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# Facing the challenge

SHEENA DUNCAN

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*The text of Mrs Duncan's presidential address to the Conference in Johannesburg.*

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**T**HERE IS much talk at the moment about change in South Africa, but different people mean different things when they call for change.

Tonight I want to talk about majority rule. I have chosen to do this because it seems to me that in the White community we tend to shy away from discussion of this political concept. If we do discuss it we prefer to use other terms — euphemisms — which only serve to disguise what the political conflict in this country is all about and which prevent us from thinking constructively about the future.

I believe that this reluctance of ours matters very much at the present time because all the indications are that the Black demand, not only externally but internally as well, is for majority rule and that nothing short of it will satisfy the aspirations of Black South Africans.

It is very dangerous for us to delude ourselves that even sincerely planned and whole-hearted efforts to improve social and economic conditions can be a sufficient response to the challenge being presented to us by Blacks.

The fact is that as long as we retain all political power in our hands everything else remains ours to give or to withhold, to use for our purposes and for our own ends. The way in which we have used our power in the past had led Black people to the point where the winning of political power and the placing of it in the hands of the majority is the primary objective after which economic and political justice will become possible.

Majority rule is the political principle that the majority of the people should have the power to make decisions which, translated into law, become binding upon the whole population. The way in which the wishes of the majority are made known in democratic countries is generally through acceptance of the principle of one man one vote.

This is not a foreign concept to White South Africans of either language group. The Government has recognised it as being a valid demand and a sound principle and has sought to put it into practice through the creation of independent homelands. The flaw in Government thinking remains that it has only allowed the principle to come into effect *after* imposing an unwanted solution on the majority. English-speaking people, too, say that they stand for the principles of

Western democracy, the foundation stone of which is the principle of universal adult franchise.

So why do Whites who accept the principle for themselves reject it for other people and remain adamant that it must not happen here?

The first and obvious reason is that they fear for themselves as a White minority in a country dominated by a Black majority. They not only fear being able to exercise little or no power but they fear having to give up the very privileged way of life they have heretofore been able to enjoy.

Secondly, looking at the countries which have won independence in the last three decades, they see only too many where majority rule has not established democracy, where all the freedoms which they value have been destroyed and where the quality of life has not been improved for the majority of the people. All too often majority rule has not survived more than a few years and has been replaced by inefficient or far from benevolent dictatorships and occasionally by horrifying tyranny.

Thirdly, Whites fear that majority rule will lead to a communist take-over and the introduction of Marxist Socialism.

Let us look at some of the White fears about and arguments against majority rule and at the Black answers as they are being expressed by Black South Africans.

Whites value the free enterprise system and say that it is the only economic system which can produce the greatest good for the greatest number of people. They say that majority rule will lead to a socialist economic system and they believe socialism to be undesirable and threatening to their interests.

Blacks point out that free enterprise as practised in South Africa has failed to demonstrate that it can spread the rewards of economic development throughout the whole population. They argue that although a handful of Black people have reached a reasonably high level of prosperity this has been in spite of controls placed on Black businessmen preventing them from expanding their enterprises in so-called White areas and forbidding them to be entrepreneurs in the true sense of the word. They maintain that these controls have been imposed by Whites to protect their own interests from Black competition.



Blacks as a group have remained poverty-stricken while Whites have attained a high level of financial security, and a significantly large percentage of the White group enjoys a life style and standard of living which is so luxurious as to be totally unreasonable when compared with the living standards of their fellow citizens.

Black people claim that Whites have been able to reach and maintain this standard only at the expense of Black workers. They feel that they have justification for believing that Black wages are only raised when White profits are threatened by worker action or, as on the mines, when a shortage of foreign labour arising from various causes forces Whites to make mine jobs more attractive.

Whites might claim that these conflicting forces are part of the free enterprise system but workers maintain that Whites do not allow a free play of these forces. They prevent organised Black worker action by not recognising Black trade unions and by favouring White workers at the expense of Blacks all along the line.

Whites have said that economic development and prosperity will lead to equal opportunities for Blacks. Blacks look bitterly at such actions as the recent threatened withdrawal of permits for Black building workers to be employed in Grade One jobs in the industry as soon as recession began to threaten White jobs. They maintain that upward mobility for Black workers is a myth. The ceiling remains impenetrable even if at a higher level and the opportunity to do more skilled work is gudgingly allowed by Whites only when it becomes necessary for the White economy.

Equality of opportunity does not seem to be attainable when equality of education and training facilities are denied and when Blacks are told they must pay for their own facilities through their own taxes.

In this situation does an alternative system which promises to re-distribute wealth not begin to look very attractive?

The capitalist system as practised in South Africa has failed to provide social security for the vast majority of people. Discriminatory and totally inadequate pensions are paid at unrealistic levels according to racial groups. There is no national minimum wage, there is inadequate unemployment insurance, and health services, particularly in rural areas are pitifully inadequate.

Now I know that we do not actually have a free enterprise system in South Africa. The Government has imposed extensive controls on industry and commerce and on the movement of labour. We only partially have an economic system characterised by private ownership of capital goods where investments are determined by private decision rather than by state control. Nor are prices and distribution of goods determined by competition in a free market. These are the marks of capitalism according to Webster's definition.

But the point is that we *claim* to have such a system. Government nationalises and controls in the name of free enterprise, and because people resent and reject the present system which Whites have called free enterprise, alternative economic systems become correspondingly attractive. For Blacks the system Whites enjoy at the moment is an economic tyranny.

The South African government has similarly debased and destroyed all the other ideals which it protests that it values and which it claims that it is defending against external and internal attack.

Whites say that they value parliamentary democracy. Professor W. H. B. Dean, professor of Public Law at the University of Cape Town, in an address to the Civil Rights League last year said: 'What the rioting confirms is what I consider to be a fundamental trend in South African constitutional law — the trend towards the concentration of total power in the hands of the executive which is then able to use the other arms of government where it considers these to be necessary or desirable.

'In research which I conducted last year, I tried to show that the self-conceived function of the South African Parliament was simply to provide support for a government which had obtained a majority of seats in parliament at a general election. From this point of view, the sole function of the legislature is to provide the executive with the legislation the executive considers necessary to give effect to its policy. The idea of the legislature controlling, or even bringing down the government, through mechanisms such as cabinet responsibility and the use of questions, has little or no role to play.'

He continues: 'Yet the government remains responsive to popular pressure, particularly pressure from its supporters. How is this responsiveness maintained if not through parliament? Once again I would suggest that the current rioting supplies an answer — the National Party. It is, in my view, significant that, although no attempt was made to summon Parliament, the Prime Minister did summon a special meeting of members of his parliament and party, and the executive as a whole devoted their efforts at party conferences to explanations of actions taken. I would suggest that the party has supplanted Parliament as the link between the electorate and the executive.'

Is this Parliamentary democracy? Is it not much more akin to the one-party states of which whites are so critical when they occur in other African countries? In fact the difference between them and us is that the party which rules is generally a majority, where ours is indubitably the party of the minority.

Whites say that they value the Rule of Law and the independence of the courts. Professor Dean has this to say: 'Parliamentary legislation

has, in areas such as the maintenance of public order, largely deprived the courts of their traditional role as guardians of civil liberties and the rights of citizens against executive attack. As a result it has often limited the part played by the courts to that of passive onlookers reduced to functioning as part of the process by which those who contravene the law are punished.

'In the final analysis, not only has power been concentrated in the hands of the executive but the other organs of government have been deprived of their proper role in a free democracy, that of supervisors of the powers enjoyed by the executive.'

The White government does not and has not practised democracy in this country but has destroyed the principle of parliamentary government and the power of the courts of law and it has destroyed these things in the name of democracy.

Whites say that they value Christianity and claim that the White system of government is a Christian one. They say that Christianity and the Judeo-Christian heritage is what they are defending against the onslaughts of communism. Yet Black people see that this Christian government has legislated to separate husbands from their wives and children from their parents. It is not only the government which is guilty. How many English-speaking South Africans have said and continue to say that influx control is necessary and must remain?

Whites say that they believe that a stable family life is the basis for a stable society and that they believe in the sanctity of marriage but they have demonstrated by their actions that they believe this to be true only for themselves.

Blacks believe that the discrimination and oppression practised against them because of their race is heresy and doubly a heresy because it is practised in the name of Christianity.

Whites say they value the right to freedom of movement but they deny all such freedom to Black South African while jealously guarding it for themselves.

They say they reject state ownership of the land and bitterly condemn the Mozambique government for appropriating privately-owned property. Yet they deny Black South Africans the right to own land in 86 per cent of their country and for years have denied them more than a one-month tenancy to the houses they live in.

White South Africans also reject majority rule because they say it too often results in military rule and martial law but Black South Africans say that they already live under such a regime. The will of the minority is imposed on them by the armed might of the State.

I do not make this statement lightly nor do I refer only to the events of last year. The pass laws, which are the very foundations of the whole apartheid system and of the whole policy of separate development, are imposed and main-

tained by constant police action as is the enforced separation of one race from another in every sphere of our national life — raids in Black townships and in the so-called White suburbs, arrests, entry into private property without warrant, police dogs clearing 'White' beaches of Black people — all this apart from the whole structure of security legislation which allows detention without trial for indefinite periods, preventive detention, bannings, in fact all the identifying features of a police state which are all too familiar to people who live in countries where the military governs by coercion and not by consent. There are no arguments Whites can present to Blacks in this sphere which can persuade them that majority rule is not in their interest.

Whites reject majority rule because they say it leads to government by a bureaucracy with resulting inefficiency, stagnation and corruption. Black are already governed by the bureaucracy. Every decision is made for them and about them by the non-elective government officials. They experience daily the helpless, hopeless frustration of conflict with officialdom — faceless, impersonal and undefeatable.

White South Africans rightly condemn violence and violent attempts to achieve change. But there is no point in condemning violence if at the same time they use violence to entrench their own power and privilege, and close all other channels for the realisation of the legitimate aspirations of the people of this country.

They maintain that only peaceful and non-violent means of bringing about change are justifiable while making sure that these means are of no avail. They ignore peaceful representations made through the 'proper channels'. They take no notice of verbal requests or demands. They do not recognise the legitimacy of Black community representatives unless they are the ones White government has designated and appointed and unless they are saying what Whites want to hear and what fits in with White designs for Black futures.

The South African government and both Afrikaans and English-speaking people agree that the only way in which a guerilla type war can be won and the only defence against terrorism is to ensure the loyalty and support of the whole population, in other words to achieve a whole-hearted commitment to the defence of the country and all its people. So what action does the government take to achieve this? It forcibly deprives Black South Africans of their South African citizenship and their claim to a share in the country's wealth and prosperity and it does this without Black consent and in spite of expressed Black anger and resentment.

The government did it to all Xhosa people on October 26 last year. It intends to do it to all Tswana people on December 6 this year, and it has expressed the intention to persevere with this insane policy until all Black South Africans



are foreigners in their fatherland. Whether the newly created States will survive as independent countries is a question for the future but, whether they do or not, I am convinced that South Africa will remain a multi-racial country with a majority of Black people who will not relinquish their claim to equal political rights and consequent social, legal and economic equality.

With a record of White administration such as this the only possible solution for Blacks seems to them to be majority rule. Whatever disadvantages it may have for Whites, South Africa's Black people feel that they have nothing to lose and everything to gain. This is why we who are Whites must discuss the concept, face our fears and come to terms with the future. The sooner we do so and the more wholeheartedly we accept the challenge the more likely are we to be able to establish a system which offers freedom and peace to all of us, both Black and White.

If we accept that majority rule is inevitable, the question which remains is what will be the quality of the new society when it is established, and this in turn will depend upon the length of time which elapses between now and then and the degree of violent conflict which is involved.

All the way through this argument I have used the Black/White terminology because, generally speaking, Blacks demand majority rule and Whites reject it. But I do not believe that at this point of time the divisions are drawn on racial lines. I believe that the majority includes both Blacks and Whites who believe in freedom and the infinite value of human personality and that the minority is not entirely composed of Whites.

The majority of South Africans want peace. They demand radical change but seek non-violent means to bring it about. They share together in adherence to the principles of democratic government and of political, economic and social justice. They believe in the protection of the rights of minorities and the protection of the rights of the individual, particularly against the power of the State.

Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of *The World*, in his Christmas message to his readers which was headlined, 'Think how you can save your White brothers', said: 'I know that you are angered and grieved by insinuations that your legitimate grievances are the result of a Communist plot or conspiracy to bring chaos and Red domination in South Africa. I know that you reject these insinuations with the contempt they deserve because Communism is also a White man's philosophy which is foreign to your aspirations and needs.

'I know, therefore, that you cannot understand why people would think that you reject the present White man's system only to replace it with another White man's system imported from the Soviet Union.

'I know that you have nothing but contempt for people who continue to use the Communist bogey

as an excuse to opt out of their responsibility in the arena of human dignity, and preservation and advancement of civil liberties.'

In this shared belief in human liberation lies our hope for the future but whether that hope can survive the pressure of events depends to a great extent on what we White people do to demonstrate that we are willing to act in a way which is consonant with our beliefs.

