doctors and their parents at all times, to prevent abuse occurring and to see that their needs can be attended to;
6. that all children caught up in the spiral of violence have access to counselling and rehabilitative services.

The Black Sash commits itself to working towards these ends and also requests its Regions to join with other organisations either by joining a Free the Children Alliance or initiating such a body in those areas where one does not exist. □

# report round-up

*These extracts, drawn from some of the 51 papers tabled at National Conference, provide a glimpse into the wide range of the Black Sash's work.*

## From the **Johannesburg Advice Office Report** (referring to the issuing of new Identity Documents):

It may not matter to the Department of Home Affairs that people's names are spelt wrong, or that someone whose first name, Flora, correctly shown in her old reference book, is told that she cannot apply for a pension until her I.D. is corrected. Her name in the new document is spelt Flola.

...We have reported over and over again about positively ancient people who have been told they are 'too young' to claim a pension because the computer says they were born several years after the true date of birth.

A person, and there are many, who was born at home without the assistance of medical attendants, and who was not baptised, has no hope of getting a birth certificate. Without the birth certificate he or she has no hope of obtaining an Identity Document. Without the I.D. he cannot obtain lawful accommodation or regular employment or a pension or enter into most normal banking and commercial transactions.

## From the **Transvaal Region's Report**:

It has been suggested that we tend to get so caught up in the service aspect of our work we may be in danger of losing sight of the more important political purpose...In analysing [our] work for the year, I believe that while there has been a great deal of hard work 'on the ground' the primary goal remains the eventual destruction of the apartheid fortress. The big dramatic break-through is a rare event, but the slow patient chipping away at the foundations opens up spaces for manoeuvre and negotiation, and must eventually erode the entire structure.

## From the **Cape Eastern Region's Report**:

The Algoa Regional Services Council started functioning in August, and just the cost of refurbishing offices for this unwanted body was R541 451. [In Ibhayi] R268 000 earmarked for job creation, was spent on nine houses for town councillors. The rental for each of these was fixed at R4,24 a month. In contrast to this we have seen the pain and suffering of many of the people evicted by the Ibhayi Town Council.

## From 'Factors Influencing Family Life in Natal':

The increasingly high number of mothers who go out to work has severely affected family life because sufficient adequate alternative child care facilities are not available...There are just not enough day-care facilities for the majority of African, Coloured and Indian children...Many of the existing facilities do not provide adequate care, nutrition, security and stimulation, leaving the child with a life-long developmental lag which often leads to premature dropping out of school.

## From the **Albany Fieldworker's Report**:

Repression is still a daily threat. Any sign of organisational revival is met with the detention of a few more key activists. The Emergency detention tool is still kept in ready as an easy response to crush any active individual.

Roads leading to Grahamstown and most other Eastern Cape towns do not display the traditional 'Welcome/Welkom' signs any longer but rather 'This town is protected by Neighbourhood Watch.'

As hundreds of people are released from the gaols, they begin desperately hunting for jobs. It is overwhelmingly clear that employers are not taking on anyone who has been tarred with the political brush. Many of the newly released detainees face the prospect of joining the ranks of the permanently unemployed, a frightening fate.

## From the **Advice Office Trust Report**:

(This paper contains a quote from a report written by a Government inspector, who visited the Cape Eastern and Albany Regions on the instructions of the Director of Fund Raising. He seemed unable to fathom the Black Sash).

He described the Cape Eastern Region as follows:

'This organisation consists of about 60 female workers doing voluntary work, selling magazines, having cake sales and paying subscriptions of R20 a year'!

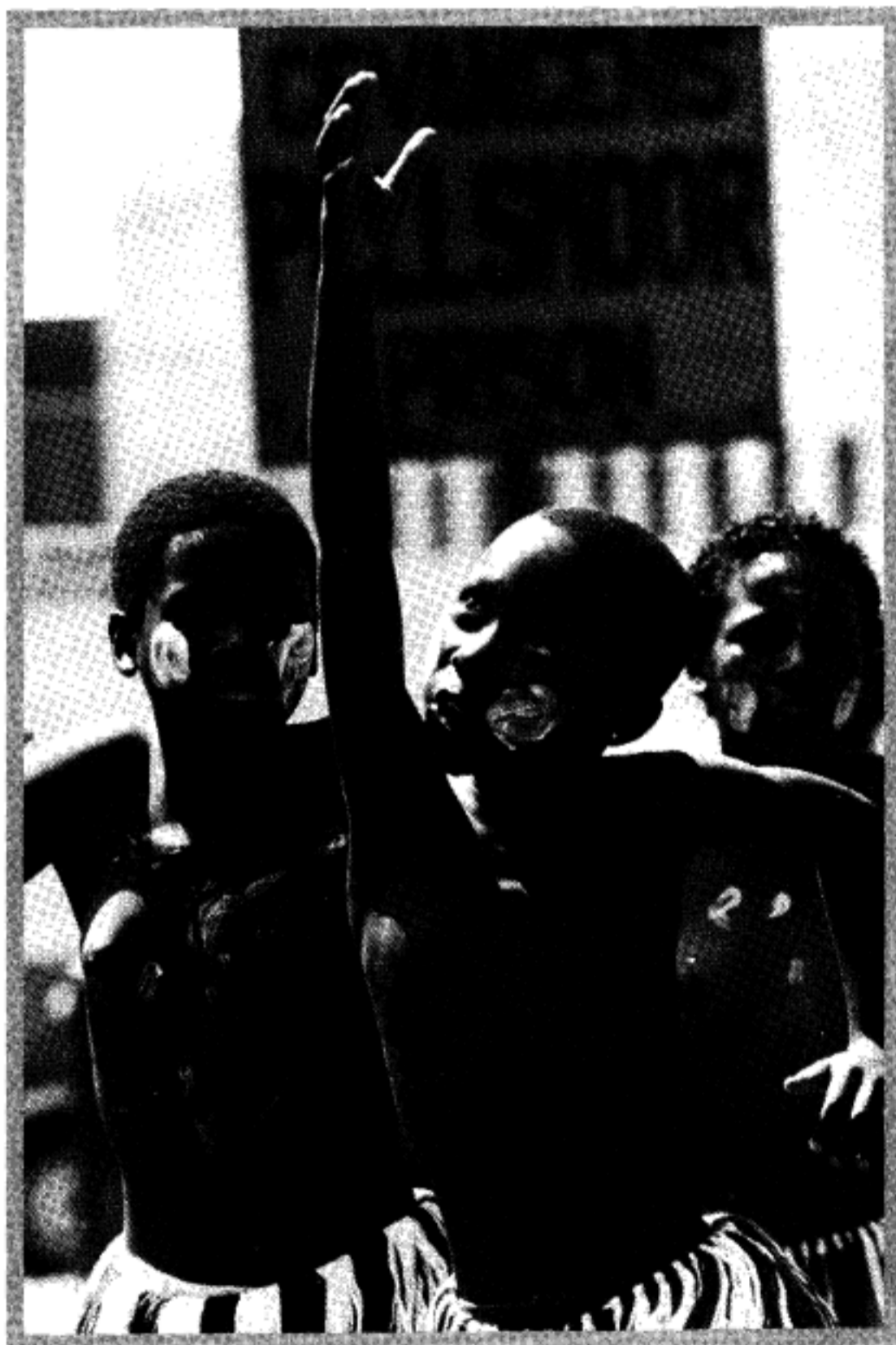
□



ALL HUMAN BEINGS ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL IN  
DIGNITY AND RIGHTS... ARTICLE 1

**'we hold  
these  
truths to  
be self  
evident...'**

Thomas Jefferson's words, immortalised in the American Declaration of Independence of 1776, encapsulate the conviction that has motivated human rights proponents throughout time. Our photo essay commemorates a watershed in the history of the human rights movement, 40 years ago, when the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We contrast some of the Declaration's articles with photographs, some of which convey why South Africa ranks with the reprobate nations of the world on international human rights ratings.



*Young dancers outside Pollsmoor prison celebrate the wedding of Irene and Wilton Mawayi, inside Pollsmoor.*

Photographs selected by Gill de Vlieg  
Calligraphy by Tessa Scott



EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF PEACEFUL  
ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION. ARTICLE 20(1)



Dave Hartman

*Riot police form up on the opposite side of the road to sitting students making peace signs outside the University of Cape Town.*



EDUCATION SHALL BE DIRECTED TO THE FULL  
DEVELOPMENT OF THE HUMAN PERSONALITY AND TO  
THE STRENGTHENING OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS  
AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS... ARTICLE 26(2)



Dave Hartman

*A solidarity protest in support of Bonteheuwel students who were beaten by police.*



NO ONE SHALL BE SUBJECTED TO ARBITRARY  
ARREST, DETENTION OR EXILE. ARTICLE 9



Dave Hartman

*A mother tries to prevent her son being arrested during a student boycott. Cape Town, 1985.*



NO ONE SHALL BE SUBJECTED TO  
TORTURE OR TO CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING  
TREATMENT OR PUNISHMENT. ARTICLE 5



Gail de Vlieg

*Paulos, a victim of Vigilantes. Thabong (Welkom), June 1985.*





EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO LIFE, LIBERTY  
AND SECURITY OF PERSON.      ARTICLE 3

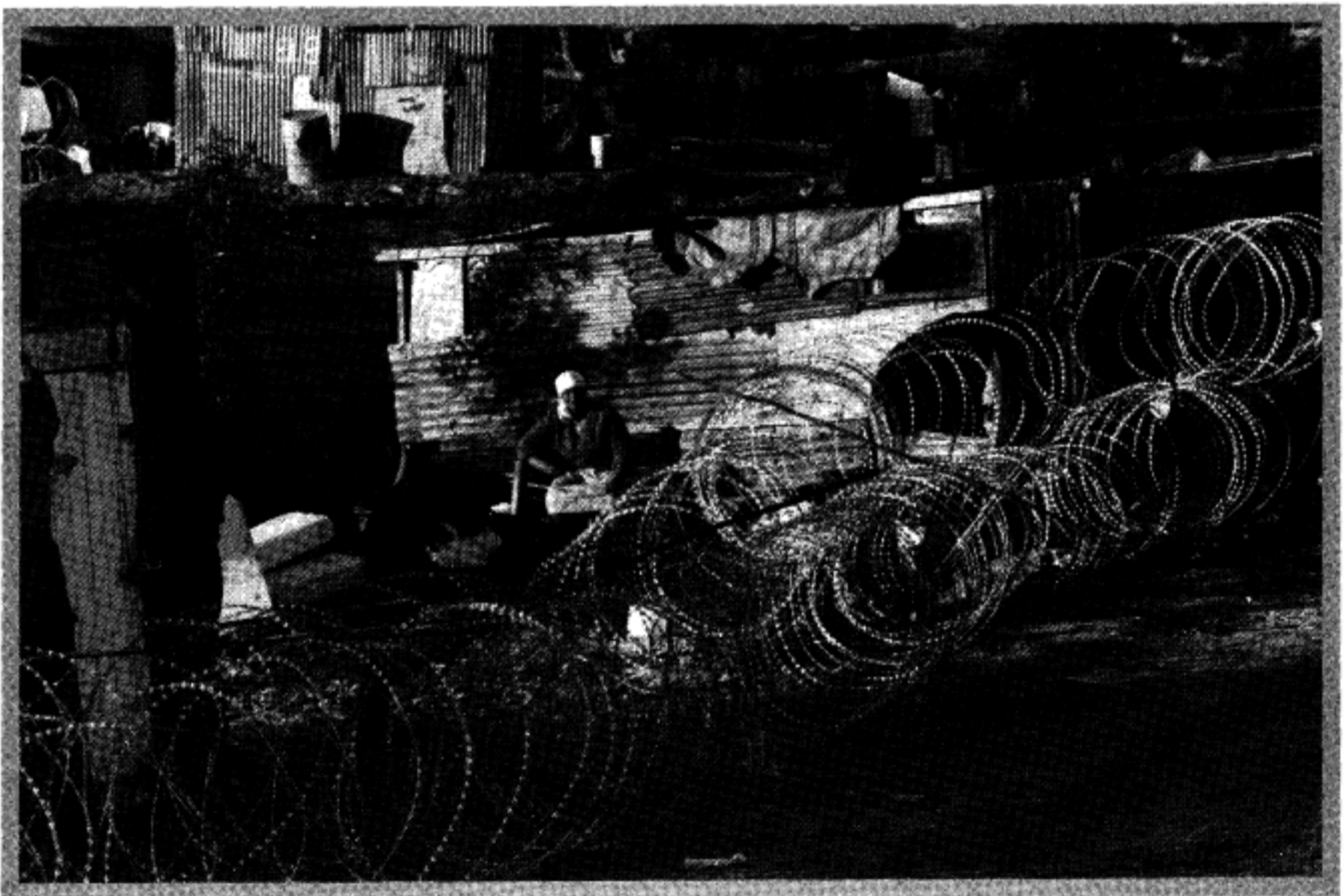


Guy Tillim

*The 'Witdoek' vigilantes versus the 'Comrades': Crossroads, May 1986.*



EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM  
OF MOVEMENT AND RESIDENCE WITHIN  
THE BORDERS OF EACH STATE.      ARTICLE 13(1)



Anna Zieminski



EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO WORK, TO FREE CHOICE OF  
EMPLOYMENT, TO JUST AND FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS OF WORK  
AND TO PROTECTION AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT. ARTICLE 23(1)



Gill de Vlieg

*The unemployed queue at a Qwa Qwa recruitment office.*

EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT TO A STANDARD OF  
LIVING ADEQUATE FOR HEALTH AND WELL-BEING OF HERSELF  
AND OF HER FAMILY... ARTICLE 25(1)

MOTHERHOOD AND CHILDHOOD ARE ENTITLED TO SPECIAL  
CARE AND ASSISTANCE... ARTICLE 25(2)



Cedric Nunn

*A mother comforts her child suffering from gastro enteritis, an illness that contributes significantly to South Africa's infant mortality rate.*

# keeping the fires burning

jacklyn cock

*As the militarisation of South African society proceeds, the involvement of white women is planned and controlled to serve military goals, argues Jacklyn Cock. Her National Conference paper applies a feminist critique to the mass of authentic detail linking women and militarisation in South Africa and elsewhere. Here are some extracts.*



Cape Times.