It is clear that any alternative society which is designed by Whites will be rejected by Blacks. Whites long ago forfeited any claim that they might have made that they are worthy of trust.

We are always saying that we must consult with Blacks, but the political centre has moved and we should now be looking at the inversion of this. We need to try to ensure that Blacks will consult with us about our position and protection in the South Africa of the future. I believe that together we are quite capable of forging a constitution which will incorporate checks and balances, constitutional devices to create a society in which all people have a maximum of individual freedom and in which human liberties are inviolate. Nor is it beyond our ingenuity to entrench protection for minority groups who place high value on group identity rather than on individual personality. None of this is beyond our capabilities.

However, given the present political realities of our country, there are grounds for fear that change is not going to come about peacefully. There has already been too much violence. In the struggle for change everything which is done to contain the degree of violence is valuable.

We may not always see clearly what we can do nor can we make long term plans, but Archbishop Clayton's constantly repeated admonition is still valid in our present situation: 'Do the next right thing'.

To conclude, I again quote Percy Qoboza's message: 'Finally in the words of the late Dr Martin Luther King "I know you shall overcome. Deep in my heart I know *we* shall overcome". And in the same vein that great civic leader echoed your sentiments correctly when he added: "Not only will we win our freedom, we shall also appeal to your hearts and consciences we will win you in the process. And our victory will be a double victory".'

'So, when you reflect this Christmas, think of how you can save your White brothers from the chains of fear. Take them along to a new South Africa where man will be man, irrespective of the colour of his skin, or the colour of his eyes, or the length of his hair.'

I say to you tonight that we must take the hand stretched out to us for, if we do not, it will be withdrawn and we will be left behind grasping at the empty air.

March 14, 1977.

# Is there a way?

GAVIN RELLY

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*An abridged version of the address delivered by Mr Relly at the opening meeting of the 1977 National Conference.*

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**WHAT ARE** the prerequisites for change and cure in our country?

First and foremost, I believe we cannot talk about change if we do not have a strong and growing economy.

Secondly, there must be a willingness by the Whites to reappraise their position in the world and their position vis-à-vis their Black compatriots.

Thirdly, there must be a willingness by the Blacks and the Browns to accept the good faith of the Whites.

We can taken none of these things for granted, but let us deal with them in turn.

I have listed the country's economic position first, simply on the grounds that whatever else we do, I cannot believe that in Southern Africa any social policies can be successfully pursued if there is not an adequate growth of national wealth to provide some fulfilment of peoples' expectations. This view may lack the trappings of high idealism, but I am firmly convinced of its validity.

We have to move to a more equal sharing of wealth: but unless there is more — much more — of it to go round, the redistribution of present wealth would involve such impoverishment of the present leaders of the society that we would face mass emigration and the country would be deprived of essential leadership.

The country is one of great wealth, at least in its potential for development of natural and human resources. Its record in natural resource development is outstanding; its record in human resource development less so.

Like most developing economies, it is dependent to a considerable extent for growth on the country's ability to attract long term capital from overseas on reasonable terms.

I do not believe that in the long run our resources are adequate to enable us to pull ourselves up by our own boot-straps. In the ultimate we would have to face the fact that in an economy where growth is of the essence for social stability, we would not be able to go fast enough without major foreign borrowing.

At the present time we have got into a financial squeeze as far as foreign borrowings are concerned. South Africa's financial position, even though we are going through a difficult period, compares relatively favourably with the economies of other countries which are in a roughly similar state of development. The problem lies, therefore, not so much in our financial evidences as in our politics.

Foreign lending institutions say quite simply that unless there is evidence of political change, and of a genuine commitment to political change, they are not prepared to deal with South Africa on a normal banking basis.

This means that to the extent we are able to obtain funds overseas, these will be on unattractive terms, which do not provide a sound basis for long-term development. It also means that we are more vulnerable to outside political pressure.

The Prime Minister has said in effect that change should come in South Africa because it is right for South Africa and not because it is at the behest of foreigners. I entirely agree with him.

There are aspects of our economy to which we should apply our minds, other than the external position. We are all, on the whole, supporters of the private enterprise capitalist system. We recognise its difficulties. We recognise the problems in a complex world of the clash between private enterprise and government ownership.

But, I believe, most White people in South Africa think that the system offers better opportunity for growth and greater satisfaction to the people than other economic systems which grade off to a red blur on the left.

As Whites, however, we are peculiarly inconsistent. We laud the merits of our system but seldom stop to ask whether the benefits which we hold it to produce are, in fact, enjoyed by sufficient people in the country as a whole to make it a system which the country as a whole is willing to support and defend. The answer is, of course, no.

Communism tends to succeed by making the best use of capitalism's weaknesses. It is able to



thrust into all those areas and stratas of society where the people do not feel that the rewards, benefits and pleasures of capitalism are being made available to them, and where communism can appear to offer a good deal without the obligation of having to perform.

I do not think we have given sufficient attention to this problem in the great urban and industrial complexes in our country. They provide an area of conflict and of interface between capitalism and its challengers. If we do not remove that conflict by offering the same freedoms and the same benefits to everyone in our industrial society, I do not believe that our private enterprise system will survive.

If, therefore, we are to have a sound and enduring and expanding economy, it must be one in which Black people can buy, build, lease, hire and associate themselves in whatever ways they believe will be most beneficial to them commercially.

They must be able to enjoy the fruits of their labours by being able to make a decision about where and how they will live, how they will educate their children and what they will do with their leisure time and whether they will spend their money on a holiday or a TV set.

They have got to be able to make judgments about private enterprise on the merits of their experience and not merely on the say so that this is a better system than other systems. They have got to make their own judgments and must not always be told what to do.

The removal of discrimination against Blacks is both morally right and urgently necessary for the political and economic well-being of the Whites. I have referred to the potential of our human resources. If South Africa takes its opportunities, it can certainly sustain its position in the world as a middle-class power and one of, if not the strongest, industrial powers on the continent.

But here again the inhibitions on the industrial development of Black people must be removed. They must be made free to operate within the conventions applicable to management/labour relations under a private enterprise system.

Our prerequisite of a sound and developing economy will not be fulfilled unless our system offers something for the bulk of our people. If this is achieved, I believe it will ipso facto bring about a change of attitude on the part of foreign institutions and encourage them to invest in the enormous potential in South Africa.

At its root, I do not believe that responsible foreign opinion is so interested in where we are today, but in where we think we are going. This seems to be the most crucial issue of our own lives, the lives of the Black people, the Brown people, and the Whites.

It surely must be one of the most extraordinary features of South African public life that a party which has been in power for 30 years can continue to treat its faithful and the rest of the country with them, as if they are too stupid or too inconsequential to want to know where they are going. Perhaps our leaders, after 30 years in office, are not themselves certain where they are going.

When the country crie for progress we are treated to a series of what are, in relative terms, giant intuitive leaps backward. I say in relative terms, because by the time any movement is made towards an objective, the objective has itself already moved forward and at an ever increasing pace.

Since the country seems to lack leadership from the hierarchy of the National Party, the rest of the country is entitled to ask the faithful supporters of that party 'What are you doing about it? Are you satisfied that you do your duty to yourselves and the country as a whole by bottling up the concerns and worries which you must have about our fate?'

Part of our problem in the South African scene stems from the problems which arise in a democracy (talking about White people for the moment when the normal process of democracy, namely changes in the ruling clique, do not come about. This leads to a state of mind where staying in power becomes an absolute end in itself and prevents one asking the right questions or listening to the answers.

One question to ask is 'Are our policies and our laws such as to induce people to break the law, or to encourage them to break the law?' I wonder if anyone in government has ever done a projection to see what part of the national wealth will have to be spent over the next ten years in building jails, or if anyone has ever queried whether the nature of policies which appear to breed widespread dissension are wise.

Do we, in fact, want to end up with a country where a large proportion of the population is in jail, and a substantial portion of the population is engaged in keeping it there?

Why is it that people of goodwill and ardent concern, like the Black Sash, should find themselves without success to their purpose? Why is it that the impulse of progressive thought (with a small 'p' even), should be absorbed and negated apparently without evidence of impact? Why is it that a large body of Christian people in South Africa, who are by no means confined to the suburbs of the big cities, but who dwell widely across our country, are impotent to influence events or play a part in shaping the fortunes of our people?

An explanation that separation of the races in effect engineers a situation where the privileged Whites, going comfortably about their normal



business, are simply not exposed to the conditions in which the majority of Blacks live out their days. So ignorance breeds indifference — what the eye doesn't see the heart doesn't grieve about. Nevertheless, I do not myself believe that the concern of the Black Sash and its protest are in fact without influence.

Here, too, our Nationalist friends must ask themselves some questions. When protest against government actions and policies seeks simply to draw attention to injustice — is this a crime, is it unpatriotic? In South Africa are there only certain things one can protest about and not others? Our friends in the National Party must say to the Prime Minister: 'Stop leading a clique; start leading the people!'

But one cannot throw the whole burden of reappraisal onto the shoulders of Nationalist sympathisers. Because they lead the country they have to move first or nothing moves. I am not clear, however, whether those Whites in the country who do not vote Nationalist would answer the questions which we have posed to our Nationalist friends with any greater ease, particularly if they had been part of government for nigh on 30 years!

However, one has to associate the polarisation between the National Party and the rest of the White electorate with the doctrine of apartheid. It has very few merits and if one were able to put the clock back, I have no doubt that one would not choose it as a best policy. Certainly, one would not choose from it the arrogant assumptions of racial superiority which we have come to associate with it.

However, a decentralising economy and political development policy implemented with justice and with a fair sharing of the cake in land and resources would not, as such, have been unmoral but simply another way of trying to grapple with an extremely difficult problem, but the non-Nationalist could see no home in the racial superiority features of Nationalist philosophy. Denied any say in running the country, and apparently destined so to remain unless they embraced apartheid, the English-speaking by and large hugged thin cloaks of righteousness about them and went their own way.

In terms in which we are talking, non-Nationalists have got to think just as hard as Nationalists about where they want to go. If they want a future in South Africa they must accept a diminishment of their privileges and power. If they want a future for their children, they may have to accept the diminishment of choices in regard to education, leisure and other things.

For all of us, Nationalists and non-Nationalists alike, I would urge abandonment of the notion that the solution to our problems lies in one grand political design, with policies 'for Africa' thrust-

ing out from the centre like the spokes of a wheel. Our collective wisdom is just not equal to the task.

Shouldn't we let the solution evolve and emerge by providing for those of differing views a fundamental freedom: the freedom of choice. For those on the far right and for the timid and confused, serious consideration should be given to the establishment of a Eurostan where a hegemony of White interests can endure in parallel with areas of Black hegemony.

I have always felt quite benevolently towards Transkeian independence. I do not believe that there are sustainable objections to self-rule within South Africa where this is based on viable resource areas, but if I were a Black man I would be bitterly resentful of being told to go away and paddle my own canoe in a brak and sluggish river while in other parts of the country, other citizens sailed sedately down broad streams of expectation and progress.

I would be resentful, too, of having systems devised for me which, without my consent, were imposed on me. For instance, a system of education which told me that I had to be educated in a qualitatively inferior way to the State education being offered to other people in the country.

We can find justifications for sensible and just homeland development, but I doubt whether there are any ameliorating factors to be applied to the concept of apartheid within our large urban industrial society.

Figures quoted by Prof. Leistner indicate that in 1970, 87 per cent of Whites as well as Asians, and 74 per cent of Coloureds were enumerated in urban areas. He notes that Blacks are the least of the urbanised race groups but show the most rapid rate of urbanisation. He says that the proportion of Blacks in urban areas has trebled in this century, having risen from 10,4 per cent in 1904 to 33,1 per cent in 1970.

The nuclei at the heart of the South African atom is thus urban. The people in these urban constituencies probably include, in all colours, the most intelligent, the most versatile, the most hard-working and, in many ways, the most enduring part of our population.

The 87 per cent of Europeans who live in urban areas must make the greatest reappraisal. We must ask ourselves whether rich, White Johannesburg can for long sustain its privileges against poor, Black Soweto; whether the citizens of Constantia can for all time pretend that Guguletu is no concern of theirs; and likewise, what do the citizens of Kloof think about the conditions of the citizens of Kwa-mashu?

In the urban areas the interface of privilege and wealth and poverty and deprivation is too stark to endure. One cannot have superb parks and gardens, beautiful roads and manicured lawns

in one part of a town and a contrasting level of amenities and services which we have in Soweto, in another.

It would be thoroughly naive to pretend that overnight these things could be changed or that under any circumstances it would be possible or desirable to level things out to a grey mass of nonentity.

But it would be helpful in every way if we were to start moving steadily away from compulsory separation and differentiation and if urban people were to come to recognise that they have urban problems in common, roads, health, transport, recreational amenities, tar, concrete and noise. These things bring people together and can and should form the basis for the beginnings of non-racial local self-government.

Our third area for consideration was the question whether the Black would be willing to accept the White man's good faith. Of course, to some extent, this would depend on where the Black man thought the White man was going and it would depend on whether the White man was seen to firmly commit himself to a course of action.

It is probably more important that the Black man should have a conviction of the White man's committal to a course of action than that the course of action in itself should be exactly right.

I believe, too, that if we are to embark on a new course of action it must be seen in its entirety and in a time span. I do not believe that any course of action will work unless it carries the goodwill and the acquiescence of the Black man with it.

In any event, we should get away from the myth that there are absolutely right courses of action. Apartheid was thought to be capable of producing final solutions. In people problems there are no final solutions. We can only travel hopefully and with good will.

It is perfectly clear that our present constitutional and parliamentary arrangements will not permit effective consultation with the Black man, and the White man's reappraisal therefore of his and the country's future will have to provide a means whereby we can override our historical conventions and the rigidities of our party structures.

I am talking about a choice on the one hand between the current deadlock in our affairs with its reasonable expectations of disaster and the acceptance on the other of a development plan to which all the people of the country were committed and which held the prospect of reasonable success. I would opt for the latter, particularly if I were able to have some say about the structure and safeguards for carrying the plan out.

We have spent a generation dismembering the country; it is high time we spent a generation putting it back together again.

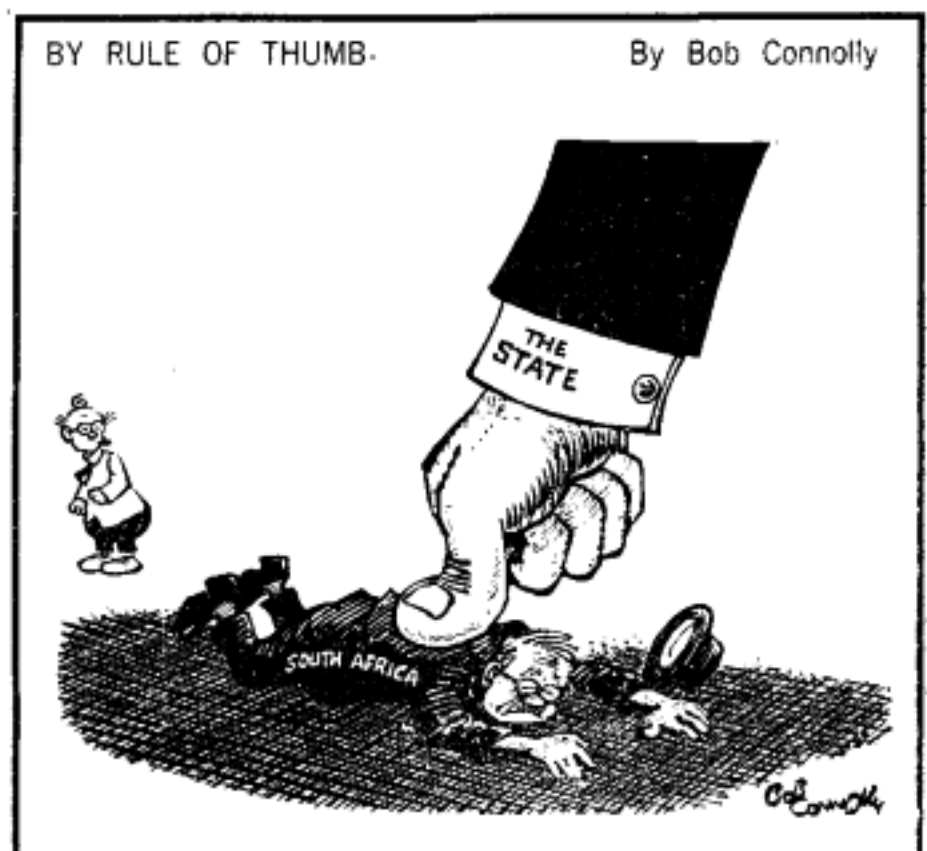
Let me summarise the principles underlying what we have been talking about:

- One citizenship for all South Africans — Black, White and Brown (though I have no objection to subsidiary citizenship);
- No discrimination before the law;
- Consolidation and just development of the homelands;
- The development of three large urban constituencies based on Johannesburg Cape Town and Durban to start with, which will introduce property-based qualified franchises for all races;
- The development, if grass roots support for it is forthcoming, of a Eurostan.

A means must be sought to develop a plan on this basis which carries the acquiescence of all race groups and a committal to carry it out. If we do not have broad agreement we will become a national of jailed and jailors — and who will then be the jailed and who the jailors? If we do not have acquiescence, we will have revolution.

As to timing, I believe the promulgation of one citizenship and the removal of discrimination should be now. We should take five years to consolidate the homelands and create multi-racial urban solutions. During the same five years the merits of and the creation, if necessary, of a Eurostan should be discussed and proceeded with.

We should then take another five years to make these developments work. At the end of ten years, a convention representing the then developed elements of the South African nation should meet to review progress and determine the basis on which the country should go forward towards the establishment of the new Confederation of Good Hope.





# You and change

*A symposium on CHANGE. The speakers were invited to talk on how they see South Africa in ten years' time. PAT TUCKER reports.*

## JEANETTE COHEN

**I**N THE English language, and no doubt in Afrikaans too, black signifies evil, falsehood, terror, grief, despair, death, while white symbolises purity, virginity, truth, innocence, hope.

We 'learned' at an early age that the Blacks were the captives of their own 'savage' leaders, of their own primitive instinct and *we* were civilised. No primitive leaders, no primitive instinct, no savage thoughts — whatever violence was in us was used for the betterment of mankind.

Here then is one great fear: The Whites are the Black Man's Burden, and they are going to serve their captives' needs.

My own fear, perhaps I can only speak for myself, is retribution. I and my ilk are going to be punished for what I and my ilk have not only done, but for what we have not done, for what we have been taught from earliest childhood to believe and to have felt.

We were all things white and beautiful.

We are superior, Blacks are inferior.

We may sometimes be violent, rapacious, greedy, but we are civilised and can hold these basic instincts in check.

And now events have made it obvious that Black people have feelings too — the same as ours — greedy, violent, aggressive — but there is a fear that they can't control theirs and the fear arises in our minds because their violence sets off our violence.

They have been stirred to anger as a result of threats and oppression and a multitude of regulations that restrict their lives.

Whereas before we did feel superior — irrationally — we now know we are the same and violent groups are going to clash with each other and there cannot be the crossing of lines because you won't be identifiable by your ideals and your opinions but by your colour.

Until fairly recently most of us, even those who recognised what was happening in our society and wanted it to change, pushed aside the idea that the conflict would come at the end of the century — in another era — and now we are afraid it is here. We thought our good life would at least endure for our lifetime.

We have been cossetted and protected and cared for, very often by Blacks themselves while they

have been neglected, harrassed and denied their selfrespect.

Strangely enough we were comfortable to a certain extent while the Blacks believed in the evil attributes which we bestowed on them.

Events in the world altered the circumstances of all our lives. The Blacks no longer accepted our delineation of them nor the restrictions placed upon them. Their basic feelings, rage, violence, can't be controlled for ever and as new emotions are expressed our basic feelings are touched off too — our violence and aggression are expressed too and there is conflict. This is terrifying.

Black became beautiful for the Blacks and as it became beautiful for them it became uglier for us. It is easier to deal with the 'ignoble' than the 'noble'. The phrase 'Black is beautiful' touched off our deepest fears. We knew from the recesses of our childhood that Black is ugly, hideous, frightening.

By our actions we have made strangers of the Blacks and we have pushed our own primitive feelings onto the strangers, the foreigners, the others. This is what we did in childhood and we are regressing to a more and more childish level and all adults are frightened to be childish.

We can't deny that we are all afraid of great change — we are afraid of losing power, we are afraid of having fewer material possessions, of a lowering of our standards. We also know that we can overcome these fears but we are afraid of a revenge that will make us live the lives that we expected others to live — no houses; dirty houses; slums; overcrowded houses; too close contact with too many people; sharing facilities with dirty people.

We are afraid that families will have to live apart, that we will be brutalised as they have been brutalised.

My greatest fear is that we are not going to be allowed to work for a better society, a society rid of its prejudices.

I can work in one way, someone else in another. Some people are political, others are not. We all want to do something now.

## ADAM SMALL

**I** QUOTE FROM Alexander Solzhenitsyn's 'Letter to Soviet leaders'. He is pleading for change in Soviet Russia. He is addressing the re-

gime. He is not advocating revolution, but pleading for radical change to be initiated by the regime itself insofar as that is the only peaceful change that is possible.

He implores and exhorts the Russian regime. He writes:

'So that the country and the people do not suffocate... allow competition on an equal and honourable basis...

'What have you to fear? Is the idea really so terrible? Are you really so unsure of yourselves? You will still have absolute and impregnable power, a separate, strong and exclusive party, the army, the police force, industry, transport, communications, mineral wealth, a monopoly of foreign trade, an artificial rate of exchange for the rouble — but let the people breathe, let them think and develop! If you belong to the people heart and soul, there can be nothing to hold you back!...'

'Change!' Solzhenitsyn tells the Soviet leaders. He warns them that 'the wise heed advice long before the need becomes overwhelming'. Then he continues:

'You may dismiss the counsels of some lone individual, some writer, with laughter and indignation. But with each passing year — for different reasons, at different times and in different guises — life itself will keep on thrusting exactly the same suggestion at you, exactly the same. Because this is the only feasible and *peaceful* way in which you can save our country and our people.

'And yourselves into the bargain. For the hour of peril will come, and you will appeal to your people once more, not to world communism. And even your own fate — yes, even yours! — will depend on you.

'...make the transition calmly, over the next three years, perhaps — or five, or even ten, allowing for the whole process. But that is only if you make a start now, only if you make up your minds this moment.'

Obviously our situation is different from Solzhenitsyn's. Solzhenitsyn, it seems, finds it possible to accept a dictatorship, only it must be a good one: he would be satisfied with 'an exclusive party', with 'a monopoly of foreign trade' for the regime and so on.

But the basis of Solzhenitsyn's plea for change in Russia is as relevant to us as it is to him.

I can model my plea for radical change in my country on this plea of Solzhenitsyn's for change in his. I can do this inasmuch as this is a demand for change not from spite, but from compassion, or, if you like, from humanism.

Solzhenitsyn is asking for the regime to be destroyed — in fact to initiate its own destruction — he is not asking for the destruction of individuals. Solzhenitsyn is the civilised man speaking.

It is difficult to be civilised man. We have been oppressed so much — we have been hurt so much

(some of us more than others, but all of us so much) — that civilised responses towards the oppressor appear to be impossible.

Yet, unless we emphasise civilisation even as we root out oppression, we also are lost. There is no meaning — only empty meaninglessness — in replacing oppression with oppression.

I can understand that young people do very many things that they do out of spite rather than out of compassion.

The point, however, is that if we are going to have sensible change in South Africa, that kind of meaningful change which will leave for all of us, a place, a human place to live in after the event we need compassion, we do not need spite.

## PERCY QOBOZA

ONE OF THE most overused words in South Africa's vocabulary today is undoubtedly the word change. In the last eight months the word has assumed schizophrenic proportions in certain quarters but in Soweto, people have become so sceptical about it that I know that most of them would like to hear an end to the word change.

Since the beautiful, celebrated Alice-in-Wonderland pronouncements by the eminent Mr Pik Botha at the United Nations making the solemn promise in that international forum that this country was moving away from racial discrimination we have not had anything else to prove that this is so.

Many people point out to me that we can now enter five-star hotels without anybody batting an eyelid.

In other quarters I am also told that our sports policy is another indication that we are moving away from discrimination. They point out that nearly a decade ago it would have been considered anathema for a Black man to bash a White man in the boxing ring and that the fact that this is now allowed is an indication of the civilisation we are now acquiring.

On the soccer field we have been less successful. Multi-nationalism does not mean integrated sport. It still means a retention of the status quo with the fringe benefits making it all look nice.

And the racial attitudes were still there.

Just to make sure the entire world is not put in the picture about the indecision we maintain to keep our traditional way of life we present the country with a Newspaper Bill that will sort out any enthusiastic journalist and his editor printing such things in the paper. After all these are the types of stories that give South Africa a bad name abroad and as we all know this is very unpatriotic for a people who are on the edge of a changing society.

These, then, are the observations of the ordinary man in Soweto. These are the types of cos-



mic changes for which we are pleading to the Black people in this country to exercise patience.

Oh, it takes time to readjust attitudes and it is the height of irresponsibility we tell them to press for too much change too soon. It will only bring chaos and disaster to the country. Well, I must mention that people who believe and feel like this are literally sleeping through a revolution. They have failed to interpret correctly the message of June 16.

They are doing South Africa a great disservice. For these changes are meaningless when one considers the overall aspirations of our people in South Africa today.

Black people have now finally decided on their own that the days of White paternalism are over. They will not accept decisions concerning their lives to be left in the hands of the all-knowing White people. The days of unilateral decisions are over and the days of meaningful negotiations and meaningful dialogue are in.

They are in if they can make the concerted effort now to talk to people while there is still a large body of them with sufficient goodwill to engage in meaningful dialogue.

I believe deep in my heart that the body of people still exists in spite of what we have experienced in the past few months but I must also quickly add that a lot of these people are steadily being put into positions of hardening attitudes.

Much play has been made of the fact that the greatest inhibition to change in South Africa is fear and uncertainty of the future. Many people say to me what guarantee has the White man that his standard of living, his liberty and his earthly possessions will be guaranteed if he should agree to power-sharing in this country.