The linkages between women and the process of militarisation are mystified by two opposing analyses - those of sexism and feminism. Both analyses exclude women from war on the grounds of 'special qualities'. Sexism excludes women on the grounds of their physical inferiority and unsuitability for combat roles. One variant of feminism excludes women on opposite grounds, that of women's innate nurturing qualities, their creativity and pacifism. The outcome of both positions is that war is understood as a totally male affair.

In a civil war or struggle such as that being waged in contemporary South Africa, the landscape of combat is redrawn as the experience of war is dispersed among the general population. In this process an important breach in the ideological constructions of gender is threatened. As Ruddick

has written: 'Dividing the protector from the protected, defender from defended, is the linchpin of masculinist as well as military ideology.' Therefore, considerable efforts are made to avoid this breach and elaborate a traditional but expanded notion of femininity for women within the SADF.

White women are incorporated into the militarisation of South African society by means of direct and indirect incorporation. The direct incorporation is clear in the increasing use of white women within the SADF in a variety of roles. At the indirect material level, there are three linkages between women and war: firstly, through organisations such as the Southern Cross Fund, which provides food parcels and recreational services for 'the boys on the border', and Operation Ride Safe, which is used to or-

ganise lifts for national servicemen; secondly, in Civil Defence and Commando units; and thirdly, they are engaged in armaments production for Armscor. Another indirect linkage is that they provide a crucial source of ideological support. They elaborate an ideology of gender roles which links masculinity to militarism.

The extent to which the wife is incorporated in her soldier-husband's role is best illustrated by the Johannesburg City Council's decision to restrict paid maternity leave to women employees whose husbands were presently doing or had done military service. Those to be excluded were 'specifically the wives of religious objectors' as well as all blacks, coloureds, Indians and single women. (After numerous objections were lodged, the decision was dropped.)

It is significant that the increasing

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## Some Quotes...

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*Jacklyn's paper was full of telling quotes. We re-print a few of them below.*

'Traditional notions of femininity are not abandoned [in the incorporation of women in the defence force]. For example, on one occasion where the Soutpansberg Military Area Commando gathered for an evaluation, the evening included a fashion show.

*'Bidding to take the best dressed category the women's teams paraded in a variety of coloured outfits. Red bush-hat cum stetson, safari suit pulled in with red leather belt and red pumps was about the best' said a Colonel Swanepoel in Paratus, Vol 38 No 2 February 1987.*

On another occasion during the evaluation:

*'Ouma Marina Hogenboezen strode into the evaluation with a rifle under her left arm and pick-nick (sic) basket in her right hand, and said, "Shooting comes as naturally as baking in the kitchen". (Ibid.)*

Soldiers [are seen to] enjoy a status in the community and their lady friends [are expected to be] an asset to them, even if they are only doing shopping together. Certain standards are expected of him when wearing his uniform and the same applies to the woman accompanying him. Therefore the following was recommended by Mrs Emsie Schoeman, in an address given to the SA Army Ladies Organisation at Buffelspoort in 1980:

*'For a formal dinner... a light material (chiffon) long dress, little jewellery, court shoes in either gold or satin and matching handbag. For visiting town...a neatly tailored outfit. Court shoes and handbag. Sandals can be worn if feet are well looked after and carefully manicured.'*



*A presentation of Easter Eggs to soldiers at the Wynberg Military Hospital by office-holders of the Cape Province Branch of the Southern Cross Fund.*

incorporation of women as a minority of the armed forces has not seriously breached the ideology of gender roles or the sexual division of labour. The most common functions women fulfil in militaries are clerical, administrative and servicing. These are jobs very similar to those held by women in the wider labour market. They do not contaminate the ideology of femininity which reinforces the sexual division of labour. It is therefore difficult to see how this increasing use of women as a military resource can be hailed as advancing equality between the sexes.

The linkages between women and war are complex and straddle contradictions which are embedded deep in the peculiar social conditions of South Africa. While white women are contributing to the process of militarisation, white women are also more

active than white men in the extra-parliamentary struggle against apartheid. While the politics of gender is often used to deny the validity of women's independent autonomous political action, paradoxically it also gives them space for such action.

The obvious question that arises is whether the ideological construction of 'manpower' will be restructured to include white women. Generally, conscription for women is still rare anywhere. Future policy will hinge on the tension between the need to mobilise women as soldiers under the pressure of manpower shortages and increasing resistance and the need to avoid any contamination or dilution of the ideological construct of 'femininity'. This construct is crucial as a source of legitimation for the connection between masculinity and militarism. □

## One More Quote...

*'Happiness always has a woman in the picture. In the first place, happiness is a woman who knows who has made her...*

*Happiness also is a woman who knows why she was made...*

*Happiness is also a woman who knows to whom she belongs...*

*Happiness is also a woman who is not naïve about the enemy's attack on the Republic of South Africa.'* - Mrs Viljoen, wife of the then Head of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, quoted in Paratus, Vol. 34, No 7, July 1983.



*Mrs Constand Viljoen, wife of the former Chief of the Defence Force, with two soldiers launching 'South Africa's biggest cake bake.'*

Cape Times.

## ...and Some Questions

There are several important questions that flow from Jacklyn's paper. She has agreed to deal with them in a future issue of SASH. We set out some of them here:

Applying a feminist analysis to the role of women and the military potentially raises a major contradiction. The logical conclusion of the feminist argument is that women are as competent as men at waging war and should not be incorporated into the military merely in 'traditional female roles'. This brand of feminism rejects the notion that women are 'bearers of special qualities' that make them inherently different from men. Yet, at the same time, the analysis condemns the role that women are playing in the country's militarisation, suggesting that they are being manipulated by male militarist ideology. Is it possible to resolve this contradiction?

At one point, the paper cites a moving plea by the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, in 1914 to avert war: 'In this terrible hour, when the fate of Europe depends on decisions which women have no power to shape, we, realising our responsibilities as mothers of the race, cannot stand passively by. Powerless though we are politically...' Else-



*Cadets at a Republic celebration, Durban 1981.*

Paul Weinberg

where, the paper gives prominence to the claim that 'Women at all times have been victims of war, and not its perpetrators.' White South African women no longer have that let-out. Now that we have the 'power to shape' decisions which the vote confers, what is still required for women to shed the stigma of implied helplessness?

There is strong reference to E.P. Thompson's 'crucial insight' into the way military institutions and ideas 'contaminate' societies. The paper relates this to the South African context, with particular reference to the SADF and the role white women play in supporting it. The logical follow-up question is whether children and youth who march with wooden rifles in townships or glorify Umkhonto we Sizwe, are part of the process of military 'contamination'? Or does the fact that they lack access to legitimate and democratic means of change justify a different analytic framework?

There is criticism of the 'degree of support - both ideological and material' which many white women provide to members of the SADF. But is it possible for women in these structural circumstances to be anything but supportive to, say, their sons or husbands? Even women who are opposed to conscription - and the role of the SADF - are supportive of their conscripted family members. By turning human fidelity into an unacceptable trait, is there not the risk of alienating people who, if the problem were differently expressed, might recognise the validity of the point being made? □

*A close-up look at homelessness-in-the-making.*



Eric Miller.

## eviction through a zoom lens

joyce harris

**T**he time is midday on a warm Summer afternoon. The place is the pavement in Wanderers Street, Johannesburg, outside Branksome Towers. Protea Court is a little further up the street.

Like any other member of the public I have read headlines in the press from time to time saying such things as 'At least 80 families - about 300

people - were evicted from their flats...' or 'Sixty families pushed out on the pavements.' And I have felt sorry for them and wondered what would become of them. But time has passed, other events have intervened, and I have forgotten about them.

This time I went to see for myself; to see ordinary, decent, working, earning black people, black families, made

'illegal' through the combination of discriminatory laws and an acute housing shortage. People thrust on to the pavement outside their buildings, their possessions scattered helter-skelter around them, wondering where they were going to spend the night, what was going to become of them, whether it would rain on their possessions and devastate them even further.



These people were apparently being evicted for non-payment of rent arrears but all around were stories that they had not been informed that the Rent Board had increased their rent; or that they had the money available but had been unable to make contact with the agent who was supposed to collect it; or that the money had been refused because it was late.

They are not criminals. They are working people or mothers with children to care for. They have been earning sufficient to pay the rents set by the Rent Board, exorbitant though they appear to be in terms of what is offered and the general condition of the buildings. They are responsible human beings paying their dues to the community and trying to get on with their lives, caring for themselves and their families and asking nothing but to be left in peace in the homes they have managed to find for themselves.

Their good humour in the circumstances is amazing, their friendliness, their helpfulness to each other, their readiness to talk to anyone with a friendly face. They have been evicted from their homes. The Sheriff, assisted by the police, has 'entered and removed'. It must be said that those who were doing the moving seemed to be taking care. But nevertheless things got broken. A box of crockery was dropped. People's homes were spread along the pavement, in the gutter, in the street.

There is always something rather pitiful about the exposure to the public gaze of the accoutrements of

people's lives. Look at any household in the process of an ordinary, normal move. Goods and chattels waiting to be loaded have a curiously detached, abandoned, lost look about them, moved out of their context. The home in which they belong has been dismantled. None of the loving thought which has gone into their acquisition and their placing is visible. They always look sad.

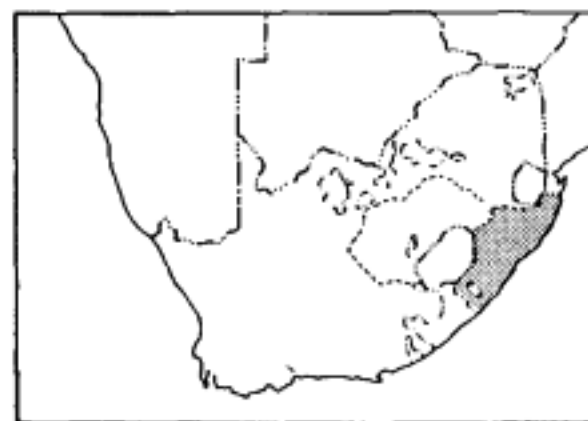
But when a home has been forcibly dismantled, when its contents have been summarily dumped on the pavement and in the street, when they are subjected to the unsympathetic and sometimes hostile gaze of passers-by, they make one want to weep. One thinks of how hard the lives of most of the occupants of such flats must inevitably have been, how hard they still are, how they must have struggled to acquire all those possessions, big and small, that go towards the creation of a home. And one looks at beds and bedclothes and tables and chairs and cupboards and buckets of kitchenware and fridges and mirrors and curtains - all clean, all cared for, all the culmination of someone's dreams or hopes or efforts. The dispossessed children are climbing over them, looking for a little fun. Bits of paper blow around them. Some are precariously balanced. Others look better built for survival.

One looks, and one wonders about man's inhumanity to man and about a system that can allow such things to happen, and about the callousness and heartlessness of all of us who read or see or pass by and who forget. □

## nowhere to live, nowhere to go

*Homelessness is a phenomenon usually associated with a major natural disaster. But in South Africa the devastating summer floods made only a minor contribution to the staggering statistical news that one in every six South Africans is homeless. Joyce Harris sums up the material presented at the National Conference on this theme.*

**B**etween them, the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and the Black Communities Development Act are responsible for the crisis of homelessness which is besetting the entire country, in rural as well as urban areas. These laws zone land racially, they control who may live where, and they apportion approximately 13% of the land to approximately 80% of the people. All this has had - and is still having - dire consequences for millions of dispossessed people.



Natal



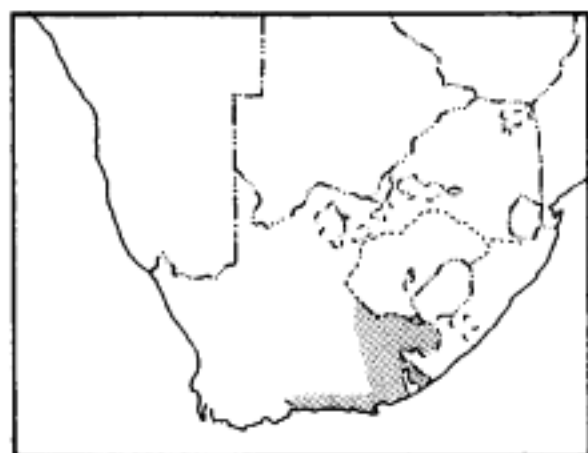
Homeless, Mr Samuel Nyaole of the Eastern Cape, sits where he lives, surrounded by everything he owns.