The biggest guarantee lies in developing a truly human relationship among the peoples of our country.

It does not lie in investing millions in accumulating potent weapons and ammunition when that money could have been invested in promoting goodwill and brotherhood amongst the people of our country so we would need no guns at all.

People in this country tend to lay a great emphasis on political solutions. Political power is an academic idea to the man who wakes up in Soweto at four o'clock and comes back at 10 o'clock. But I am convinced that many of our present problems can be solved by attacking vigorously the quality of life among our people in the townships.

You cannot maintain a stable and responsible community if you continue raising families in the drab and depressing atmosphere that is Soweto.

What South Africa needs more than anything else at the moment is a real and not imagined

change. We have got to move away from racial discrimination which assaults our everyday dignity at every turn. We have to reconcile ourselves that we have to climb down from our protected and privileged position and develop a society where merit and not colour is the criterion by which we must judge the human character.

I must also warn tonight that there is no turning back at all in the determination of our people to regain dignity and justice and no amount of security police intimidation will deter them from doing what they consider a noble idea.

I would rather see it being achieved around the conference table than in the arena of confrontation.

For our children's sake, let us change.

## OTTO KRAUSE

**I AM SPEAKING** as an Afrikaner Nationalist. Afrikaners see themselves as a nation living on a continent in much the same way as the Europeans in Europe have lived among each other.

Our perception is essentially a nation-to-nation perception. It is not a racial perception which is dependent on overtones of superiority, inferiority, guilt, fear, etc.

There will be change in South Africa but what kind of change?

Afrikaners do and can contemplate a South Africa in which we will move away from racial discrimination and I see over the next 10 years a real moving away. It will be gradual but we will move away.

I think we will move away in our own special way. There will be provisos, though I don't think, for instance, that schools will be integrated, but I don't see that education will be particularly strictly segregated.

I think we will have a South Africa in which there are certain grey areas and I think we have already begun to discern those grey areas — namely private schools.

We will move away from discrimination in a very South African way — not in a legalistic way as the Americans have or looking toward an undifferentiated nation — our thesis is that this is a South Africa of various nations and nations like to do their own thing.

We must realise that South Africa is not this unvariegated kind of society which the United States might aspire to be.

It is going to be a South Africa of groups and/or of nations. But I think this is going to happen for the very reason that to move away from discrimination in terms of our perceptions as a new nation in Africa is in our self interest.

And one does find that nations basically do things in their self-interest and that, perceived on a long-term basis, usually that self-interest ends up as being moral. It is in that light rather than in any moralistic kind of light that I see our whole approach to this question.

At the same time there is a paradox here. It is one thing to say that we will move away from discrimination in South Africa, it is another to say that if we do what kind of political organisation should we or could we have in this country to make it possible.

We can only move away from discrimination in our circumstances if we do have political separation. In other words if we don't have a sharing of power in the sense that perhaps Harry Schwarz would put it.

This is simply because of the circumstances of South Africa. There are certain things that some people will accept and other people won't accept.

And now, speaking as an Afrikaner and a Nationalist, I think one can say that Afrikaners one way or another do not intend, nor would they want to share power with anybody. If one looks back, it is only a mere 78 years ago when another group of people who came to this town wanted to share power — namely the British. And Afrikaners refused to share power with them. It wasn't a racist approach to things. When I say I don't want to share power with Percy's people it is not a racialistic thing, it is simply that Afrikaners don't want to share power with anybody else.

I state this simply as a fact. Afrikaners feel this way and they will fight for it. But I think this country on the level of racial discrimination will change and I do believe that it will change in this paradoxical sense — that we will remove racial discrimination for the simple reason that it becomes politically feasible as long as one does have a South Africa in which power is not shared.

And there we must all answer for ourselves — do we look to a South Africa which will be one nation or do we look to a South Africa that deals morally with everyone in the sense that it moves away from racial discrimination.

I think this is the key to the whole situation and when one looks at our country and the tremendous needs that it has in terms of economic growth, in terms of ordinary growth I think that ultimately South Africa will buy this kind of scenario. I don't think we are going to have a revolution in this country.

I think what we are going to have far more likely is a deal between the various peoples of South Africa acting as peoples or as nations and dealing with each other as nations.

I do think at the same time that we will not change when it comes to sharing political power with anybody else.

## SHELDON LEADER

I WANT TO address myself to the fears of ordinary people living in this time and have us consider what we would like to see in the next 10 years.

There are four problems: two fears — the fear of dictatorship and the fear of the group identity; and two dilemmas — the dilemma about the distribution of resources and the dilemma about the franchise.

Any commitment to power sharing must deal with these if it is honest.

In politics we usually think of the state on the one hand and the individual on the other. I want tonight for us to consider a third entity — the group between the state and the individual.

If ten years from now these groups are vital parts of the policy then each of the fears and dilemmas I have pointed to will be a step closer to resolution.

What kinds of groups are these intermediate groups? We have many already: professional associations, consumer associations, trade unions for Whites, Coloureds and Indians and we also need some new ones.

Few of these groups possess what I would consider to be effective features if they are to come to terms with the two fears and the two dilemmas that I have mentioned.

They are not internally democratic, they have no real powers and there aren't enough of them.

By internal democracy I mean the active participation of all members in decision making by the association. Individuals, if they are taking decisions like this, have a real say over things which affect the most important elements of their daily lives.

Secondly, the education of the individual in the collective decision making is improved by participation in these kinds of groups.

He feels a heightened need to know more about public issues and comes to know his capacity to make use of that knowledge.

These are two important consequences of internal democracies not in states but in intermediate groups.

Secondly, what is the consequence of giving these groups more power? Let's look at the example of the trade union. Decisions would be fully worked out between a representative group of trade unions and employers or, we might have more far-reaching solutions in which we find joint participation between management and labour groups in actually running certain enterprises.

The trade union would have real power over an important issue that would be taken away from the centre of political power.



There exists already in South African industry a very sophisticated panoply of negotiating instruments of just this sort which must be extended to internally democratic and independent trade unions open to all races.

There should be many such groups. If we can maximise the number of intermediate groups, corresponding to as many interests individuals have to collectively further as possible, then I think we will find that we can dissolve a great deal that lies behind racial conflict because it is really an umbrella term for many other sorts of conflict that we have with each other.

These can be economic, cultural, religious, but they are eminently divisible interests that different sorts of associations could cope with and thereby a great deal of what would be in racial conflict would disappear.

The second consequence of a multiplicity of such groups is that we can increase what political scientists call the site of political conflicts in this way and move away from the all-or-nothing sphere that treating with the central government must involve.

What are the results for the two fears and the two dilemmas that I began by mentioning?

First take the fear of dictatorship. It's generally become well-established in social science that dictatorship, that totalitarianism thrives on either crushing all intermediate groups or in gaining control of them.

A healthy, strong intermediate group structure is precisely what will stop dictatorship in its most virulent form.

But what of the more general fear of White domination by Black. This kind of general fear frequently unpacks itself into many diverse sorts of fears. Most centrally many of us have come to realise that it is generated by inequality of resources, that are presently at least held together by institutions in which Whites have a hold over all the decision-making power.

We can envision this inequality being overcome by a process of bargaining between the kinds of intermediate groups for whom resources are the prime object of concern. Collective bargaining is the instrument for this.

What about domination of White and Black in a sense that will involve the domination of a White's identity?

The preservation of group identity if pared down to its proper proportions I think deserves some respect. To me it means the voluntary propagation of a group's language, its ritual, its particular customs, captured in this umbrella notion of mores.

I see this kind of preservation of group identity as the province of intermediate groups, not the state.

Groups who wish in these terms to hold on to racially or culturally uniform characteristic are free to do so.

But meanwhile, in my schema of what can happen in the next 10 years, we will have other intermediate groups which will bring the races together.

What about the two dilemmas, the dilemma of the distribution of resources and the dilemma about the franchise?

The disturbing feature of the recent kinds of increases of wages that have gone to Blacks is that they have been wildly arbitrary and highly unilateral. What is missing is a mutual decision-making between the people in the sectors allowing for repeated increases and changes as time goes on.

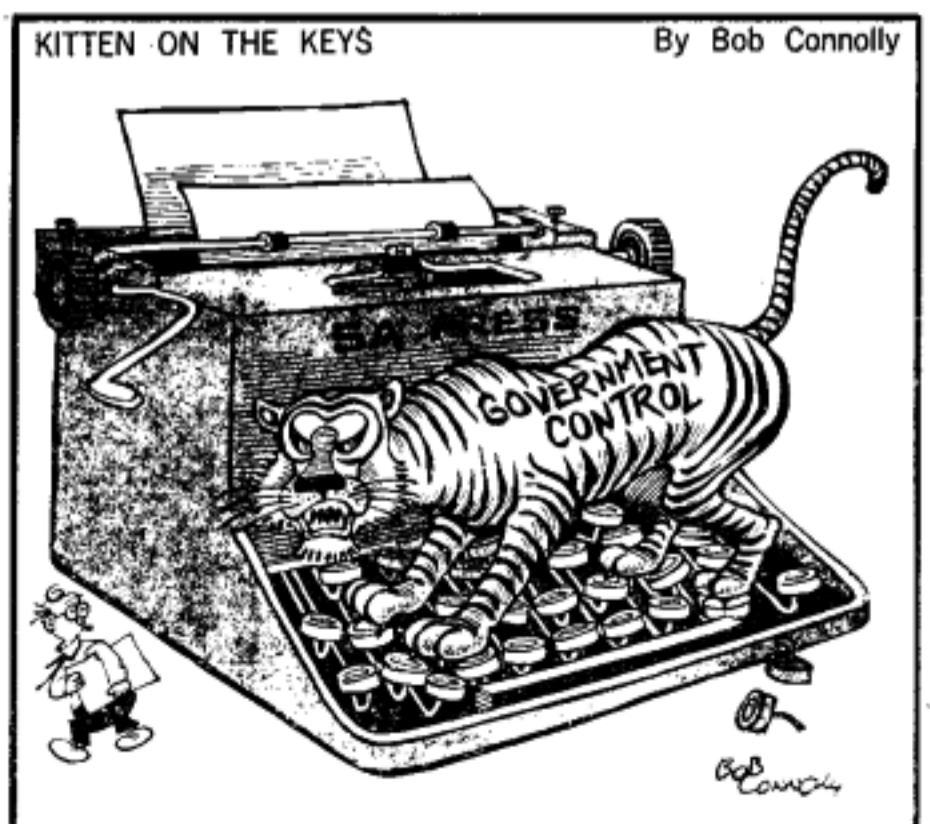
Finally, the franchise. There is, when we ask 'should educated individuals have a monopoly of the vote?', no clear evidence that an education will necessarily improve the choice of political leaders insofar as we think of this education as a certain number of years in school.

But there is one kind of education that does very clearly improve the quality of decision-making and vote-casting and that is the education that comes from the kind of participation in group decision-making that I have described.

If this can be established then we can be sure that a more widely exercised franchise will be intelligently used and this is a point as applicable to South African Whites as it is to South African Blacks.

If intermediate groups have the power I have spoken of then the central government will have less of an all-or-nothing say over politics.

If we have ten years to work with we must begin now to build these groups and so lessen the fears of the future that I have spoken of.



# Riots—1976

**BARBARA BROCK, PAT TUCKER, VERNA BROWN**

*No evidence has yet been produced, in the Press, the many trials or the Cillie Commission in support of the view that the pupils were puppets operated by Communist agitators... Nobody had to tell the children what their frustrations were... The courage of the scholars is incredible...*

**NOEL ROBB**

**A**T FIRST it seemed that the June 1976 trouble in Soweto was having little effect in the Cape. However on June 17 the mixed Staff Association at the University of the Western Cape adopted a resolution of solidarity with the children of Soweto, and a group of students at the University of Cape Town organised a meeting to protest against the handling of the Soweto trouble.

On June 18, the Government announced that certain recommendations of the Theron Commission were unacceptable — key proposals dealing with direct representation for Coloured people in policy-making bodies, mixed marriages and the sex line clause in the Immorality Act.

During June there were arson attempts at schools and a post office.

In mid-July Fort Hare re-opened and held a mass meeting. The next day buildings were attacked and cars stoned. The University was closed after less than a week and all the students were sent home.

A UWC mass meeting decided to boycott lectures for a week as a gesture of sympathy and a protest against the whole social structure. The Rector suspended all classes, which resulted in riot police suddenly arriving on the campus, heavily armed and with dogs. The Rector asked them to leave. They had to drive past the students' meeting and the students erupted, shouting and beating the vans, flooding out into the road and disrupting all traffic. A few days later they marched on the Rector's office with demands which he considered in the main reasonable.

On August 4 the ban on open air gatherings was renewed. It was reported that police were surrounding the schools at night. It had been the habit of senior pupils to make use of the electricity in the schools to study at night — lacking it in their homes. The police prevented them. Relations with the police worsened.

On August 11 marching started. The pupils at Langa High School assembled on the sports grounds and an apprehensive crowd assembled outside. The police arrived and entered the school. The teachers tried to negotiate with the pupils,

who marched out singing 'Nkosi Sikelel'i Africa'. A placard stated that the demonstration was a peaceful gesture of solidarity with the people of Soweto.