At the Black Sash National Conference, reports from all regions painted a picture of dispossession, alienation, overcrowding, people with nowhere to go and nowhere to live even though they may be employed and earning. People forced off the land they have farmed for generations, communities destroyed, shacks and homes demolished, a sense that people are being mercilessly hounded, shifted, uprooted to accommodate an impossible ideology.

Homelessness must be one of the most horrific conditions with which to have to cope. Shelter is fundamental to life, and to be without it, or perhaps even worse, to have it destroyed from over the heads of those who have so painfully constructed it, really boggles the imagination. Yet in South Africa one person in six is homeless!

Natural disasters did play a role in this process. The *Natal* floods devastated the homes of approximately 500 000 people. Political conflict in this province also contributed to the homelessness problem through the destruction of township houses that were burnt or destroyed in various ways.

From the *Eastern Cape* came the news of the removal of people from Langa - another example of the government's determination to implement the Group Areas Act. People were moved from their well-established



*Southern and Eastern Cape*

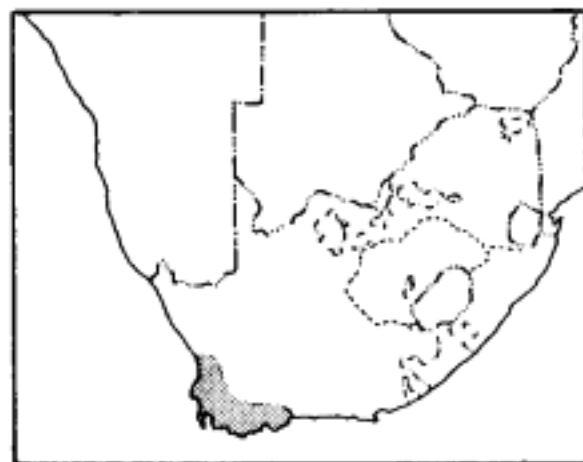
homes into tents on a barren hillside at the cost of R13,5-million. The community had proposed an alternative: an upgrading scheme, the first phase of which would have cost R3,5-million. Removals were carried out at night with the use of searchlights and the municipal police conducted an intense programme of intimidation.

In the Port Elizabeth area, 215 538 people are living in shacks in a constant state of fear of demolition, be-

cause there are no alternative sites as a result of the Land Acts and the Group Areas Act.

Major housing projects and incentives favour the middle income group and the government is not addressing the housing problem of the poor. In the mean while the shacks of the so-called illegal squatters continue to be demolished. A number of the squatters have had to live out in the open near to where their shacks once stood.

From the *Western Cape*: Khayelitsha, the government's answer to the acute housing problem for blacks in the Cape Town area, is on the bleak Cape Flats, 25 kms from the centre of Cape Town. There are presently an estimated 200 000 people living there. It is the place to which all black people who are considered to be trespassing or squatting are sent and grows steadily every day. There are houses, core houses and an emergency camp of shacks.



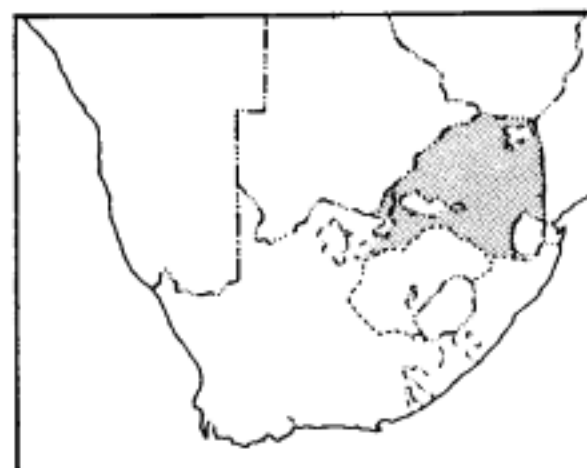
*Western Cape*

There has been upgrading to provide schools, hospitals, churches, welfare organisations and even transport in the form of a new railway line. But unemployment is rife and people cannot afford to travel to Cape Town to seek work. They keep alive through self-help.

Cape Town itself is a city in crisis. The black population in the Cape Metropolitan Area will have grown from 133 889 in 1970 to an estimated 1 379 330 in 2 000. It is estimated that by 1990, 400 000 workseekers will lack formal employment and be unemployed or supporting themselves in the informal sector. The poverty is already desperate. Five out of seven coloured tenants are in arrears. There is presently a housing shortage of some 800 000 units. The brutal demolition of squatters' shacks in Cross-

roads, KTC and elsewhere has been well documented. Apart from being inhuman, it is also incomprehensible in the context of the housing shortage.

From *Border*: There is a housing shortage of 340 000 units, acute poverty and people having to choose between food and shelter because they cannot afford both.



*Transvaal*

From the *Transvaal*: There is a massive shortage of both houses and land. Only about 25% of Africans would be able to make any contribution to housing costs yet the government is unwilling to build low-cost housing. There is a stubborn resistance in the white councils even to acknowledge the existence of many black homeless people let alone to do anything constructive about this crisis.

Yet there are arrests and/or demolitions in many areas in the PWV. People are shunted from site to site, still with no lawful home. Homelessness occurs in backyards, and on open land in 'black' urban areas, in 'grey' areas and 'white' areas, and in many very small and not-so-small groups on peri-urban land designated for every group other than the people living on it.

It is no wonder, therefore, that people tend to live wherever they can find a place for themselves - frequently 'illegally', in shacks, or tents, or overcrowded houses, or in flats or houses in the so-called 'white' areas if they can afford to do so.

And always they are living under conditions of extreme stress and the fear of demolition or eviction or arrest. For each and every one of them the circumstances carry all the seeds of tragedy with very little in the way of hope for a more stable kind of existence in the future. What a terrible way this is in which to have to live. □

Advice offices were always central to the Black Sash's identity. They remain so, even though their work has expanded and changed over time. With its large voluntary resources, the Black Sash is now managing an operation which would stretch, test and challenge any corporate enterprise. Linda Berkowitz and Sue Joynt provide this year's overview.

## advice office round-up

linda berkowitz and sue joynt

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

1736

ET DIE KOMPLIMENTE VAN DIE  
DEPARTEMENT VAN AANGELEENTHEDEN  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

*NB*  
*An Alien is a person who is not a S.A. citizen. Certain T.B.V.C. citizens also qualify for S.A. citizenship. Provided their names are confirmed they must obtain S.A. identity documents. Regarding applications will not be subject to the usual requirements.*

*30/4/88*

ALBERT STRAAT  
PRETORIA 0001

you do within \_\_\_\_\_ days of the service of this summons to the CLERK OF THE AFORESAID COURT and also the PLAINTIFF OR HIS ATTORNEY if notified herein a notice in writing of your intention to defend this action and answer the same.

an adult woman and domestic worker of \_\_\_\_\_ Avenue, Yeoville, Johannesburg

Claim 1: R21,83  
Claim 2: R40,00  
Claims are endorsed hereunder

Defendant is for payment of the sum/balance of R \_\_\_\_\_

Claim 1: R21,83  
Claim 2: R40,00

for:

The scale of Black Sash work has expanded so much recently that advice office workers around the country needed to gather a day early, before the National Conference began, to discuss their reports and to engage with fieldworkers doing related work.

The value of the workshop session before conference was highlighted by the sharing of information and procedures that have developed at different rates in the various advice offices. Technicalities of using the small claims courts, potential test cases involving eligibility for UIF benefits, working together with the South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU), making contact with and working with the trade unions, dealing with shady insurance salesmen and deviant lawyers, extending advice office work by co-operation with more community-based organisations were all profitably discussed.

Altogether, the eight advice offices conducted more than 33 000 interviews during 1987, almost half of them in the Johannesburg office.

The types of cases heard by all advice offices were discussed briefly and fall mainly into the categories of social pensions, the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), wage- and other labour-related matters and housing (or the lack thereof). Pensions and other social grants are now handled by the provincial authorities and the change has led to inordinate delays in the processing of applications. Added to this, pensioners now have to apply for a new Identity Document at the same time. Much time in our advice offices is spent on labour matters. Employed workers come to voice complaints or to have their wages checked. Few wish to take any action for fear of losing their jobs. Advice offices keep up-to-date wage determinations and refer as many people as possible to appropriate unions and industrial councils. For unorganised workers, very little can usually be done.

Housing problems and their resolution vary from region to region. In Cape Town there is the huge dormitory area of Khayelitsha, home now to

some 200 000 people and officially seen as the 'homeland' for all bothersome communities whether they are living in the single quarters at Lwandle in Somerset West or in the bush at Noordhoek. In Johannesburg, on the other hand, squatters are hounded and arrested for trespass, often with no alternative offered to them. In Port Elizabeth, demolitions and removals are done in the name of up-grade when it is patently clear that the people will be unable to afford to re-occupy the up-graded areas. The East London advice office workers campaigned vigorously to bring squatters in their area to the attention of the wider community through the media and persistent canvassing of local businesses. In all these areas there are Black Sash members working regularly with squatter communities.

The relationship between advice offices and crisis work also varies from region to region. In the larger centres - Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban - there are other agencies with whom the Black Sash works,



dealing specifically with detainee support.

In Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and East London, however, Black Sash advice offices are much more in the front line and handle crisis work directly, especially when people in detainee support groups are themselves detained. Tribute must be paid to all those involved in this valuable and necessary work. Not only are these advice offices dealing with crisis work in the communities that they serve, they are also subject to harassment by vigilantes and the security forces personally. Crisis work of another kind was undertaken by the field worker of the Durban advice office who was seconded to one of the flood relief committees set up to assist people, particularly in the rural villages, who had lost their all in the floods which devastated Natal.

The political violence that is occurring in Pietermaritzburg permeates the work of the Natal Midlands advice office although the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Action

(PACSA) deals with most of the people directly affected.

A thread running through all the reports was the high level of unemployment and destitution experienced by many of the people coming to the advice offices. In Khayelitsha, the unemployment rate is said to be about 80% while in the Eastern Cape, the provincial authorities estimate the figure to be 60%. Natal's problems have been massively exacerbated by the damage and losses incurred during the floods. Because we do not provide welfare at our advice offices, we see fewer destitute people than we otherwise might, but regular visitors to the townships and squatter camps see the large numbers of unemployed people. The crime rate in all areas is appalling and it is little short of miraculous how many people survive. The heartening side of this depressing picture is the development of income-generating schemes by a wide variety of organisations and the networking that is taking place between them in some areas. The question of which aspects of the

unemployment problem the Black Sash could and should address was the topic of one of the working groups at the conference.

One of the features of advice office work during the past year has been the training of other people in both para-legal advice-giving and counselling skills. At the same time advice office workers expressed concern that we should work on our own attitudes towards the people who come to us for help so that we empower them to make decisions for themselves, enabling them to leave the advice office with a clearer understanding of their rights.

In some of the advice offices, notably Johannesburg, the training of advice givers takes place 'in house' whereas in Cape Town a three-week course for up-country workers was devised and successfully run in co-operation with a number of other organisations.

With particular regard to the question of eligibility for South African identity documents, the East London advice office instructed the Legal Resources Centre to take a case to court which 'successfully established that the residents of Duncan Village do not need lodgers' permits before they can apply for new Identity Documents. Johannesburg reported problems experienced by people who cannot get late-registration-of-birth certificates which they need to apply for new Identity Documents because they do not have old reference books. The reason they do not have old reference books is that they do not have birth certificates. Lateral thinking and a great deal of perseverance are required to break out of this vicious, bureaucratic circle of catch-22's.

This summary cannot do justice to the breadth and depth of work done by the co-ordinators, field workers, interpreters and volunteers in the advice offices. In many areas it is the advice office that forms the centre of Black Sash activity. There is a strong ongoing need to share and discuss problems and to evaluate the work of the advice offices in terms of our organisation and its policies. □

Since the declaration of the second State of Emergency on 12 June 1986, members of the Black Sash in the Albany Region have monitored detentions in ten Eastern Cape towns: Grahamstown, Port Alfred, Kenton, Alexandria, Somerset East, Riebeeck East, Alicedale, Bedford, Fort Beaufort and Adelaide. A year later, in June 1987, we initiated a debriefing project which made it possible for us to systematise detention data in more detail, identify trends and draw some tentative conclusions. Between June 1987 and April 1988 some 200 ex-detainees were debriefed.

With the exception of the PWV Triangle, detention in the Eastern Cape has, until recently, been far more widely used than in any other part of the country. In this area alone, approximately 1 200 persons have been detained. Detentions peaked at the start of the State of Emergency in June/August 1986, with a slower intake in September/November 1986. From September 1986, releases slowly started to counterbalance new arrests until April/May 1987. On 11 June 1987, the last day of the Emergency year, a mass release of 60 detainees gave hope that many more would follow, but this did not happen. Instead there has been a gradual decline in the number of detainees and by the end of March 1988, it was estimated that 67 detainees were still being held. These included the top leadership in the Eastern Cape.

Detention is no longer routine, but is still used as a strategy to control organisations. On the eve of a recent stay-away, for example, some trade union officials were arrested and most are still detained. Some local community leaders have also been re-detained. Others have been warned that they are under surveillance and will be re-detained if there is any trouble in the community. They are out of the cell, but not far beyond the exercise yard.

Analysis of our data suggests that the underlying purpose of detentions is

what may be described as 'destabilisation' or 'disorganisation'. It is one of the many methods used by the state to suppress community mobilisation - the emergence of 'people's power' - by direct intervention and control. As a strategy it destabilises both communities and individuals. This is evidenced by the length of detentions and the emphasis on the detention of young adults. On average, debriefed detainees had been held for an average of ten months and over half were under the age of 26.

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## life after detention.

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priscilla hall and marianne roux

*A small team of women have quietly interviewed and 'debriefed' more than 200 people as they came out of detention in the Eastern Cape. This pioneering project, undertaken by the Black Sash's Albany Region, gives new insight into detention experiences and reveals another prong of the government's 'destabilisation' strategy.*

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Extensive debriefing shows that random detention has been used in every town. Many detainees were never questioned and very few were given reasons for their arrest and continued detention. Some were told they were arrested because of the violence and that they would be released when the violence stopped. A woman from Port Alfred said she was told that she should not cook for comrades at funerals. Our report reveals that it was mainly the leadership that was extensively questioned either shortly after being detained or before their release. The pattern has been to transfer these detainees to police stations in the smaller towns for a period of two to three weeks, to be interrogated and then given a warning, before their release. Beyond the ranks of leadership,

detentions are arbitrary. But randomness is also strategic as it is used to unnerve communities and break down people.

Ex-detainees describe prison life as dull and repressive. Health standards are also unsatisfactory. On arrival each inmate is given two mats and four or five blankets. These detainees informed us that there was lice in the bedding and that it was very cold during the winter months. Food was another source of dissatisfaction. They mentioned that the food was often dirty and that worms were sometimes found in the meat. They all had to supplement their diet with extra milk, bread, biscuits and whatever other food they could get. They also complained about the indifferent attitude of some of the warders who they felt were 'harsh and uncaring'. Long isolation under these conditions tends to weaken a person mentally, emotionally and physically.

The long-term effects of detention are difficult to determine and may well be more complex than appears now, but people and organisations have undeniably been damaged. Family economies and relationships have been severely strained and the fact that people must cope with detentions means that vast amounts of individual and community energy is deflected from other constructive work. This may well be part of the intended strategy. However, supporting detainees and their families and working to counteract the ill effects of their detention are tasks which can help reorganisation too.

Support for detainees and their families has involved the families themselves, friends and resource groups based in Grahamstown: The Legal Resources Centre and certain law firms, Dependents' Conference, the Black Sash and the South African Committee on Higher Education (SACHED). These individuals and groups have worked closely together to organise visits, pocket money,

clothing, study material and some legal backup for detainees. Family grants are also an important area of assistance.

Of equal importance is support for ex-detainees. Their resilience varies as does their prison experience. A great deal depends on how much strain they and their families can be spared and on local attitudes towards them. It is more difficult for people to recover when the family is coping with massive economic and personal strain.

The debriefing project has enabled us to pinpoint more systematically the problems detainees face on release. Two immediate forms of follow-up are medical and psychological examination and treatment.

It has been extremely difficult to provide adequate medical services to ex-detainees from places such as Alexandria, Alicedale, Adelaide and Bedford, amongst others. Originally arrangements were made for ex-detainees to be examined by a National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA) team in Port Elizabeth. However, these arrangements proved to be very awkward and cumbersome. As an alternative a local doctor was approached. She agreed to examine patients once or twice a week. During the period between July 1987 and April 1988 she has examined 175 ex-detainees. Of these, 143 have received further treatment. The most common ailments are backaches, eye-problems, coughing and tight chests, headaches, stomach upsets and insomnia.

For ex-detainees medical check-ups have been a major concern, not only because prison life is debilitating, but because medical examinations and treatment in prison clinics are unsatisfactory. The majority felt they were not properly examined and that medication received often failed to address their symptoms.

The Psychology Clinic at Rhodes University and the outpatients staff at Fort England have been very helpful. During this period, 73 ex-detainees have been referred to one of these institutions for psychological treatment.

A few of the people were found to be nearly suicidal. The others have had a range of symptoms within the spectrum of 'post-traumatic stress disorder', notably loss of memory and concentration, emotional instability and various forms of depression.

Recovery is made more difficult by the lack of a job and income, which often the lot of the ex-detainee. Our data shows that the loss of income to ex-detainees has been considerable. Many have lost their jobs, none received notice pay in detention and all



(above) the EWE project underway and (below) group solidarity during a short break.

who had been in detention for nine months or longer had forfeited their UIF benefits. The 'halo effect' of detention means that their chances of once again becoming a breadwinner drop considerably. People in this position have said that this is one of the main reasons for their continued depression.

Our data highlights the enormous problems ex-detainees experience in re-entering the outside world after a long term of isolation. They don't seem to fit in again, and often feel guilty at what they perceive as a personal failure as a democrat, friend, father, husband, lover and so on. However, with good community education there is the potential for remedial work, thus ameliorating the

after-effects of detention.

The need for continued education among detainees and ex-detainees was the spur behind a new study programme that started last year. The project called 'Each Working in Education' (generally known by its acronym EWE, which means 'Yes' in Xhosa) is run by Dependants' Conference and SACHED in Grahamstown for two main purposes: to find study courses for people in or out of jail whose academic year has been disrupted by detention and to give academic support to ex-detainees. EWE students at home for a co-operative which shares information and planning through regular regional meetings. EWE exists in all the towns under review, including Cradock.

EWE also has some hidden benefits in that the study groups help with the awkward transition back into open society. Not only are they direction-giving, but study is, in itself, a mental exercise which helps ex-detainees regain their memories, concentration and general stability.

Another scheme in this region is the setting up of co-operatives to generate and circulate income. Production co-operatives may well provide an alternative source of income to those ex-detainees who have lost their jobs. So far only Alexandria has one, but indications are that co-operatives will be a major focus for the next few years.

Community revival is bound to take new forms. We do not expect to see detentions ending or overt mass organisations developing to a significant degree under present circumstances. Perhaps the only good aspect of detention was that it brought hundreds of people together from all over the region at a time when not even ten people could meet together in one township.

To sum up, the state's use of detention as a destabiliser and repressive tactic seems evident. Community support for those detained consumes a lot of local energy, but it can become the basis for reorganisation. □

# uit uitenhage uitgeskop

judy chalmers and lou-ann parsons

*Uitenhage's black townships, Langa and KwaNobuhle, have lived and suffered through the Langa Massacre, the removal of 40 000 people and the violence engendered by an unrestrained vigilante force. **Judy Chalmers** and **Lou-Ann Parsons** relate these facts to the implacable execution of apartheid policy and pinpoint the steps by which the state overrode the efforts of the Langa community to forestall removal and control its destiny.*

**U**itenhage is an industrial town situated in the Eastern Cape some 20 km from Port Elizabeth. Its economic life is heavily dependent on the motor industry. For residents of the two black townships, Langa and KwaNobuhle, this has meant opportunities to perfect negotiating and organisational skills in the strong unions at their place of work; but it has also meant acute vulnerability, in a depressed economy, to retrenchments and poverty.

The small white community has shown itself to be a politically conservative group, nervous of the huge townships on its doorstep. The 'coloured' group has Allan Hendrickse as its member of Parliament and has not been seen to take a strong anti-government stand on crucial issues affecting blacks. The black community, on the other hand, like others in the Eastern Cape, is known to be both highly politicised and militant.

In some respects the experiences of Uitenhage's blacks during the past five years represent a microcosm of black experience under apartheid

throughout South Africa: rejection of Community Councils, school and consumer boycotts, the State of Emergency, and so on. The Langa massacre of 21 March 1985 has been reported in SASH (Vol 28, No. 1). The focus here is on the forced removal of Langa residents and on the violence and social dislocation which have ensued.

## Langa Prior to the Removal

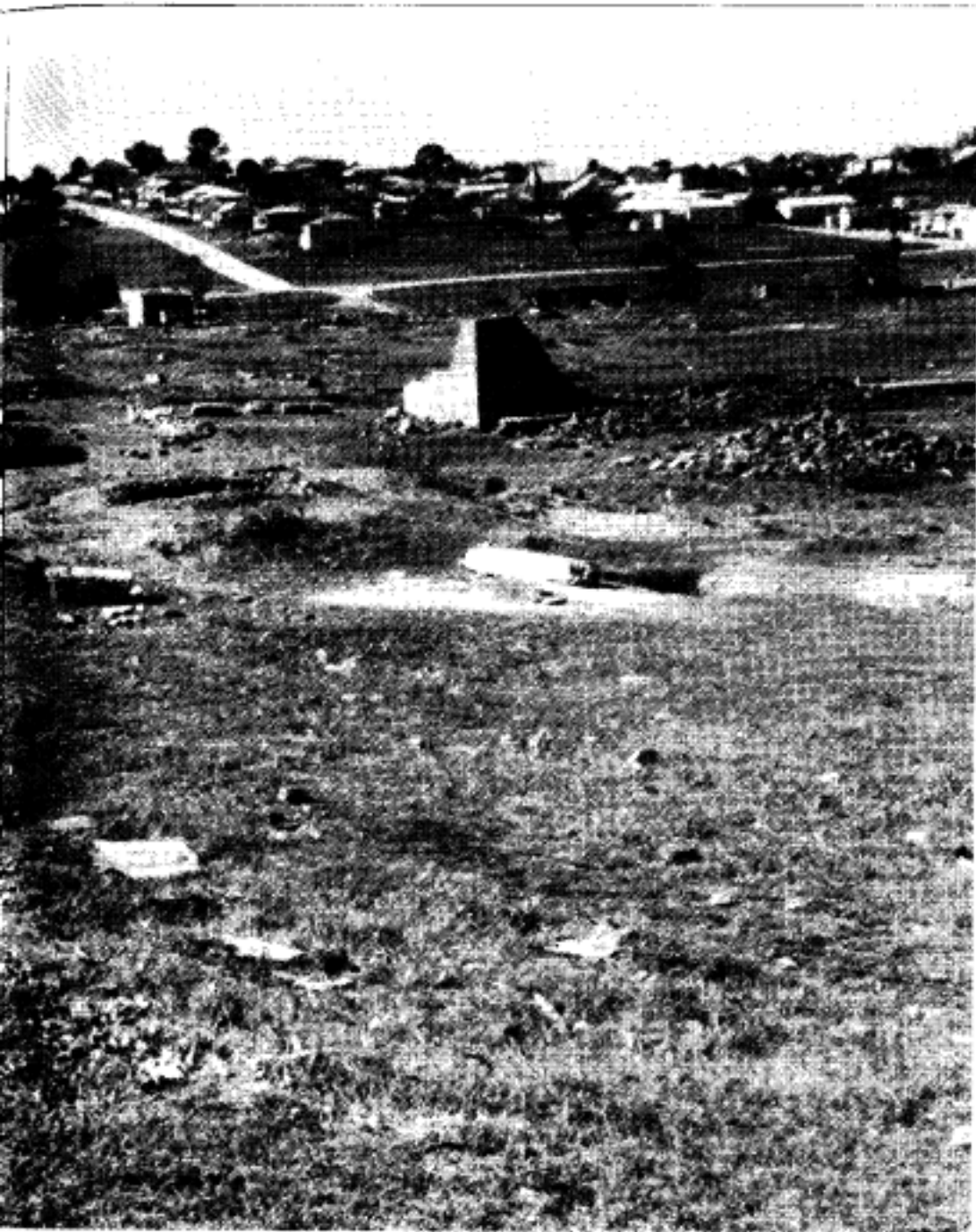
Kabah, the poorest section of Langa Township, lay closest to the white residential areas of Uitenhage. One reaction of the white community to the Langa massacre was to draw up a petition, signed by 350 residents of neighbouring Levysvale, calling for the removal of the Kabah shack dwellers. This matter came before the KwaNobuhle Town Council. In 1983 the KTC had assumed administrative control of both Langa and KwaNobuhle. Early in 1985, when the original 16-person Council was rejected by the community, the state had been obliged to appoint a white Town Clerk and Ad-

ministrator in its stead. These officials served eviction notices on 426 shack-owners - but actual removal required a court order, for which the KTC applied.

The community mobilised, electing the Langa Co-ordinating Committee to represent its interests in negotiations with the KTC. Protection of the Kabah residents was part of a broader goal: to prevent the relocation of the entire Langa community to KwaNobuhle. Further eviction notices were served while a battle to avert the court orders was waged.