The pattern in Nyanga and Guguletu was similar, schools attempting to join forces and march together. The police, after warning them to disperse, fired tear gas and arrested about 30 students. Students marched on the police station carrying a banner saying, 'We are not fighting. Please don't shoot'. They demanded the release of the arrested pupils. They were released, but as the children moved away the crowds took over.

As darkness fell widespread rioting broke out lasting 36 hours, with a death toll of 28 and 100 injured. The townships and a good many roads were sealed off. There was looting, arson and mobbing of cars, especially police vehicles. A middle-aged resident of Langa said, 'The protest was peaceful until the police appeared... I am convinced that the situation could have been contained... It is a fallacy to attribute all violent incidents to the skollie elements the way the Press did. It was an occasion for the people to display their disillusionment with the whole government bureaucracy.'

On August 12, 73 UCT students marched towards Mowbray Police Station, but were arrested.

On August 22, the funeral of Xolile Mosi, shot on August 12 was officially restricted to close relatives and set for an earlier than customary hour, but he had become the first martyr and everybody came. The crowds were dispersed by tear gas.

Coloured schools had now joined the boycotts, days of prayer and strikes.

The ban on public gatherings lapsed on August 31. On September 1 Coloured pupils converged on Athlone for a mass meeting. They were dispersed by the police, after which the scattered bands stoned cars, built road blocks and were joined by many other members of the community.

That afternoon about 1 000 African pupils went into the centre of the city and marched



up Adderley Street, demonstrating against apartheid and singing. Next day large numbers of Coloured school children marched into central Cape Town, but were dispersed by the police with tear gas, baton charges and thunder flashes. The ban on gatherings was re-imposed.

There was widespread rioting and looting in the townships, bird shot was used. Several deaths were reported.

On September 7 the authorities closed Coloured schools for a week. Of the 33 000 school children suddenly free of school many went into Cape Town and other centres, and confrontations were widespread. Rioting, looting and arson broke out over large stretches of the Peninsula and further afield, and the official figure for deaths seems to be 33.

At this time Coloured medical staff and nurses at Somerset Hospital demonstrated in sympathy with the riot sufferer. This was echoed by the nurses' training college and other hospitals.

August 15 and 16 had been announced as stay-at-home days. On the first day about 50 per cent of the workers stayed away and somewhat more on the second day. A power failure on the second night contributed to the confusion, and the official death toll was put at 12.

Dr Margaret Elsworth, trustee of the Bantu Scholars' Fund, with four other trustees, succeeded in getting senior African pupils to explain their views.

'If we go back we shall have lost and our leaders will be victimised; these must be released; the police must stay away from the schools; we must be able to speak to the authorities direct. There must be free compulsory education for all Black children with a priority for secondary schooling for those willing and able to learn; real changes, seriously promised, towards real education; adjustment to the end of the year exams, with extra help from other racial groups — there is no point in returning to write an exam we know we cannot pass.' Dr Elsworth took these requirements to the relevant authorities.

During October numerous trials started; there were sporadic outbreaks of stone-throwing and arson and widespread destruction of shebeens, resulting in some violence, with police opening fire on several occasions.

No African children were in school and African schools were empty for the rest of the year. Many of the Coloured schools were at work, though not at full strength. There were various violent incidents.

Early in December police sealed off the African townships, conducted a house to house search and announced the arrest of about 300 people 'suspected of being arsonists, ringleaders and criminals.'

The campaign of the students against liquor intensified, and considerable support for this attitude was shown by older residents.

On December 21 and 22 some houses were attacked and burned and on December 23 the police carried out another swoop.

In a clash between migrants and neighbouring township people 186 houses were burned, 106 people were injured, and 24 deaths were confirmed. An estimated 5 000 people left their homes. Some took refuge elsewhere in the townships, and many, especially the children, were cared for on church properties and in the building of the Christian Institute at Mowbray. Volunteers manned relief services and private people opened their homes.

The migrants apparently had disagreed with the injunction to boycott liquor and refrain from celebration and had attacked township people instigating these bans. Allegations have been made that the police incited the migrants, who then destroyed houses and terrorised the inhabitants.

The director of hospital services instructed hospitals not to give figures or information concerning the dead and injured with whom they were dealing. The police stopped issuing casualty lists. The desperate search for missing relatives still continues. Rumours persist that many more deaths occurred than were reported in the official casualty list given to the Commission of Enquiry. Unproved assertions are made of unofficial burials and also of unmarked graves containing more than one body.

There can be no finality while the inequities of the present system persist.

SOURCES: *Cape Times*; *Cape Argus*; *Cape Herald*; *Sunday Times*; *Rand Daily Mail*; SAIRR published and unpublished documents; *SA Outlook*, Aug. 1976; *Recommendations from the pupils of the Cape Town Bantu Schools*; *Bantu Scholars Fund*, Dr M. Elsworth, Sept. 1976; *Home? Margaret Nash* 1976.

NOTE: This report cannot be taken as comprehensive. It is a digest of information and opinion available at the time. The sources overlap a great deal and, not infrequently, differ in detail. Dates and figures especially should not be taken as authoritative or precise.

**BARBARA BROCK**

**O**N WEDNESDAY, June 16, several thousand Soweto pupils marched in peaceful protest against a Government decree that Afrikaans had to be used as one of the languages of instruction in high schools.

The children preferred all their subjects to be taught in English, at least one reason being that they regard Afrikaans as the language of their White oppressors.

Although there are conflicting stories about why a peaceful protest should have turned to violence, eye-witnesses contend that the violence

began when the police intervened, trying to stop the march. The children taunted the police who responded with teargas. Stones were thrown and shots were fired but whether the shots came before the stones is a point of contention.

The first child to be shot and killed was 13-year-old Hector Peterson. Three other children were also shot dead and 'all hell broke loose'.

Police vehicles were stoned and set on fire, vehicles belonging to the West Rand Bantu Affairs Administration Board were burnt as were nearly all WRAB offices.

Commercial vehicles and delivery vans belonging to White-owner companies were set on fire as were the only hotel and only bank in Soweto, a post office and shops and liquor stores and beer-halls.

Within a few days, 143 vehicles, 50 of them belonging to the police, and 139 buildings, 33 of them WRAB buildings had been burnt. Two White officials of WRAB were beaten to death.

Soweto schools were closed, armoured cars carrying anti-terrorism units were sent in and, within 24 hours, the violence and shooting had spread all over Soweto and neighbouring townships. Within three days at least 90 people died.

By the end of the week, violence had spread to Black townships all over the Witwatersrand and to Black universities.

There has been evidence that one of the major causes for the violence has been a general and abiding hatred by Blacks of policemen, Black and White. The interference of the police in the children's march was an almost inevitable stepping stone to what followed.

Horrifying as the extent and nature of the violence might have been, though, it was by no means mindless. The targets for destruction were mainly police and government vehicles, buildings belonging to the BABS, buses and vehicles owned by White businesses, and later, houses of Black members of the security police.

There was a logic too in the attacks on liquor shops and beerhalls all of which are owned by WRAB and resented because of their encouragement of alcoholism and the use of their profits to fund many essential services in Soweto which should be provided by other sources.

Although the initial cause of protest in Soweto was the 50-50 system of tuition in English and Afrikaans, the strikes and stay-aways which followed later in the year were a more generalised protest.

There is little doubt that the events of June 16 could have been avoided had the Government had a less intransigent attitude toward protest and change.

For 18 months before the upheavals, Black school advisory board principals, teachers' associations and parents' groups tried to have the decree changed but the Ministry of Bantu Education ignored all protest, carrying out a purge of the school boards instead.

It was their anger at the total failure of these efforts that caused the pupils to take matters into their own hands and organise a boycott of classes in mid-May. This eventually led to the march on June 16.

Although the Government gave in on the language issue, suspending the enforcement of Afrikaans, the security police mounted a search for the 'communists' and 'agitators' who, it was claimed, had caused the upheavals. A number of young Black leaders were detained under the security laws.

This led to a renewal of tension in Soweto in the first week in August when a march of more than 20 000 pupils set off for John Vorster Square to demand the release of their fellows. The march was broken up by police and more children were shot dead.

Stay-away strikes by workers also became a feature of life in the Tarnsvaal during the latter months of 1976. On some occasions an estimated 75 per cent of the city's work force was absent.

Initially, attempts by students to get Black workers to strike in sympathy did not really work. But at the beginning of August there was a more concerted attempt to organise a strike in Soweto, with pupils pulling workers out of trains and preventing taxis from leaving the township.

A key railway installation was blown up, which successfully prevented many people from getting to work.

Attempts to force strikes, though, were met with a counter reaction by workers for whom, in a time of growing unemployment, the weekly wage was more necessary than a stand on principle.

Groups of vigilantes, largely comprised of migrant workers from Soweto's hostels, launched attacks on township residents and in one week in August at least 35 people died in clashes. There were reports that police had encouraged migrant workers to 'kill troublemakers'. These were denied.

September saw more detentions and a demonstration by students in Lenasia in sympathy with the Soweto students. A power station south of Johannesburg was set alight and petrol bombs hurled into Johannesburg shops and at buses in White areas. During the month, there were stay-aways causing absenteeism of up to 80 per cent in Johannesburg.

In a spectacular demonstration about 1 500 youths marched down Eloff and Jeppe Streets. In skirmishes which followed store windows were damaged and some Whites injured. Several hundred arrests followed the march.

Tempers flared again in October when police, claiming provocation and stoning, opened fire at the funerals of two Soweto students, one of whom allegedly hanged himself while in detention in the Fort. Four people died in the two incidents and 52 were injured.



Although on the surface, things are quiet in Soweto now and a string of sabotage and public violence and terrorism trials are all that is left to remind Whites of the events of last year, the basic, seething grievances remain unchanged.

Despite talk of more teeth for Urban Bantu Councils, the fact remains that Black South Africans have no effective political voice, no adequate share in all that the country offers.

Bantu education continues unchanged, growing unemployment is bringing increasing hardship, and students are still questioning the point of an education which is not only inferior but leads nowhere when it is completed.

Bullets and birdshot might temporarily have stilled the noise but only positive change can ensure that the black days of 1976 will not be repeated again and again in our time.

SOURCES: *The Soweto Upheavals*, John Kane Berman, *The Rand Daily Mail*, *The Star*.

### PAT TUCKER

**R**IOTING broke out in Soweto on Wednesday June 16, 1976. Five days later, on Monday June 21, widespread violence, rioting and looting erupted in the Black townships around Pretoria.

**June 21**  
In Atteridgeville the offices of the Bantu Affairs Department were stoned. Fires started at three schools in Mamelodi and the Bantu Affairs Department's administration block at Mamelodi East was attacked. At the Coloured township of Eersterus a group of rioters tried to storm Waltloo Station but were beaten back by railway police, armed traffic police and policemen. At Hammanskraal in the Bophuthatswana homeland, mobs attacked a high school and the Moreletta Magistrate's Court. In Mabopane dozens of buses were stoned and it was confirmed that two people were shot dead after the police had charged the mob to disperse them.

**June 22**

Rioting continued with the Bophuthatswana township of Ga-Rankuwa emerging as a fresh trouble spot.

**June 23**

By this date 10 people had been killed and 64 arrested in connection with township rioting. Both Ga-Rankuwa and Mamelodi re-erupted. Twenty-six buses were gutted and 78 damaged in three days of rioting. Bophuthatswana's transport damages would run to a rough estimate of R300 000.

In Mamelodi the rioting took a new twist. In addition to administration buildings, liquor centres and Putco buses, the Black business community as well as medical practitioners became targets. It was claimed by some Blacks that some were traders fronts for Whites. There were also allegations that they worked as police informers.

**July 14**

The situation was virtually normal with food supplies as they were before and essential services including the collection of rubbish resumed. Beerhalls and bottle stores were re-opened on a half-day basis. The startling decline in petty crime since the initial closing of the beerhalls was clearly evident.

**July 27**

The beginning of sporadic attacks on schools which continued with burning and stoning in Mamelodi, Ga-Rankuwa, Mabopane Itsoseng and an attempt to set fire to the Teacher's Training College in Bophuthatswana. This violence continued sporadically.

**August 23**

Trouble broke out at three schools, Mamelodi High School, Vlakfontein Technical School, and Ribane Laka Secondary School.

**August 27**

A deputation of Black leaders from Atteridgeville and Mamelodi met with Minister M. C. Botha in the city. They had been trying to secure an appointment with him for four years. Topics for discussion included:

- That Blacks wanted to live in urban areas permanently, with rights to buy houses and own land.
- That housing, hospitalisation and influx control were all sources of frustration to urban Blacks.
- That the building of hostels instead of proper family dwellings was resented.
- That Bantu Education be scrapped and free and compulsory education begun.
- That the enormous wage gap between Whites and Blacks be closed.
- That they bitterly resented the constant 'permit raids' by police in the middle of the night, the disruption of families through influx control, and poor services in the townships.

**September**

Isolated incidents occurred, mainly the stoning of Putco buses.

**October**

Black parents in Bophuthatswana were forced to sign an undertaking making them personally responsible for any riot damage incurred by their children. If they refused to sign they were threatened with having their children expelled from school. Strong legal criticism was voiced against these undertakings. Also during this month the situation simmered with sudden outbreaks of violence when buses were stoned, school books set alight and petrol bombs thrown in an attempt to disrupt exams.

An explosion occurred at a secondary school at Ga-Rankuwa. Three classrooms at a primary school in Mabopane were burnt down.

November

A number of schools were set alight. A R25 000 Technical High School at Hammanskraal was burned to the ground. In Mamelodi, the Vlakfontein Technical High School was set alight and the Khutsong Primary School in Bophuthatswana was burned.

January 5

Two fires started at separate schools in Ga-Rankuwa.

February 28

An explosion and fire razed two classrooms at

a Hammanskraal school causing R16 000 worth of damage.

By and large the rioting around Pretoria has followed the tragic pattern which emerged from the rest of the country. Grievances and targets on which to vent their grievances remain constant.

It is significant that events in the homeland of Bophuthatswana followed exactly the same pattern as events in the urban townships of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville.

**VERNA BROWN**

**T**HE Black Sash lost one of its oldest and most faithful members when **MRS CORNISH-BOWDEN**, affectionately known as Mrs C-B or Auntie Cam, died in February. She had reached the ripe old age of 94, and in her last years, though nearly blind, showed the fortitude, cheerfulness and stoicism which marked her whole life. My first memory of her was running the Women's Industrial Union in Cape Town in the 1930s — a very worthwhile venture which marketed a great variety of goods made by women unable to leave their homes to go out to work. During the war years she ran the soldiers' club in Church Square which was the byword for many thousands of serving men. Open from 6 a.m. to all hours of the night, largely voluntarily staffed, she ran a vast operation of which she could be justly proud. When she moved to Somerset West her interests centered around the Girl Guides, the Child Welfare and St John's Ambulance. I must not forget to add that she was a Town Councillor for a number of years. One of the first in Somerset West to join the Black Sash in 1955, she marched with us in Cape Town in November of that year and until she died was a staunch and steadfast member. We have lost a grand old lady who will be affectionately remembered by many, and extend our sympathy to her only son and grandchildren.

**Moira Henderson**

**R**OSEBANK Branch has sustained a heavy loss in the death of a dearly loved foundation member. **MRS CECILIA JAFFE**, a very special person, has been a cornerstone of the Branch throughout its existence; her warmth and strength, the breadth of her humanity have sustained us at all times. Her home has been the branch's principle meeting place, and what a place to meet, lined from ceiling to floor with the original and most early works of famous South African painters, all of whom have known and loved the Jaffes and experienced their hospitality. This open home has enriched the lives of very many people, among whom Rosebank Branch of the Black Sash are proud to be numbered. Our deep sympathy goes out to Mr Ben Jaffe and the whole family.

Who in Rosebank Branch was always available for stands or other Sash duties until long past the reasonable limits of her health and strength? Mrs Jaffe, always with a chuckle, often gently clowning her own role. One night after a branch meeting in another home she did not want to be driven to her own gate. 'Someone might steal you', her lift-giver remonstrated as she asked to be dropped at the end of her dark road. 'I'd like to see *that* thief!' she snorted. Yes, she was large, with a figure to match her personality. If the rest of us in the Sash had hearts as big as our Mrs Jaffe, we would see a new South Africa very quickly.

When one thinks of the Sash, one thinks of women whose humanity, courage and humour are already part of the history of our country. To the building up of this spirit Cecilia Jaffe contributed her most generous self.

**Barbara Versfeld**



# 'Too ghastly to contemplate'

SHEENA DUNCAN

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*Extracts from the preamble and conclusion to the Memorandum to the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and Other Places in the Republic During June 1976 — the Cillie Commission.*

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**W**HATEVER the immediate causes of the June riots in Soweto and elsewhere the Black Sash believes that much of the underlying cause is the great anger and frustration in the urban African communities and the growing hatred of White people by Black people.

We believe that these are very largely caused by what are commonly referred to as 'the pass laws', and the restraints which these laws impose on every African person in the Republic of South Africa, restraints which are not imposed on any other group.

The term 'pass laws' is usually applied to the statutes which require Africans to carry Reference Books, which restrict and control their movements to and in the cities and which govern their daily lives.

We believe that many Black people see the pass laws as being sufficient cause for revolution, whatever other factors may occur to spark off or aggravate disorder.

In 1975, 218 982 men and 50 003 women were arrested for offences relating to identity documents and influx control. In 1974 a total of 214 368 men and 60 273 women were arrested. (Hansard 31.3.76, 11.2.75.)

It is clear that a significant percentage of the urban African population has been arrested at least once at some time of their lives and that there must be thousands more who have cause to fear arrest but have managed to avoid it by one means or another.

It is inevitable when the law causes so many people, who are not guilty of any criminal offence applicable to other races, to be liable to arrest and punishment for technical infringements, that people will lose all respect for the law and for the forces of law and order...

Black people are increasingly aware that, were they to have effective political representation in the central government, such laws could not be kept on the statute book. Further, they are aware that until they enjoy political rights such laws are unlikely to be removed.

Hopes were raised by the promises of intent to

move away from discrimination made to the United Nations by South Africa's ambassador, promises which led the older, stable section of the Black community to think that, after all, change might be brought about by peaceful means.

These hopes have been frustrated by the lack of Government action in any area which affects the life of the average Black South African. Conditions have worsened considerably in all important aspects of life for working people and their families.

In addition great anxiety among the older people and great rage among the younger members of the community have been caused by the repressive security measures adopted by the South African Government.

The repression of political, trade union, cultural and social organisations by constant security police surveillance together with the imposition of banning orders and detentions of potential leaders for long periods without trial has made it appear, even to the most moderate people, that no change in the social, economic or political ordering of South African society is likely to be brought about by consultation or peaceful means.

We have been brought to a situation where the force used by Government to control the whole Black community is seen by that community to be so powerful that only violence and an equal degree of force can bring about change.

Where there are large number of young people deprived of all opportunity to fulfil their legitimate aspirations, large numbers of men who are prevented from providing food, shelter and security for their families, women who are prevented from holding their families together in stable conditions; and where these grievances exist in a wealthy country where a small minority of the population lives in conditions of extraordinary privilege and prosperity; there are the classic ingredients for upheavals of the kind the Commission is investigating.

What will happen if nothing is done to make changes of a meaningful kind is "too ghastly to contemplate".

# A 'fitting' education

DAPHNE WILSON

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**B**LACK pupils in the Cape, despite the heavy hand of authority, are determinedly making known their grievances against Bantu Education. Why is this system commonly regarded as one designed to keep Africans in a position of inferiority? What was the ideology that prompted the architects of Bantu Education when it first came into being in 1954?

Immediately there were four far-reaching changes, transference from provincial control to that of a separate state department, the compulsory registration (within the discretion of the Minister) of all schools dealing with the education of Africans, the giving of wide powers to the Minister, and the deliberate plan to get rid of mission and other private schools.

Dr Verwoerd, then Minister of Native Affairs, stated (Hansard No. 10 of eleventh Parliament):

'Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live... Native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the state.

... Good racial relations cannot exist when the education is given under the control of people who create wrong expectations on the part of the Native himself.'

To this conviction that education for Africans must be limited by the meagre opportunities available to them was added the idea of deliberate isolation. In 1959, Mr W. A. Maree, then Minister of Bantu Education, stated:

'It is the basic principle of Bantu Education in general that our aim is to keep the Bantu child, a Bantu child... the Bantu must be so educated that they do not want to become imitators (of the Whites) that they will want to remain essentially Bantu.'

So, here was the philosophy at work which was determined to arrest the Westernization of Africans and to keep from them, particularly in White areas, positions or opportunities beyond the level of certain forms of menial labour; the basic attitude of Bantu Education was, and still remains, an attitude that refuses to recognize in South Africa, an integrated economy requiring the development of the skills of all its peoples for its maintenance, let alone its continuing develop-

ment. Perhaps in this respect, there is some slight evidence of the Government beginning to learn from its mistakes, but in last year's provision for in-service and industrial training centres, such innovations concern "semi-skilled" Africans only, the machine operators, and not at all the production of Afrikan skilled workers, so badly needed if the South African economy is to expand and not stagnate.

How then did the Government's drastic ideological approach of the fifties affect the next two critical decades in the education of South Africa's Black population?

On finance a hard line was adopted. There was a complete refusal to accept the practice of most modern states that elementary education, at least, should be provided for all its children by the central government. Existing subsidies to private schools were cut back, then completely withdrawn after 1957, and for very many years, contributions to African education from the general taxpayer were pegged down to R13m — the figure to be boosted by four-fifth of whatever sum was raised through African taxation; even today, when the financial straitjacket fits a little less tightly, according to the latest available figures, only R28 is spent per Black child as against say R496 per White child in the Cape, and R557 in Natal. This totally inadequate figure is surely the biggest limiting factor in the whole matter of what education facilities are available to Africans.

One of the overwhelming problems in the Bantu Education system is the shortage of teachers. White teachers at an early stage were eliminated from all "Bantu" schools and training colleges. Qualifications for teachers were fixed at too low a level but even with these low qualifications (e.g. Std VIII with two years of professional training for teaching higher primary), in the latest (1975) departmental report, 17,5 per cent of the teachers today attached to primary schools are unqualified. The percentage is even greater at the secondary level. Of the 68 083 Black teachers in the Department of Bantu Education (which includes teachers employed in remaining private and church schools and in training colleges) only 1 143 were professionally qualified with a degree, that is approximately 1,7 per cent; 84 per cent have only the Junior Certificate or lower.



Teachers' salaries have remained shockingly low. This year pupils in the Western Cape claim that a primary school male teacher is paid only R92 a month and that a fully qualified high school principal at the top of his salary scale is paid approximately the same as a White woman primary teacher with only training college qualifications, at the bottom of her salary scale.

Subsidies for mission schools were totally withdrawn by the end of 1957. Those schools that wished to continue had to be registered with the Department, had to follow departmental syllabuses and could not obtain recognition for any privately set examinations or privately issued certificates. Numerous mission schools then closed down and those in White group areas were condemned as "Black spots".

As to media of instruction mother-tongue instruction was introduced in the primary classes. Then came the hated insistence on teaching all subjects in the secondary schools half through the medium of English and half through the medium of Afrikaans. When one considers the appalling difficulties confronting children raised in the vernacular up to Std V, having then to be taught entirely through the media of two 'foreign' languages, it is not surprising that so few make the grade in secondary classes.

As it was stated policy that priority was to be given to lower primary and primary education, secondary education took a back seat. The Minister of Bantu Education in 1954 stated (Hansard No. 17):

'The accommodation to be provided (for secondary education) will of course be based on the amount of money available after the fundamental education has been provided and on the extent to which this group of better educated can be absorbed in occupations, particularly in the service of their own people and in their own areas.'

Later in May 1959, the Minister said that 'you must give that higher education in the areas at the places where the process of development has to be stimulated, and this is the Bantu areas.' Thus developed the highly crippling policy of establishing secondary schools mainly in the homelands or rural areas. Such urban-based children as could not be accommodated in the few available urban classes had either to give up any further ideas of post primary education or be sent, at great expense to their parents, to far-off boarding schools.

The sad results of failure to promote actively the secondary education of Africans can be seen clearly in statistics from the latest (1976) departmental report: 90,6 per cent of African pupils in schools were in primary classes; only 8,5 per cent were in secondary schools and only 0,24 per cent were in matric. The emphasis has been on elementary education but even here is the startling fact that more than half of the pupils never get further than Std II.

Regarding adult education, through lack of space I can no more than mention how a vast network of volunteer-run adult education classes throughout the country, was totally destroyed by the Bantu Education system and how from 1957, when the adult education subsidies were withdrawn, right up until this year, no subsidies whatsoever were granted for night schools; this is a story in itself and still calls for urgent looking into.

The Department of Bantu Education took over higher education for Africans too. In 1959, an Act provided for the establishment of separate colleges for Black students. Then came the 'University of Fort Hare Transfer Act, No. 64 of 1959', whereby Fort Hare was to serve Xhosa people only and there were drastic changes of all kinds, particularly concerning staff. Regarding this new policy, the Minister of Bantu Education in 1959 said that in the past White and non-White persons had served on the Council and the Senate (of Fort Hare) and had been accommodated on a basis of equality. In totally dismissing the claim that this had constituted a valuable experiment in race relations, the Minister, Mr W. A. Maree, said (Hansard, Vol. 100, April 1959, Col. 4453):

'These customs must inevitably create the impression amongst the non-Whites that apartheid is something which disappears as soon as one attains a certain academic level. Not only does it create the fallacious belief that the disadvantages and defects of apartheid can be overcome by attaining a certain academic level, but it also arouses among the non-Whites the subtle expectation that academic training will remove discrimination from South Africa.'

What an indictment on the whole policy of 'Bantu Education' those ministerial words provide. If today's Government is sincere about wishing to move away from discrimination, here alone is evidence that the 'Bantu Education' system and non-discrimination can not possibly go together.