The people of Kabah lived in conditions of extreme poverty, lacking adequate water, sewerage, clinics and so on, but their arguments for staying were the same as those of other Langa residents. As later surveys showed, they were united in feeling that KwaNobuhle was too far from town for work and work-seeking (transport costs are very high); rents were higher in KwaNobuhle and Langa was far more convenient to the hospital and existing schools. The LCC demanded the upgrade of Langa, the release of





*Kabah: The remains of a once thriving community. The white suburb of Levyvale is visible in the background.*

F. JOKAZI

detained leaders, the right to hold meetings and the right to live where they chose. (It must be borne in mind that throughout this period repression by the Security Forces was very severe: numerous affidavits alleging police brutality in Uitenhage had been sent to the authorities at the beginning of the year and a State of Emergency had been imposed.)

Before long, the LCC/KTC negotiations broke down. As Mark Swilling, an academic from the University of the Witwatersrand, put it in his paper (Langa: Protest, Urban Change and Defeat, 1986): 'for the KTC, negotiations were seen as useful only to the extent that they could implement their own pre-conceived plans.'

When this intention was thwarted by the LCC, that had no mandate to compromise the squatters' demands, the KTC officials used their power to terminate the negotiations'. At one stage they put pressure on the community by offering to investigate Langa's upgrade if the Kabah squatters would move voluntarily to KwaNobuhle. This offer was rejected and

the Langa community stood firm.

The LCC's upgrade project had been placed in the hands of Dr Michael Sutcliffe, a lecturer in the Department of Town and Regional Planning at the University of Natal. In his report, entitled 'Langa: the Case for Upgrade', Sutcliffe concluded that upgrade was possible, both technically and socially and that it had broad community support. It was followed by the Planact Report which proposed a two-stage plan requiring R3.5-million for emergency services and R12-million for full upgrading. Leaving aside the cost in human suffering, the policy which the government pursued was to prove infinitely more costly in purely monetary terms: R13-million for the forced removal process alone, before the provision of a permanent infrastructure at the new site had even begun.

### Removal of Kabah and Langa

On the night of 14 July 1986 - two weeks before the court order - remo-

vals began in Kabah, the authorities employed the increased powers afforded them by the new State of Emergency virtually to seal off the township from the press and others. Nevertheless, it soon became clear that removals were proceeding throughout Langa Township. The KTC maintained that - apart from the two areas of Kabah and Kamesh Road, which were affected by court orders - people were moving voluntarily and were not being forced in any way.

The realities of the situation were that the Municipal Police (newly formed and supported by the SAP and SADF) were busy nightly from 11 pm, waking the people earmarked for removal. Large floodlights were installed and loudhailers were used to order people to break down their shacks. Huge trucks roared through the night, carrying the belongings of those who had broken down their homes. Intimidation strategies such as knocking holes in walls, breaking down doors, foul and abusive language and drunken behaviour were alleged by frightened and desperate residents. On one day, 30 July, more than 150 people came to the Uitenhage Advice Office to give statements which, it was hoped, their lawyer could use to halt the removals.

The lawyer went to see Mr Coetzee, Town Clerk of the KTC, and was assured that people would not be forced to move against their will. Printed statements to this effect were issued by the lawyer to the crowd awaiting the outcome of this interview. However, before they had even reached home, police had confiscated many of the papers, laughing and tearing them up. Many people were arrested for questioning. The intimidation continued and fear was everywhere.

By November, Langa was almost empty (all that remains is a section of brick houses, called McNaughton, whose occupants are also earmarked for removal). In its place a tent town of almost 50 000 people - 40 000 from Langa and another 10 000 from Despatch - had grown up in KwaNobuhle. It is called Tyoksville (derived from the word 'Shacksville').

### The Tent Town

The tents issued to families at Tyoksville were small. Many saw



their furniture ruined as it stood out in the rain. Water was provided in rubber containers which were open at the top and meant to serve at least ten families. Sanitation facilities consisted of plastic bucket toilets - too few in number, so flimsy that they blew over in the wind, and so irregularly emptied that residents often had to empty them in the bush. There was no drainage system. As feared, the bus fare from KwaNobuhle to Uitenhage (R1,60 return) was more than most people could afford. It was reported that 'many, many people are sick here' and many, due to sickness and other causes, lost their jobs.

The KTC Administrator, Barry Erasmus, promised that improvements would be made. With clinics, ambulance and telephone services, sanitary and drainage systems and so on, the tent town would become a model

township. On a visit to Tyoksville in November 1987, we found no evidence of any significant change in the conditions there. Some work was going on: bulldozers were digging trenches for water pipes, four satellite clinics had been erected and a few streets were tarred. But the hillside was enveloped in red dust and everyone we spoke to longed for Langa.

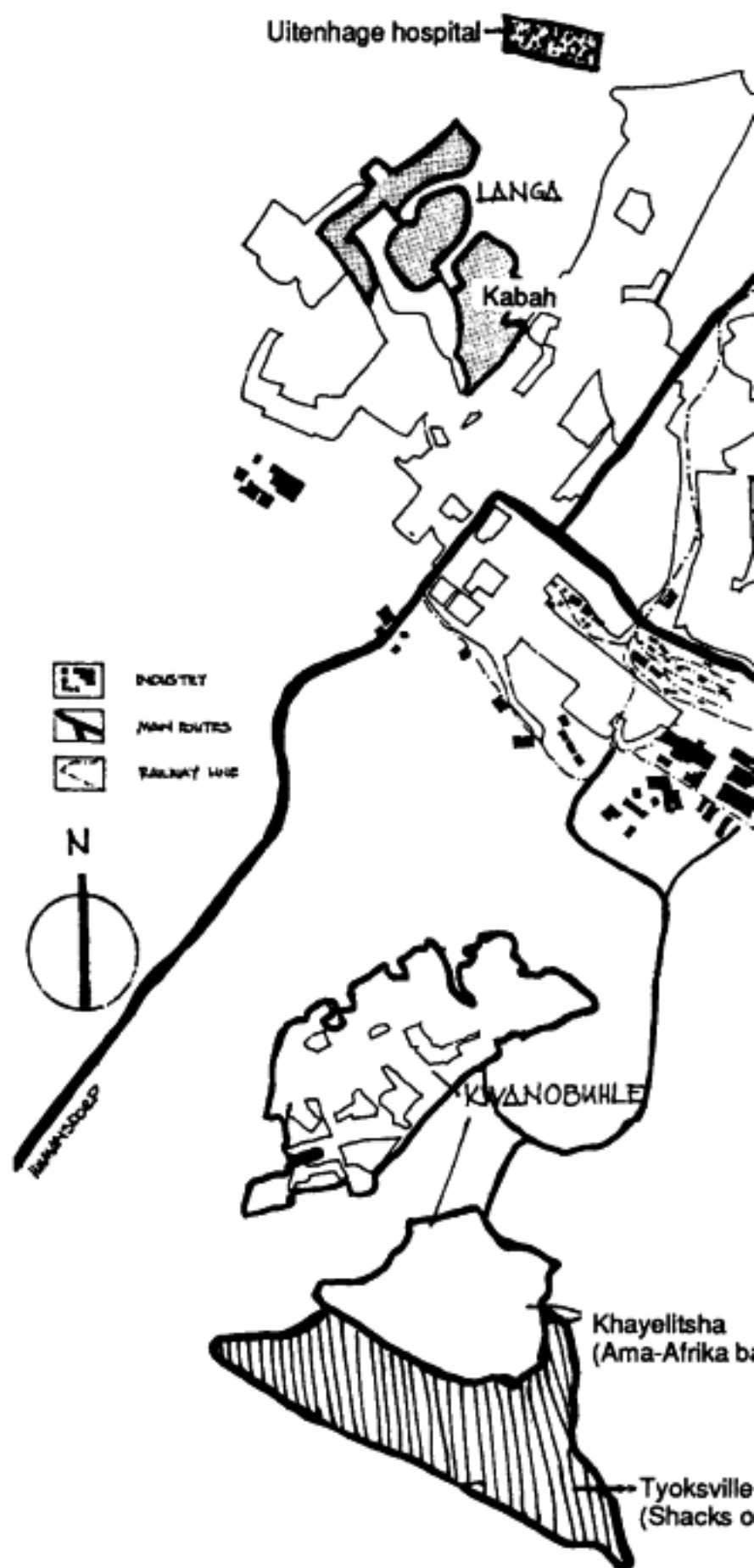
### Vigilante Action in KwaNobuhle

The factors contributing to the growth of Ama-Afrika in KwaNobuhle are extremely complex. The

conditions under which people live create social pressures within communities that foster conflict and encourage opportunism. The state is quick to take advantage of divisions which, in a normal society, could be resolved by public debate and meetings between dissenting groups.

Divisions were present in the trade union movement organising the local

*The ruins that remain of the Despatch community, and (below) Despatch residents trying to erect new homes.*



MAP OF UITENHAGE

*A map of the area showing Langa and the ruins of Kabah, KwaNobuhle to the south, and Tyoksville to the north.*

motor industry. Rivalries became more pronounced in civic structures after the UDF was formed: its success seems to have caused anxiety to those who adhered to the Africanist tradition and the seeds of Ama-Afrika were apparently sown. In 1985, ideological differences surfaced in the 'Save the Starving' committee which unionists and churchmen had formed. Some

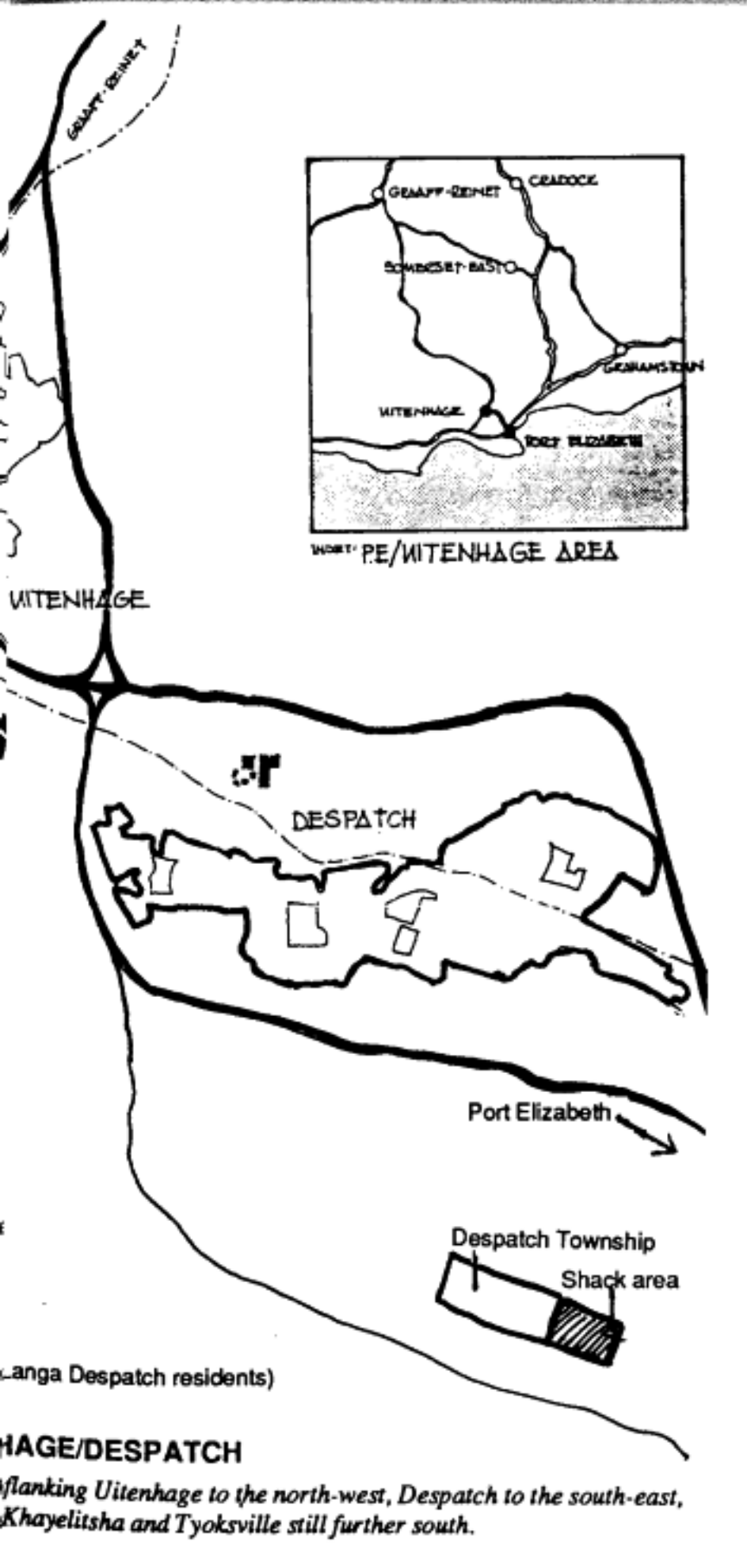
members joined the Africanist movement led by Ebenezer Maqina in Port Elizabeth and a youth section of the movement, calling itself AZANYU (Azanian Youth Unity), was organised. They formed the core of Ama-Afrika and moved to Khayelitsha in KwaNobuhle, despite countervailing pressure in the community not to move.