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**WE SHOULD** introduce as rapidly as possible one uniform system of education for all South Africans; open immediately all universities to students of all races; remove education from the hands of politicians and put it into the hands of educationists; and plan to bring about integrated schooling for all children as soon as is practicable... If we have been so successful for so long in educating our children, Black and White, to live with their spiritual and mental chains, I have no doubt we can be equally successful in educating them for freedom.'

(Sheena Duncan, symposium on 'Need for change' in Cape Town)

# What price independence?

SHEENA DUNCAN

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*'The South African Government is clearly guilty of incitement. The whole mess of the Transkei's silly independence is now sending tempers almost to boiling point. Our people in the urban areas had nothing to do with the stupid fulfilment of separate development. Neither were they consulted.'*

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This was the first paragraph and the headline of the editorial in the World Newspaper of February 28, 1977, and it sums up more succinctly and accurately than anything we can say the burning anger felt by Black people in the urban areas about the balkanisation of their country and the way in which they are being cheated of their birthright and their legitimate claim to equal rights — political, economic and social — in this their country.

White South Africa, and in particular, the Nationalist Government and its supporters, must surely pay heed to Black urban opinion before persevering with the gigantic fraud which they intend to perpetrate under the cloak of Separate Development.

When one strips the policy of cant and verbiage one is left with the cynical intention to make all Black South Africans foreign guest workers in 86 per cent of their country and to fob them off with citizenship of unconsolidated, unviable and unstable satellite states in which they have no interest whatsoever.

If the legislation granting Bophuthatswana independence contains the same provisions as the status of the Transkei Act in regard to enforced citizenship of all Tswana-speaking people, and if the South African Government really intends to persevere with its robbery of people's South African citizenship, then we are all going to be engulfed in years of violent conflict and unimaginable horror because the territorial integrity of South Africa is something the people see as being basic to liberation.

Transkei became independent on October 26. On that date the South African Government magnanimously and forcibly 'conferred' citizenship of an independent country, not only on those who wanted it and accepted it voluntarily, but on all South Africans who were citizens of Transkei in terms of the Transkei Constitution Act of 1963 (the provisions of the 1963 Act were as wide and involuntary as the present Act); those born in Transkei whose parents, or one of whose parents, were citizens of Transkei at the time of his birth; those born outside Transkei whose father was a citizen of Transkei at the time of

birth; those born out of wedlock (customary union marriages included) outside Transkei whose mother was a citizen of Transkei at the time of birth; those who have been lawfully domiciled in Transkei for five years and who have been granted citizenship; those who are not citizens of another territory within the Republic of South Africa and who speak 'a language used by the Xhosa or Sotho-speaking section of the population of the Transkei, including any dialect of any such language'; and those who are not citizens of another territory within the Republic of South Africa 'who are related to any member of the population contemplated in the above previous clauses or have identified themselves with any part of such population or are culturally or otherwise associated with any member or part of such population'.

The practical result of all this is that any Black person whose ethnic group in his (or her) reference book is shown as Xhosa or to a lesser extent, South Sotho, is now regarded as a citizen of Transkei and is presumed to be a foreigner unless he can prove that he is a 'citizen' of another homeland in terms of the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970, whether or not he accepts or totally rejects the terms of the Act. Section 3 of that Act is as wide as Section 6 of the Status of the Transkei Act and Black Sash protested strongly against its provisions when it was first introduced in Parliament. No one paid much attention then and we can only hope that, in changed contemporary climate of opinion, White South Africans will now wake up to what is happening.

The big and crucial difference between the two Acts lies in the following:

Section 2(4) of Act No. 26 of 1970: 'A citizen of a territorial authority area shall not be regarded as an alien in the Republic and shall, by virtue of his citizenship of a territory forming part of the Republic, remain for all purposes a citizen of the Republic and shall be accorded full protection according to international law by the Republic'.

Section 6(1) of the Status of Transkei Act: 'Every person falling in any of the categories of



persons defined in Schedule B shall be a citizen of the Transkei and *shall cease to be a South African citizen.*

### **Why are these newly made foreigners so resentful?**

- First and foremost there is the emotional love of country and dedication to South Africa — the whole of South Africa — which is their motherland and which is now being taken away from them.

- Then there are the economic implications. Citizenship of an undeveloped country with few natural resources is no compensation for the removal of expectations of future participation in a wealthy, developing country with enormous potential.

- There is the international status of Transkei. It remains unrecognised and those who are its unwilling citizens and who wish to travel cannot go anywhere because Transkei passports are not acceptable anywhere. There are some indications that special arrangements may be made for the important or influential, or for people in public life — the good old South African tradition of government by exemption — but this does not help the ordinary person who wants to visit a neighbouring country or accept a grant to travel or study in Europe or America.

- There is the total insecurity of being suddenly made a foreigner in the place where one's home and work are and where one's life has been spent. People view with horror and dread a future in which they may be deported from the country they belong to into a foreign place with which they have no contact and in which they see no future. Although the Status of the Transkei Act specifically states 'No citizen of the Transkei resident in the Republic at the commencement of this Act, shall, except as regards citizenship, forfeit any existing rights, privileges or benefits by reason only of the other provisions of this Act', people do not trust such promises from the South African Government. They have heard it all before and been disappointed time after time.

In our view they have grounds for their fears. Members of the Cabinet continue to refer to Blacks being in White areas for purposes of labour only and there are no indications that Government has wavered from its grand apartheid design.

In spite of what the Act says and what Cabinet Ministers and senior officials say about the preservation of existing rights, privileges and benefits the way Xhosa-speaking people are being treated at the moment is in direct contrast to what is said.

Mr F. B. du Randt, chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the Witwatersrand, was reported in the Star of October 26, 1976, as saying 'Any

Transkei citizen who is legally in any area of South Africa at the moment remains unhindered wherever he is. He does not have to get any additional documentation, he remains in possession of his reference book and in fact may *even* change work within the Republic without having to *return* to Transkei'.

Mr Du Randt's use of the words 'even' and 'return' explains some of the people's anxiety. Many Xhosa-speaking people have never been to Transkei and regard any suggestion that they 'return' there as an indication of bad faith. The use of the word 'even' in this context also implies that it is a privilege for people who have always been allowed to change work without going to Transkei to be able to go on doing so.

Mr Du Randt went on to say that his remarks came from the Government and that 'There is also no regulation about Transkei citizens having to get any special stamp in their reference books. They just carry on as in the past'.

In Parliament on February 8, 1977, Mrs Helen Suzman asked the Minister of Bantu Administration: 'Whether Bantu Affairs Administration Boards have since October 1976 refused to issue or renew (a) reference books, and (b) work-seekers permits of Xhosa-speaking Bantu born in the Republic'.

The Minister's reply was 'no' to both items.

Contrast these statements with the following cases from our Johannesburg Advice Office records. (NB: People born inside or outside Transkei before October 26, 1976, were born in the Republic of South Africa).

Miss Radebe applied for her first reference book. She was refused one and told to take a Transkei passport. She has lived in Johannesburg since her birth (incidentally she is Zulu-speaking as is her whole family but her brother, who is her guardian, has Xhosa written in his reference book).

Mr Mbalo, who is South Sotho-speaking and has lived all his life in Johannesburg, applied for his first reference book and was refused and told to take a Transkei passport. His father was born at Viljoensdrift and does not know where the family originated.

Officials went one better with Mr Kanzweni when he applied for his first reference book. They refused to issue one and told him to 'go to Transkei' and get a passport. He too has lived legally in Johannesburg since his birth.

Two young brothers came in seething with anger. They were born in Welkom and lived there until 1968. Their father is Xhosa but divorced their mother in 1971. They now live in Boksburg with her. They were refused reference book and told to take Transkei passports which they absolutely refuse to do.

Mr Sepepa lost his reference book. He applied for a new one and was told to take a passport.

Reference books are issued by the Department

of Bantu Administration and Development so we suppose Mr Botha was technically accurate when he denied that Administration Boards were refusing to issue and renew reference books. It is his own department which is doing so.

However, workseeker's permits *are* the responsibility of Administration Board and Mr Botha appears to be misinformed about their actions.

Mrs Msutu who qualifies in Johannesburg as 10(1)(b) and is the registered tenant of her house went to the Labour Officer in Johannesburg to register in a new job. Registration was refused and she was told to take a Transkei passport first.

Mr Sequanqalala who has lived in Johannesburg all his life went to register in a new job. He was told to have his fingerprints taken again because he was now a Transkei citizen. He refused and was refused registration.

Mr Obose who has also lived in Johannesburg since he was born and qualifies as 10(1)(a) went to register in a new job. 6/T was written in the corner of the endorsement and the registration was made for one year only, as if he were a contract worker from outside the area

When people are refused issue of reference books they are issued with a temporary permit (50 cents deposit) which says:

'This permit is granted to the above-mentioned holder, ...to enter and reside in the district or districts described, in the Province mentioned, for the purpose of undertaking unskilled manual or domestic labour and is issued subject to the following conditions and to the provisions of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act, 1972 ...

### Conditions

- That the holder enter into a contract of service with the undermentioned employer ...
- That the permit is valid for a period of six months from the date of issue and the holder shall leave the Province, without expenses to the Government on or before ...
- In the event of the holder not leaving the Province on or before the date specified herein, the deposit will be forfeitable and the holder will render himself liable to be dealt with further according to law ...
- Not to be employed without special permission under Section 12 of Act No. 25/1945 or Section 28(1) of Act 15 of 1911.

I/We agree to the above conditions ...

Is it any wonder that people have no faith in what the Chief Commissioner says when they are issued with a document by his department which directly negates what the law says and what he is reported to have said.

It seems that there must exist directives issued by the Chief Commissioner's office instructing officials to take this course of action when dealing with Transkei citizens.

We cannot imagine junior officials taking it upon themselves to embark on entirely new procedures without instructions.

Legally speaking, people who are prejudiced by official action can seek redress in the courts. There will undoubtedly be many such cases and, in time, the legal position will be clarified. However many will not know where to seek help and will find themselves obeying instructions now which should not have been made and which will make their position more difficult in the future. (This is no speculation. We have dealt with many people in the past who have lost Section 10(1) rights by going to register as workseekers elsewhere as ordered by the Labour Officer.)

Others will be unable to afford the time and effort involved in taking legal action for fear of losing their jobs.

Politically speaking, it seems unlikely that the Government will take stronger action against Transkei citizens at the moment. There is much talk of unspecified privileges. It seems that most of these privileges mean that Transkei citizens will still be subject to the existing pass laws of South Africa as far as work and residence are concerned but at least their Section 10(1) rights are preserved.

Mr M C Botha has said that preferential treatment in housing for Transkeians would mean that they would be given priority in the allocation of townships houses, and, no doubt, the centralised direction of labour movement will enable the Government to give preference to the recruitment of migrant workers from Transkei at the expense of those from homelands whose Governments are not proving as co-operative as Prime Minister Matanzima.

The South African Government would not wish to discourage other homeland leaders from asking for independence by being too overtly discriminatory in its treatment of 'aliens' from Transkei.

Finally, Transkei independence has removed none of the discriminations based on race which are the hallmark and basis of our society. Transkei citizens continue to be subjected to all the discriminatory laws on the South African statute book. The howls of anguish which went up in Government circles when a newspaper suggested that Transkeians would now be free to make use of all White facilities made this quite evident.

A white-skinned alien coming to live and work in South Africa enjoys more rights and privileges than any Black South African citizen or than



any Black alien from Transkei or any other country. He has freedom to move and settle in any centre he chooses. His wife and family can move with him. He can purchase property and acquire freehold title to land and he does not require permission to accept employment offered to him or to rent a house.

Perhaps newly created Transkei citizens should apply for naturalisation as South African citizens.

The Minister may grant a certificate of naturalisation to any alien who is not a minor, who has been lawfully admitted to the Republic for permanent residence, who is ordinarily resident in the Republic, who is of good character, who intends to continue to reside in the Republic, who is able to read and write either official language and who has an adequate knowledge of the responsibilities and privileges of South African citizenship. The colour of his skin is not mentioned and it would be interesting to see whether the Minister would grant such naturalisation to

Black Transkeians who qualify in all the above respects. Unfortunately the discretion of the Minister is absolute and his decisions cannot be challenged in the Courts.

Many of the issues involved have been obscured by public statements by members of both the South African and Transkei Governments. Transkei diplomats have protested that their Government will not force citizenship on people who do not want it but the law enacted by that Government parallels to the status of Transkei Act and it is clear that the citizenship arrangements were accepted by it.

Neither Government can shed its responsibility for what has been done and for what the future consequences will be. All that is left to hope for is that other homeland Governments will not co-operate so willingly in depriving South Africans of their rights and legitimate expectations and that this injustice will not be allowed to proceed any further.

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# Counting the cost?

VERNA BROWN

**B**OPHUTATSWANA, the homeland that will probably follow the Transkei to independence on December 6 this year, must surely rank as one of South Africa's most complicated Bantustans. It is divided into six separate pieces with White land in between, and is located in no less than three of the four provinces.

Of the homeland's population of more than 1,6 million, 63 per cent do not live there. Men living in White areas rob the homeland of the most economically active group. Only 23,2 per cent of those living in the homeland are economically active, 4,1 per cent of them being members of vital professions.