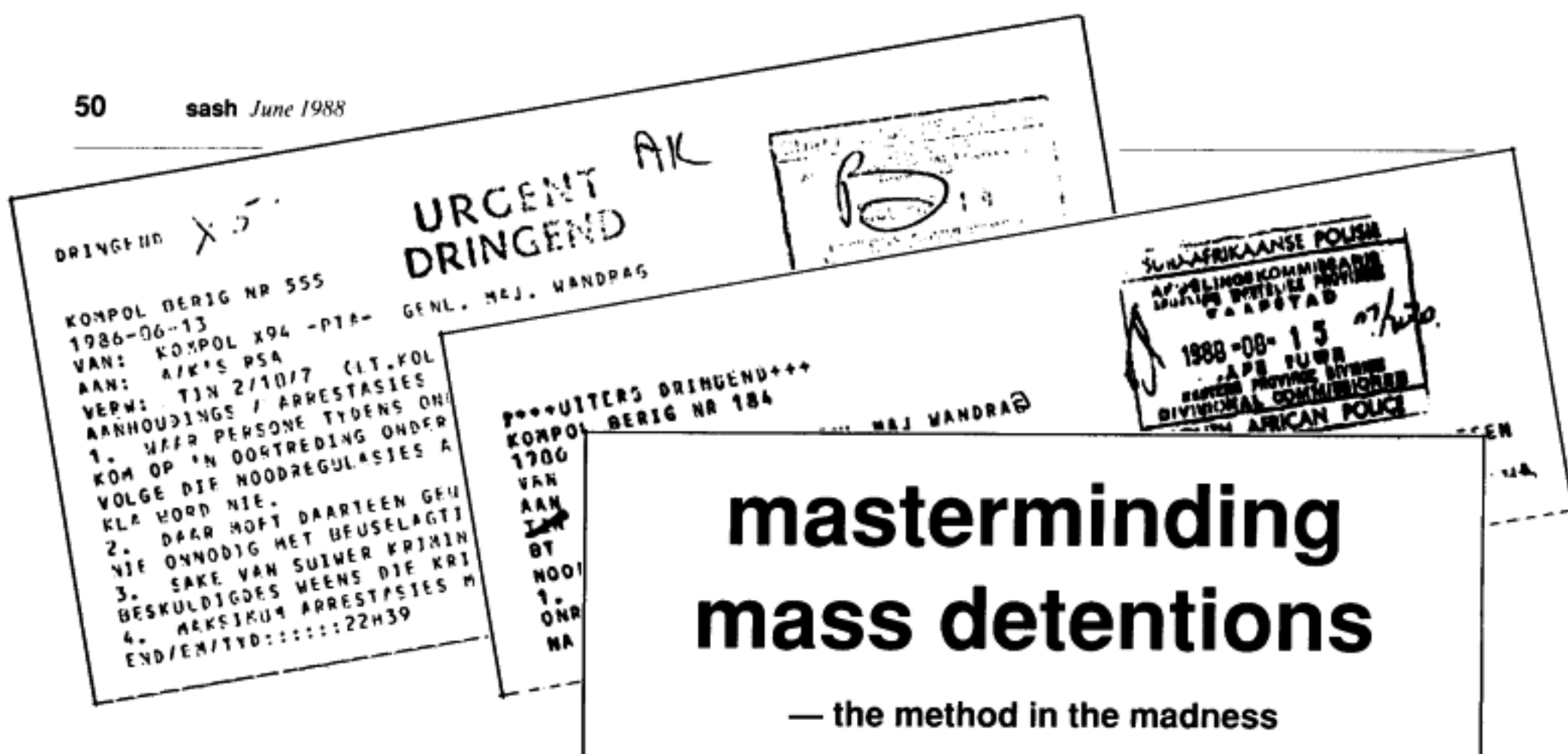
maimings at the hands of Ama-Afrika. Some of those attacked have responded in kind, and many UDF activists have left KwaNobuhle and sought safety in Port Elizabeth. Towards the end of the year it was reported that a split in the movement had occurred. Maqina has publicly dissociated himself from 'criminal elements' and those whom he feels are not really Africanists. The atmosphere of extreme tension and fear in KwaNobuhle has now, in early 1988, lessened somewhat but the problems within the community are far from solved.

After the forced removals to Tyoksville, it is reported that the inhabitants of the tent town began to be harassed and driven into joining Ama-Afrika. Criminal involvement has also been alleged. Since January 1987, the press has repeatedly reported deaths and

Apartheid breeds complex responses which include dissension, mistrust and hatred. These emotions, we have found, abound in Uitenhage. But there is also an amazing ability to survive and the hope for peace and justice does not die. □

*The remains of a house in Kabah a year after the removal. Note the religious paintings on the wall. And (below) Langa residents who are now tent dwellers.*





Much has been heard about police action during the State of Emergency - but very little has been read. Police have been shielded from public exposure by the strict censorship provisions of the Emergency regulations. One of the few ways in which police action can be exposed is through evidence before the courts. During a recent Cape Town court hearing, two telexes were submitted as evidence, dating from the first days of the national State of Emergency in June 1986, which throw light on the police strategy to curb township resistance. The telexes, sent by Major General A.J. Wandrag, Senior Deputy Commissioner of Police in charge of Riot Control to subordinates throughout the country, instruct the police to

- \* detain rather than disperse people at the scene of gatherings in the townships.
- \* avoid bringing them to court, except in criminal cases, thus preventing bail or any other means of securing their release.

The telexes acknowledge that the majority of those detained will be youths and that the prison authorities 'have the necessary accommodation for youths.'

'There must be NO, but NO doubt that to end the current climate of unrest, youths who make up the largest proportion of the troublemakers, must be removed from the community. No bail, or other means of release must be permitted.'

For the record we publish both telexes here.

*The first telex, dated 13 June 1986, reads (in translation):*

1. Where persons commit offences during unrest situations which amount to transgressions of the Emergency regulations, they must be detained in terms of the Emergency and not directly criminally charged.
2. Care must be taken that members of the force are not unnecessarily ensnared in court cases on trivial issues.
3. In matters of a purely criminal nature, such as murder, (and) robbery, the accused must be charged in terms of the crime.
4. Maximum arrests must be made at the scene of unrest.

*The second telex was sent the next day (14 June) as a follow-up. It refers to a body called the G.V.S. which is not identified in more detail. According to an expert on the National Security Management system, these letters probably stand for 'Gemeenskaplike Veiligheids Sentrum' (Joint Security Centre).*

State of Emergency - Action in terms of Emergency Regulations.

1. Despite repeated orders that stringent action must be taken against agitators and perpetrators of unrest, the response has left much to be desired.
2. The Security Forces and the South African Police in particular, have been requested on a daily basis at G.V.S. meetings to act more effectively in unrest situations.
3. There are daily incidents of gatherings, stone throwing, arson etc.

where the troublemakers are only dispersed with teargas or buckshot instead of being arrested.

4. The SAP forces must in such cases be used to carry out maximum arrests, in other words rather patrol in larger numbers and stabilise an area by means of mass arrests.
5. On 13 June the G.V.S. decided that extremely strong action must be taken against those who violate the Emergency regulations. To execute this decision it is unavoidable that many youths will be arrested. There must be NO, but NO doubt that to end the current climate of unrest, youths who make up the largest proportion of the troublemakers, must be removed from the community. No bail, or other means of release must be permitted.
6. The prison authorities have confirmed that they do have sufficient accommodation for youths.
7. Many thanks for what you have already done. Let us combine our efforts to bring about peace and quiet once and for all.

• These mass detentions became a focus for the work of the now banned Detainees Parents Support Committee and the Free the Children Alliance. Their opposition to detention and their efforts to secure the release of detainees (particularly children and youth under the age of 18) have been of great effect. On 31 May, Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, announced that there were no more children under the age of 16 in detention. According to recent estimates about 250 youths between 16 and 18 years remain in detention. The Black Sash continues to work for the release of all detainees. □

## BOOK REVIEWS

## Not Either an Experimental Doll: The Separate Worlds of Three South African Women.

*Edited by Shula Marks  
Killie Campbell Africana  
Library, Durban and  
University of Natal Press,  
Pietermaritzburg.*

This collection of correspondence, edited by Shula Marks, cuts across the lives of three remarkable women in South African history: Mabel Palmer, organiser of the Non-European section of the University of Natal (in her seventies and retired at the time of this correspondence); Lilly Moya (a pseudonym), a 15-year-old schoolgirl from the Transkei; and Sibusisiwe Makhanya, community and social worker.

What characterises these women is their challenge to accepted social roles and what links them is their belief in the importance of education.

In 1949, a lonely and isolated Lilly Moya writes to Mabel Palmer, appealing for a chance to extend her education. The correspondence shows Mabel Palmer attempting to deal with the practical arrangements in a rather distant and liberal-philanthropic manner; Lilly, on the other hand, is hoping that this relationship will provide a centre for her own aspirations and fragmented existence. The correspondence reflects the state of black education in South Africa as well as some of the difficulties in a relationship beset by differences in experience, age, culture and ethnicity. While Mabel Palmer hopes to provide Lilly with sponsorship and guidance, Lilly has a different set of expectations from the relationship, creating difficulties for them both. Sibusisiwe Makhanya

becomes a meeting point for these two worlds.

It is both remarkable and tragic that a script such as theirs, enacted at such a distance, can have so intense an impact.

*Terri Broll*

## Botshabelo: Incorporation Now, Independence Next?

*National Committee Against  
Removals (Cape Town 1987)*

Botshabelo, which lies 55 km East of Bloemfontein, is the second largest

placement of urbanisation into areas far from existing urban settlements.'

The National Committee Against Removals (NCAR), which synthesises the findings of rural workers who are regionally based, is well-placed to detect important policy shifts - detection being necessary where policies affecting millions of people are never openly debated, or, on the other hand, formally announced. The booklet starts with a history of Botshabelo (originally known as 'Onverwacht') and describes conditions of daily life: employment, education, housing, health. It goes on to discuss issues such as removals (no longer 'forced?'), regional 'development' (apartheid in a new guise?), and promotion of the 'national states'.

The incorporation of Botshabelo into the tiny South Sotho homeland, Qwa Qwa, which was pending when the booklet came out, has since taken place on 2 December 1987. To date it counts as a 'partial' incorporation: readers who wish to know more about this complex situation should approach the NCAR for its Botshabelo updates (P.O. Box 187, Cape Town 8000). An application to have the incorporation proclamation set aside was already before the Supreme Court of the Orange Free State when the Self-Governing Territories Bill was introduced in Parliament. The Bill undertakes to repeal the National States Constitution Act and, if it becomes law, will cut the ground from under this attempt to avert incorporation.

Anticipating 'Incorporation Now', the compilers of the booklet have asked, will there be 'Independence Next?' Matters crucial to the lives of the approximately 500 000 residents of Botshabelo depend upon the answer to this - not least, the almost certain loss of their South African citizenship.

*Candy Malherbe*

A Killie Campbell Africana Library Publication

Edited by Shula Marks



NOT EITHER AN EXPERIMENTAL DOLL

The separate worlds of three South African women

black community in South Africa. The largest, Soweto, represents the more familiar apartheid model for managing the 'urbanisation of blacks'. Botshabelo, as this booklet points out, illustrates another model: that of 'dis-

## BOOK REVIEWS

### **Troublesome People: Enemies of War, 1916-1986**

*Caroline Moorehead (London,  
Hamish Hamilton, 1987)*

It is possible that future historians might ascribe some of the momentum towards the 8 December 1987 US/Soviet nuclear weapons treaty to pressure from the Peace Movement. If so, it will be the first time that the 'troublesome people' of Moorehead's title, who have sustained a vital tradition of individual freedom for so long, will have played a part in checking the expansion of militarism.

The book is primarily about the history of British conscientious objection from the No Conscription Fellowship of 1914, to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Greenham Common Women and tax withholders of today.

The treatment of the United States, Japan, West Germany and the rest of Europe is somewhat perfunctory. This is the book's main weakness, but Moorehead is justified in concentrating on Britain in the Great War. Here is the mindless chauvinism of a capitalists' and militarists' war of criminal tactics and dubious purpose, a blend of non-conformist religion and dissident socialism, especially in London, combined to form the first organised resistance to military conscription, inspired by political and intellectual giants such as Keir Hardie, Bertrand Russell and George Lansburg. Nearly 6 000 were court martialled and 819 spent over two years in jail, much of the time on spare diet and in solitary: 73 died and 39 went mad. Stubborn adherence to conscience brought out the worst in the gutter Press and sadism from the military and jailers, but the suffering of these men was not wasted: never

again would a 'civilised' government be able to act with such intolerance.

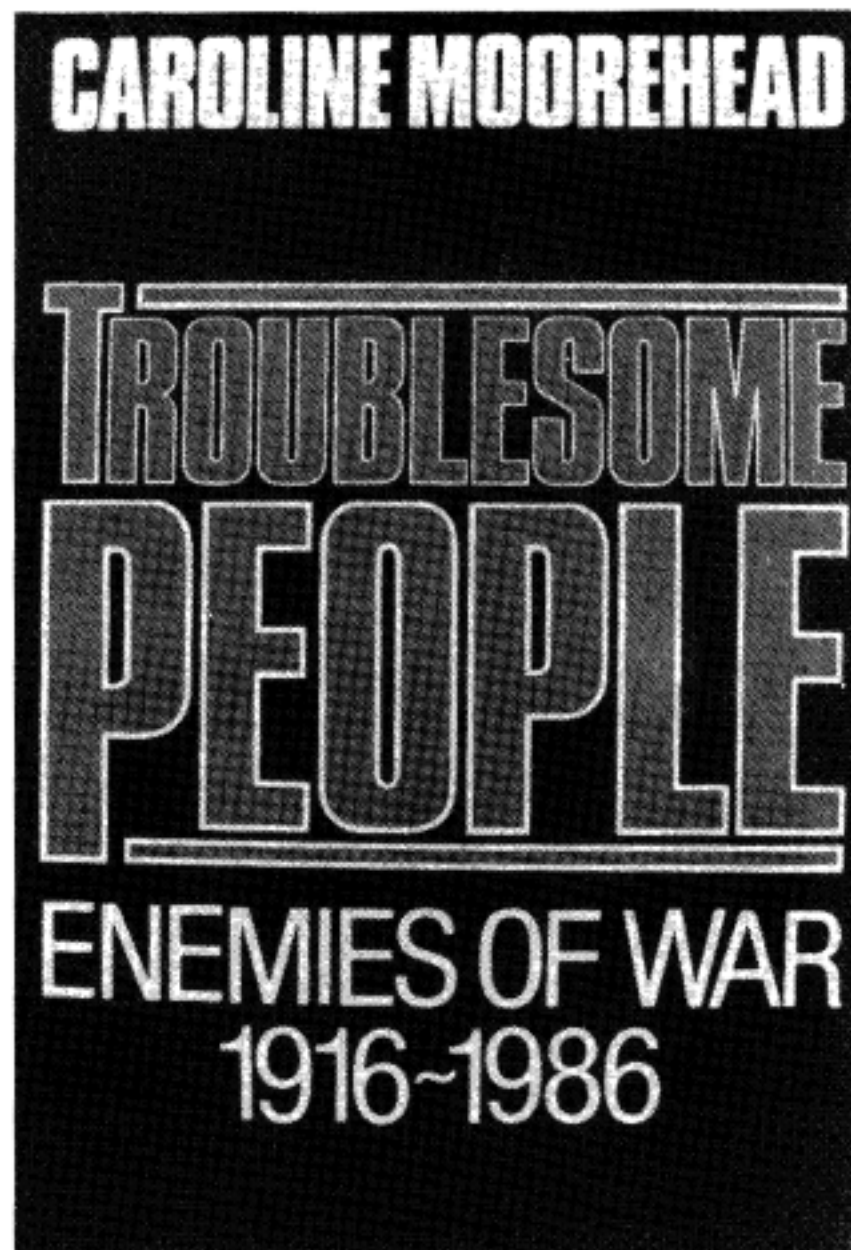
This was proved in the Second World War. During the inter-war years a number of peace movements flourished in North America and Europe, involving thousands of people. In Britain they ranged from the Peace Pledge Union of Dick Sheppard to the manifestly weird and proto-fascist Kibbo Kift, a sort of mystical scouts founded by John Hargrave. When war broke out in 1939, it posed fundamental dilemmas for pacifists of all shades in view of the clear menace of fascism. These conflicts of conscience are described well by the author. Nevertheless 62 300 men and women registered as COs and appeared before tribunals which had clearly learned a great deal

Nagasaki, the issue of anti-militarism took on a new dimension, not least a schism between those who want first to ban the bomb; and those to whom violence per se is the main evil. What is clear is that anti-Vietnam War protests and the nuclear disarmament debate have inspired a vast number of articulate, thinking and innovative people to join mass campaigns geared for direct action. A mere 120 pages of text does not do justice to the complexities of 40 years of protest, but the author demonstrates the link between the lonely, victimised COs of Wormwood Scrubs in 1916 and the confident, challenging women of Greenham Common and Molesworth 70 years later. That link is the story of the gradual liberation of thousands from the authoritarianism and violence of governments.

As the Black Sash was the godmother of the South African End Conscription Campaign, it forms part of the history of one of the most important movements of the century. This book is a good introduction. It is readable and has some interesting photographs but unfortunately the index is so sketchy as to be virtually useless.

*Christopher Merrett.*

□



from the Great War, although 6 500 served time in jail.

Part two of the book is less satisfactory and one wonders if more might have been gained from writing companion volumes. After Hiroshima and

LETTERS



More about Men

From Margot Beard, Albany:

There is one aspect of Black Sash membership policy which rather irritates me. I just do not like the rather idiotic compromise with regard to male membership. The separate type

of membership open to men seems to give the unfortunate impression that we cannot make up our minds about the issue of male membership.

On the one hand we let men join, on the other hand we give them second-class membership. (The fact that this is what some male organisations have traditionally done to women is no justification!)

What actually does Honorary Membership imply? What can and what can't such members do? Do they

pay membership fees? What is their purpose?

Perhaps we should re-think our whole attitude. Either we acknowledge the historic reasons that led the Black Sash to be a women's group and we agree that these conditions still operate sufficiently strongly to warrant female exclusivity or we consider that times have changed and we thus open the organisation to men on a full and equal basis.

What do other readers think? □

NEWS-STRIP

*Sash-in-shorts from all our Regions. Please let us hear your news.*



*Lawaaikamp children celebrate International children's day on 1 June - a day after the expiry of the government ultimatum ordering the community to move or face removal to Sandkraal. The deadline passed without incident. Black Sash members were there to share in the party with face painting and games.*



Anne Schuster

## NEWS-STRIP

## Jean Sinclair Bursary

To celebrate Jean Sinclair's 80th birthday, the Transvaal Region has established a bursary in her name at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Apart from being the prime mover behind the establishment of the Black Sash in 1955, Jean was National President for 14 years, guiding the organisation through some of its most difficult years, and is now our Honorary Life President. The idea of instituting a bursary in her name was Netty Davidoff's, who turned 80 on the same day as Jean! Anyone wishing to contribute to the Jean Sinclair Bursary should do so through the Bursary Department, University of the Witwatersrand, P.O. Wits, 2050.

The first Jean Sinclair Bursary was awarded this year to Veronica Morake, a first year Social Work student. □



Above: Jean Sinclair acknowledges a standing ovation at the National Conference's public meeting.

Right: Two illustrations by Tony Grogan from 'The Law Courts and You.'

## The Law Courts and You

The Cape Western Region's Court Monitoring group has produced a booklet entitled *The Law Courts and You*. Muriel Crewe, Court Monitoring convenor, describes the background to the booklet:

In the course of our monitoring of the courts since late 1985, two particularly serious problems became clear to us. Firstly, we frequently heard frustrated defence lawyers saying about their clients: 'If only they would not make incriminating statements!' Secondly, through visits to the rural townships, we became increasingly aware of the large number of people who faced arrest and court proceedings without any access to legal assistance. (Professor McQuoid-Mason of Natal University estimates that 150 000 South Africans are jailed annually without legal representation. They are rarely even aware that they are entitled to it).

The pocket-size booklet, *The Law Courts and You*, which we have produced with the professional assistance of the Department of Criminology at the University of Cape Town, tries to respond to these needs. It gives simple advice on the making (or not making) of statements, and on what to do if these are made under duress. It also tries to explain court procedure - which is bewildering to anyone - particularly country folk - caught up in a terrifying and intimidating situation without the support available in urban areas. We have tried to make clear what the accused can do on his/her own behalf and we have listed a number of offices and organisations from



## Sash Executive elected at conference

which help may be sought.

An additional aid to understanding procedure is the series of drawings done for us by Tony Grogan of the Cape Times, which illustrate the key options available to the accused.

We earnestly hope this will go some way towards filling a desperate need although we realise how much courage may be needed to follow the advice given. The booklet is available only in English at the moment, but Xhosa and Afrikaans translations are in preparation. Copies are available on request from the Black Sash, 5 Long Street, Mowbray 7700.

Muriel Crewe □



## NEWS-STRIP



Left to Right: A President and three Vice Presidents: From left to right Rosemary van Wyk Smith, Jenny de Tolly, Mary Burton (President), Di Bishop.

## Greenflies: Municipal Police in the Eastern Cape

From the time it first became known that township youths were being recruited, briefly trained, armed and returned to communities as fully-fledged 'municipal police', voices were raised in warning and in condemnation of the scheme. How right they were!

Devastating evidence of abuses of

power are contained in the Black Sash publication *Greenflies, Municipal Police in the Eastern Cape*. The information comes mainly from the statements of those who have suffered at their hands, collected by Black Sash workers and by lawyers who have represented the victims in legal actions against municipal policemen - known also as 'community guards.' The fact that these officers are not actually policemen, as that term is defined, has made this booklet possible - in that the prohibitions on the publication of material which reflects on the security

forces do not apply.

Besides the numerous case histories, the booklet provides an explanation of the rationale behind the establishment of an ancillary force of this particular type. It shows that the legislative groundwork was in place well before conditions reached the stage where such a force was deemed to be required in the latter half of 1985. For copies, inquire at Black Sash offices. The booklet is being reprinted as SASH goes to press.

*Candy Malherbe.*

## Obituary: Bobbie Cluver



Bobbie Cluver joined the Black Sash in the very early days in Johannesburg. She served on the Regional Committee continuously until she left Johannesburg to live in Natal. She became well known far beyond the Johannesburg Region because with her ability, she was invariably a delegate to National Conferences.

Her unshakable belief in the moral principles in which the Black Sash was rooted, together with her intelligence and level-headedness made her an invaluable member.

We mourn her deeply and send our sympathy to her family.

*Dora Hill.*

## Margaret



Margaret Nash, who has been a national Vice-President of the Black Sash for the past two years, declined to stand for re-election at this year's National Conference because, as she put it: 'It is important to make space for newer members to take up leadership positions.' Margaret's major contribution has been her consistent challenge to the Black Sash to respond to the many pressing issues - political,

social and economic - that confront a human rights organisation in South Africa. With a keen talent for spotting important future dates and developments, Margaret always seeks to ensure that the Black Sash is geared to meet them.

The fact that we are conducting a Human Rights campaign, in this 40th anniversary year of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, is due to her foresight. □

Bobbie Cluver was a foundation member of the Black Sash and the Liberal Party and was a tireless worker in both. But I remember her for her delightful sense of humour.

At an early National Conference of the Black Sash she was able to avert a serious split in the organisation by jumping up in the middle of the heated debate and saying: 'This must be the largest collection of the most intelligent and most impossibly difficult women in South Africa.'

There was a burst of laughter, and in no time a compromise was reached and peace restored.

Bobbie will be very much missed.  
*Noel Robb.*



## NEW-STRIP

## Sash and Nusas Protesters Charged

Eight Black Sash and six Nusas members are due to appear in the Durban Regional Court on 6 June on charges of attending and promoting an illegal gathering.

The charges arose out of a stand, on 26 February, protesting the banning and restrictions on 17 organisations, including the UDF and COSATU. Protestors had stood, with posters, on each block of Berea Road, from Tollgate bridge to the Natal Technikon, facing the morning rush-hour traffic. Their arrest - minutes before the hour long protest was due to end - amounted to 'intimidation tactics' according to Lynn Hotz, a Natal Coastal Region chairperson.

The protesters were standing at legal distances from each other at places where protest stands had been held in the past without incident, Lynn said. Some people had already returned to their cars after the protest when they were informed by police that they were under arrest, ordered out of their cars and instructed to stand with their posters so that photographs could be taken of them. Back-up supporters were also instructed to stand with posters and photographed. Commenting on the day's events, Lynn said: 'It is clear to us that in the current political climate, we must be much more thoroughly prepared for protest activities.' □

*A historic photograph:*

*Two of Cape Western Region's longest-standing Advice Office workers: Roma Gottlieb (right) who has done voluntarily work in the Advice Office for 30 years; and David Viti (centre) who has been an indispensable full-time pillar in the Advice Office for 25 years, where he continues to fill (amongst others) the role of interpreter, case-worker, diplomat, and negotiator. The greatest resource he brings to the advice office is 'the depth of his understanding of human kind,' according to one of his colleagues. 'He is an interpreter in every sense of the word.'*

## Viva the Advice Office!

*Noel Robb says 'Happy Birthday' to the Cape Western Region's Advice office that she helped launch 30 years ago.*

Thirty years ago, a small group of Black Sash women persuaded the Cape Western Region to rent a small shop near Athlone. This was known as the 'Bail Fund Office,' and started in order to prevent black mothers spending the night, or several nights, in the police cells awaiting trial for pass law offences. Breast-fed babies were left unfed or small toddlers arrested with their mothers. The Bail Fund Office was the forerunner of the Athlone Advice Office, later called the Black Sash Advice Office, which by 1960, was helping men, women and children - giving advice, arranging defence for those charged under the pass laws, making representation on their behalf to the relevant authorities.

Gradually our work broadened to include any problems or injustices suffered by black South Africans: unfair labour practices, Unemployment Insurance, Workmen's Compensation and above all, housing. The acute housing problem arose from the fact that for about 20 years, no houses were built for black families in the Western Cape.

In 1975, when Crossroads appeared like a mushroom in a field, the Advice Office became deeply involved with squatters, helping in the fight to avoid demolition and deportation, providing defence when people were arrested under the Illegal Squatting Act, Trespass Act and Influx Control legislation. When the legal bills became too large for our members to bear, a panel of about 20 attorneys was formed to provide 'pro deo' defence for those charged under the pass laws. At all times we made representations to the relevant authorities - the Minister of Black Affairs, provincial, divisional and municipal authorities, the Administration Board officials, firms and individual employers.



## NEWS-STRIP

The apparent repeal of the pass laws in July 1986 has greatly changed our work. Wives are no longer endorsed out when they visit their husbands working in 'white' areas - but they are arrested for trespass. Squatters are no longer arrested and 'deported' - but they are forced to move to Khayelitsha from Noordhoek, Hout Bay, Strand and other areas. Their 'new home' is miles from their work opportunities. Retrenchments and unemployment problems form a much greater part of our work now and are made worse by the uncaring attitude of some employers.

Throughout its 30 years, volunteers have staffed the advice office - two of them since 1958 - and in times of crisis we have never been short of workers. Our wonderful interpreters have developed into experienced case-workers without whom we could have done very little. It is through the Advice Office that people have come to know and trust the Black Sash. Their shouts of 'Viva Black Sash!' at public meetings make all our work worthwhile. □



## women's power

The Natal Midlands Region is having T-shirts printed with the 'women's power' symbol (pictured here). The printing will be done by the SARMCOL workers' co-operative, established by SARMCOL workers who lost their jobs as a result of their 1985 strike. The T-shirts will be available in S, M, L and XL, and can be ordered from Mary Kleinenberg, P O Box 732, Pietermaritzburg, 3201. □



Paul Weinberg

## More Group Pickets

After our first successful group picket in August last year, the Natal Midlands Region has continued to hold group stands every month, with permission from the chief magistrate. However, we are now required to submit the slogans, as well as the names and addresses of the 12 picketers, to the magistrate two weeks before the stand.

We have protested against the detention of those involved in local peace negotiations, the muzzling of the press, the banning of progressive organisations and the police force's apparent support of Inkatha in the township violence.

A notable feature of our public protests this year has been increased right-wing aggression, particularly from young men who apparently find any criticism of the police of the SADF threatening and unacceptable.

*Mary Kleinenberg*

## 101 Ways to End Apartheid

Never again need you be at a loss for words when someone says: 'I don't like apartheid but there is nothing I can do about it'. The Five Freedoms Forum has set itself the task of providing all the responses you require - 101 of them to be exact. Their latest campaign, '101 Ways to end Apartheid', aims to produce a booklet listing simple, practical and achievable ways in which people can contribute, collectively or individually, to the creation of a non-racial society in South Africa. The organisers hope to foster a sense that individual attempts,

however small, are valuable and relevant. The ongoing campaign will consist of essay competitions for school-children, radio talk shows and 'phone-ins', community projects, pavement art, information/education forums and non-racial sporting events. The campaign was scheduled to peak on Tuesday 31 May when the launch of the '101 Ways' booklet was due to take place.

## Correction

In our calendar (SASH March 1988) we mistakenly noted that the PAC was established in 1955. The year was 1959.

## NEWS-STRIP

## Black Sash at Arts Festival

The Albany branch of the Black Sash will be co-ordinating a compelling series of films on the fringe of the Standard Bank National Arts Festival in July in Grahamstown.

The series is entitled 'Statements on Injustice' and the films are produced by Kevin Harris, who has also directed several of them. The screenings will begin on Friday 1 July and run until Tuesday 5 July. The films that will be screened are:

*The Cry of Reason*, a documentary focusing on the life and work of Dr Beyers Naude.

*Struggle from Within*, about the events leading up to the constitutional referendum in 1984 and the implementation of the Tricameral constitution. The film features the growth of resistance to the constitution, and covers the formation of the United Democratic Front.

*No Middle Road to Freedom*, its title taken from the words of Archbishop Desmond Tutu: 'There are only two roads to freedom in South Africa, and there is no middle road. There are only two options - we either talk or fight.'

*This We Can Do for Peace and Justice*, is a statement by the South African Council of Churches in response to injustice.

*If God Be For Us*, is a condemnation of apartheid.

*Witness to Apartheid* documents the responses of South Africans to the security police, primarily during the State of Emergency.

Sue Ross. □

## More Harassment

The Black Sash has a tricky problem on its hands: as a result of police action in the Eastern Cape, it could end up breaking the law.

The problem arose on 14 October last year, when police seized the Albany branch's financial records, saying they were investigating possible contraventions of the Fund raising Act. The result is that the Black Sash cannot complete its audited accounts for the 1986/7 financial year, or submit its tax returns.

Grahamstown office worker, Janet Small, was one of two members in the office when the police arrived.

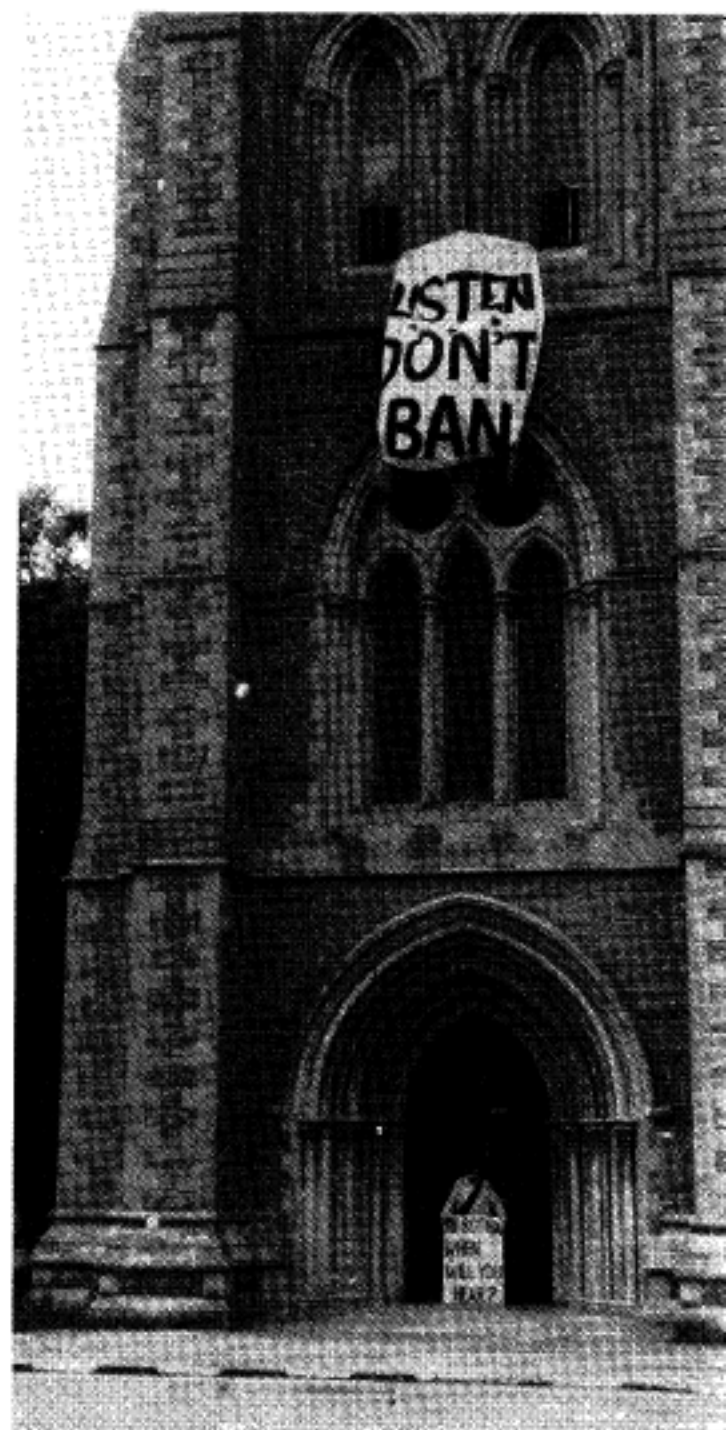
'Three members of the Commercial Branch of the Port Elizabeth CID came to our office in High Street about mid-morning with a search warrant to look at our financial records,' she said.

'They started searching although we told them exactly where to find the financial statements. They apparently thought we were hiding some and spent over two hours going through our files. They took away about three quarters of the branch's financial records, including insurance policies, correspondence, ledgers and bank books.'

As they left, they issued a receipt and warned us to get used to such visits as they would 'become a thing of the future.'

'They assured us they would only keep the papers for a few days, but we still haven't got them back in spite of lawyer's letters and phone calls.'

Jean Fairbairn □



'LISTEN! - DON'

The Black Sash's Albany Region hung the banner (above left) from the Grahamstown Cathedral in protest against the restrictions on 17 organisations on February 24.

### Janet Small detained

As we went to press we heard that Janet Small, the Albany Region's Fieldworker had been detained while working in the Black Sash office.

We demand her release.

Janine Scholz, who was a member of the Black Sash

in Albany until her departure for England in mid-1984, died tragically in London earlier this year.

We remember her as one deeply committed to the ideals of a just and open society and as one who thought seriously about the implications of living in South Africa. She combined serious commitment with warmth, generosity and

### Janine Scholz

humour. There are many here who remember her practical

help and tender loving care when her support was sought.

She died with her baby daughter on 5 January. Ten days later, on 15 January, she was cremated in London and we in Grahamstown gathered together to share memories of her. We shall continue to remember her.

NEWS-STRIP

• • • NEWS FLASH: • • •

More than 25 000 toy Casspirs were sold during the past year.



BAN' PROTESTS

The Johannesburg Region draped this banner (above right) outside their offices in Khotso House, making the same point.

Fedsaw's women's fair.

Responding to a FEDSAW invitation to the Black Sash to participate in a women's fair, the Cape Western Region has been involved in the First Cape Women's Festival, held on 15 and 16 April.

Friday, 15 April was an evening of dance, poetry (old favourites and new discoveries) and drama. The Black Sash had workshopped and produced a play that attempted to describe the or-

ganisation: it's beginnings, the on-going work and some of the fun. Anne-Marie Hendrikz, Cape Western Region's rural worker, delighted, angered and amused the audience as she acted out a one-woman portrayal of our various detractors, while other members, wearing hats and gloves, enacted scenes from the advice office, stands and court monitoring.

Other organisations produced plays of a more serious tone depicting the suffering and struggles of daily community life.

Saturday 16 April was a day of trade, with a great variety of stalls, ranging from beautifully stitched garments made by the South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU) to delicious fried fritters sold by our Gardens branch.

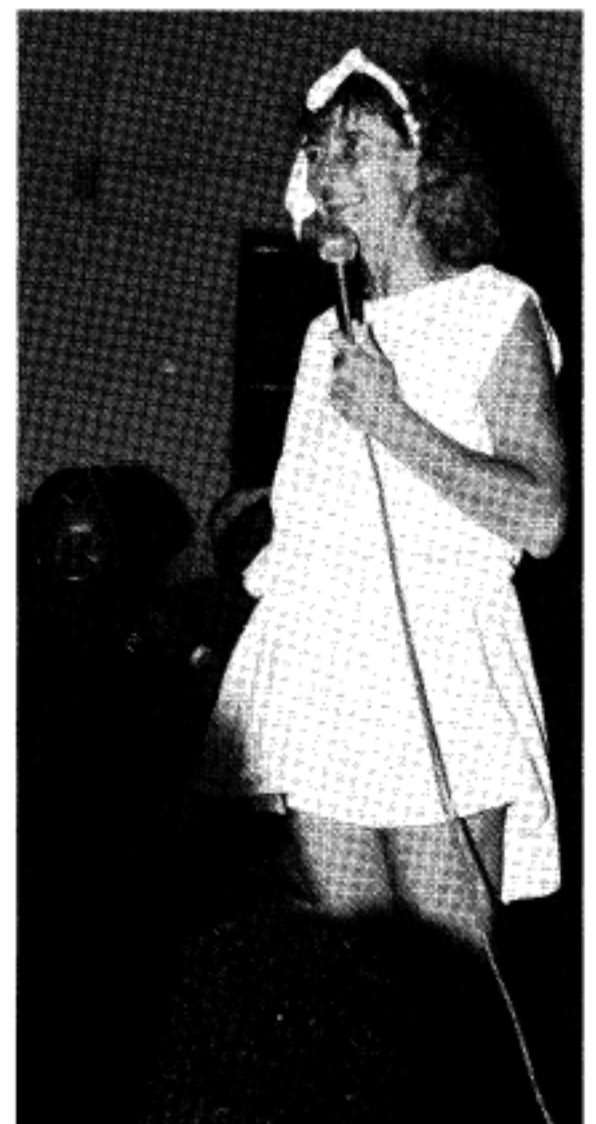
The fair culminated in a 'Gumba' or dance for all-comers with live band music.

As our first experience of working with FEDSAW, it was a valuable exercise and a welcome relief from the stresses with which we usually associate our work.

Philippa Taylor □

The Fedsaw banner (above) that festooned the stage.

Anne-Marie Hendrikz (below) enacting her tongue-in-cheek rendition of the Black Sash's detractors.



## **The Black Sash 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.*