A further complication arises from the fact that one third of the people living in this scattered homeland are non-Tswana-speaking. They are therefore threatened by the rampant nationalism with which Chief Lucas Mangope hopes to bind his dispersed people together. Threats of influx control measures stringently applied to prevent non-Tswanas from living in the area are a worry and grievance as well.

More than 66 000 people in the territory, for instance, are Pedi-speaking. Led by the powerful chieftainess, Esther Kekane, a long-standing political foe of Chief Mangope, they wish to join the predominantly Pedi-speaking homeland of Lebowa. The avowed policy of making Tswana the compulsory medium of instruction in all primary schools has been a major factor in causing their disaffection.

In the Free State, the Tswana fragment of Thaba'Nchu also entertains ideas of secession, three Zulu-speaking Ndebele chiefs have formed a separate regional authority as a precursor to what they hope will be the establishment of their own homeland.

The vast and sprawling slum area, Winterveld, wishes to break away, while areas near Botswana have expressed a desire to unite with it. Mangope will be hard pressed to contain these dissident elements within his sphere of influence.

Relations between Bophuthatswana and her neighbour, Lebowa, furthermore, are cool. Points of friction are the siting of the new University of the North campus, influx control measures for non-Tswanas and a long-standing difference of opinion over mutual borders.

On the plus side, Dr van der Merwe, Minister of Statistics, said on February 12, 1976, that Bophuthatswana had the highest per capita income of all the homelands (R198); an income largely spent, however, outside the confines of the territory. It has the best health facilities and a fairly extensive system of roads and railways.

Another positive aspect is the homeland's mining wealth and the growing industrial sector at Babelegi. A total of 25 mines are in operation with 60 000 people employed by them. There are three platinum mines, while granite, asbestos, limestone and manganese deposits are also exploited. Ownership is entirely in the hands of White companies who pay royalties to the home-

land government.

Chief Lucas Mangope is a well-read and well-travelled man who represents the insistent voice of Black moderation. He is politically tough, as he manoeuvred himself into a position of strength after Chief Maseloane made a determined attempt on his leadership in 1974 and 1975. Mangope manoeuvred Maseloane and his followers out of the cabinet after they had proposed a motion of no confidence in his leadership. The chief complaint stemmed from Mangope's alleged high-handed, autocratic style of ruling — that he took the law into his own hands, failing to carry out recommendations made by his legislative assembly.

Mangope is anything but a Pretoria yes-man. Only a month ago he warned that unless the accent of South Africa's race policies changed from separation to equality the policy would be doomed. Bophuthatswana's eventual role, as envisaged by Mangope, is as an equal member in a South African confederation of states.

He has explained his independence proposals in detail to most receptive crowds of Tswanas who have, according to Black observers, given him the go-ahead. It is a mandate based on the pathetic fallacy that independence will bring to the Tswanas all the rights of a free people. Tswana citizens in South Africa, explains their leader, should be treated no differently from nationals in the European Economic Community living in other member states.

As long ago as June 1974, he joined his voice to the homeland leaders who, lashing out at the state of development in the homelands, said, 'We want things done with us, not for us, or you will find that they will be without us'.

In September 1974 Mangope said that for the South African Government to prove its bona fides to him, it would have to tackle several areas. The homelands should be given more money to improve their infrastructures; there should be a realistic consolidation of the homelands; more industrialization is necessary; individual homelands should have a greater say in their own economic development; they should be given greater freedom to use their own efforts and resources, especially to raise money overseas; there should be a spectacular increase in money used for Black education; petty apartheid should go; and there should be steady progress towards equal opportunity for all people in South Africa.

Further to these, on February 2, 1976, Mangope added that he wanted the South African Government to compensate the Tswanas for their inadequately paid labour — the labour which had helped to build South Africa into such a rich country.

In November last year he stated unequivocally that 'Bophuthatswana would use independence as a lever for effecting political change in South Africa. It would use it as a means to achieve

respect for the human dignity of all people and equality of opportunity for all'.

The opposition viewpoint could not be more divergent. Chief Maseloane and his followers are totally opposed to independence. Chief Nolete has described it as 'a Pandora's box which would produce a platform of evils when open'. The party has called for an urgent referendum to determine the will of the Tswana people as Maseloane does not feel that Mangope has a large enough mandate to pursue the issue.

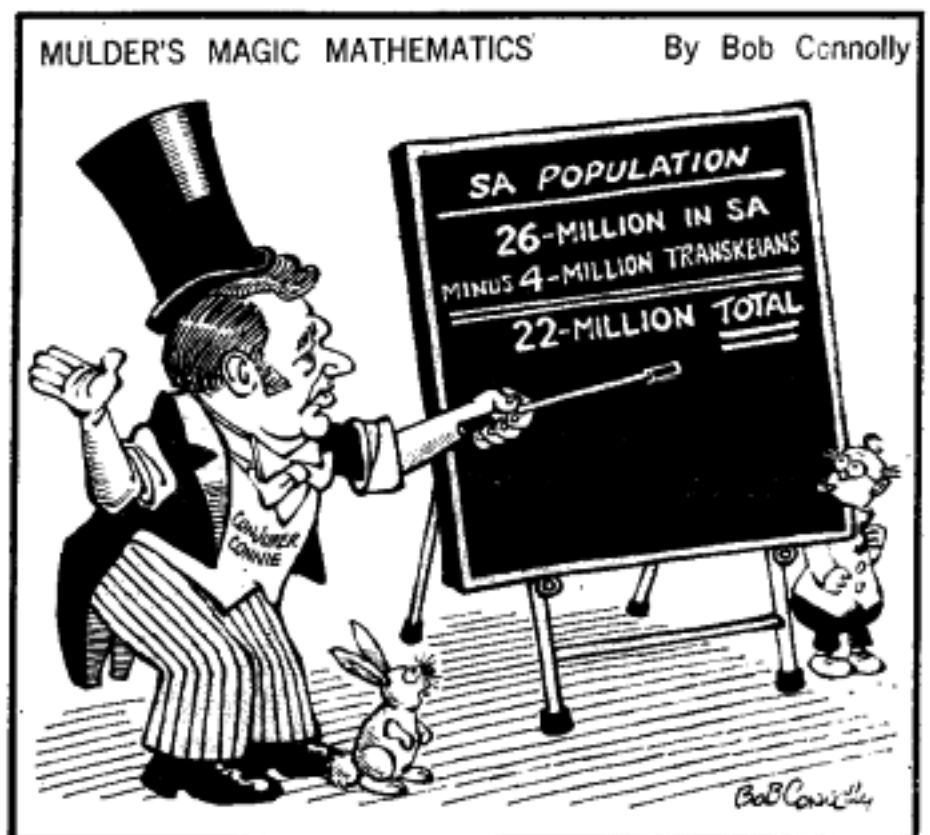
Both parties join in opposing the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, describing themselves as 'uncompromisingly opposed to it'. They see this Act as a further example of 'the despicable arm-twisting tactics of the South African Government.'

The 'World' newspaper asserts that in the light of this Act, independence for Bophuthatswana means that 'they are signing away the birthright of millions of their countrymen who have never lived in a homeland and never intend to'.

It is perhaps symbolic that when Bophuthatswana attains its independence it will not even have a capital city. Mmabatho — 'mother of the people' — to be established near Mafeking, is still on the drawing boards. Celebrations will therefore take place in White South Africa where the entire artificial concept arose.

Finally, to quote an article by Patrick Lawrence in the Rand Daily Mail on 'the jigsaw that won't fit' of March 1977, 'Whatever Chief Mangope's skills as a negotiator, he has less cards than Paramount Chief Matanzima. He has less people, less land and Pretoria has less at stake, because Bophuthatswana is not the showpiece of grand apartheid that Transkei was supposed to be'.

Source material taken from the 'Rand Daily Mail', the 'Pretoria News' and the 'World'.





# Regional roundup

These regional reports have been severely curtailed because of pressure on space. All the Regions run Advice Offices which do not feature in these reports but which constitute a large proportion of the work done. All run fund-raising events — an absolute necessity to keep the organisation functioning. And all do a great deal more work than is reflected here.

## HEADQUARTERS

**T**HIS REPORT is by no means a true reflection of the work done by Headquarters because all major activities have been included in the Transvaal Regional report.

Various methods were explored for launching a national campaign to highlight specific issues and press for change, tying this in with the granting of independence to the Transkei. However, pressure of events made it impossible to orchestrate this project and Regions were asked to highlight the cynicism of Transkei Independence in their own areas and to attempt to clarify Black Sash reaction to change.

The memorandum setting out guidelines on lobbying techniques, prepared by Jill Wentzel, was circulated to all Regions.

Work is in progress on the creation of a subject-matter index of all SASH magazines.

All Regions were kept informed of Headquarters' actions in regard to the unrest. Press statements including those on police shooting and lost children and suggested handouts were circulated, together with the memorandum to the Cillie Commission of Enquiry. Mrs Duncan gave evidence before the Commission.

Misunderstandings arose between Black Sash and Women for Peace in Johannesburg as a result of some rather mischievous Press statements. There are certainly very real differences of emphasis between the attitudes and priorities of the two organisations, but there is also growing co-operation.

The Black Sash was invited to attend the FAMSA symposium on Migrant Labour, and Mrs Duncan was congratulated by Mr Justice Trenchgrove, who presided, on her timely contribution in drawing attention to the fundamental defects and inequities of the migrant labour system. She also attended the Conference on Discrimination organised by the Progressive Reform Party.

There were 22 circulars to Regions. Mrs Duncan visited the Cape Western Region twice to take part in a public meeting on the Squatters' Bill and to address a public meeting on change. She also addressed a meeting in Grahamstown. Mrs Sinclair, deputising for Mrs Duncan who

was ill, visited Natal Coastal, where she took part in a Brain's Trust.

In addition to the two public meetings in Cape Town, Mrs Duncan has also addressed the Waverley Discussion Group; the Rotary Club Northcliff, on People versus Democracy; Sandton DWEF workers; the Pretoria branch, the Union of Jewish Women, the students of the University of the Witwatersrand on current legislation and a meeting of the Grahamstown Black Sash.

Headquarters has been in contact with Mr H. E. van Rensburg, MP; Mr R. Deffenbaugh of Windhoek about the opening of an Advice Office there; Mr Alistair Sparks; the PRP about calling of a National Convention; the United States Consul General about the riots; Mr Jim Bailey who wanted the Black Sash to administer a bursary fund set up by DRUM; the United Party regarding their pamphlet on the Graaff initiative; the South African Foundation; and the Civil Rights League.

There are seven Advice Offices in operation in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Pietermaritzburg, Durban, East London and Grahamstown.

An allocation of R3 500 was received from the Bantu Welfare Trust as a contribution towards the running costs of the Advice Offices. The Black Sash is extremely grateful to the Trust for its continued and increasing generosity, without which it would be almost impossible to continue.

**JOYCE HARRIS**

## ALBANY

Membership — 35

**A**T THE ANNUAL general meeting Mrs Doreen Wyndham Kelly was made an honorary life member of the Albany Region. Mrs Kelly was one of the founder members of the region and has given a great deal of time, energy and inspiration to us all.

There were eight general meetings addressed by a local advocate on the Internal Security Commission Bill; a discussion on Civil Defence and Black Sash involvement; Councillor Pamela Paton on the 'Future of the Indian Community in

Grahamstown'; Mrs Thelma Henderson on 'Aspects of the SA Urban Environment with special reference to Blacks'; Mrs Iona Mayer on 'The Grahamstown People's life story — with reference to Migrant Labour'; Mrs Sheena Duncan to a morning group about the situation in Soweto, the Women for Peace and what Black Sash could do; and Mrs Shirley Moulder on the history and work of the Advice Office.

Three of the meetings were reported in the Eastern Province Herald, and also various statements on the Fingo Village.

Telegrams were sent to Sen. D. Worrall on Piscom; Mr W. Deacon on Piscom; Mr M. C. Botha on the Black Education Policy; Mr Sonny Leon offering encouragement at a difficult time; Dr H. Kissinger on a reminder of expectations and the Minister of Agriculture on the bread price.

A stand had been arranged to coincide with the Shakespeare Festival at the Settlers Monument concerning the theatres 'White only' laws and the tedious ways of applying for permission for multi-racial shows and conferences. This was cancelled on two occasions due to the Minister of Police imposing the Riotous Assemblies on all. The committee then decided to keep the pamphlets as the riots and detentions were more pressing at the time.

A Women for Peace movement was launched in Grahamstown and a steering committee of all race groups was formed to arrange a mass meeting. This was held and attended by about 250 people, but nothing new was said and it turned out to be rather disappointing. A committee was formed.

Lobbying has not been done on a large scale. Members are now joining other organisations and spreading their ideas. A roster was drawn up for committee members to attend Council meetings, but this is not very successful as one is asked to leave after about 20 minutes and never gets to hear any discussion or even a chance to talk to the councillors as they go into committee.

It has been a much quieter year in spite of the fact that the last conference was in Grahamstown. People are extremely disturbed by the riots and detentions even though it was relatively quiet here. Members of the Black Sash, under the guidance of Shirley Moulder, did help with detainees in Grahamstown in various ways such as sending books, food parcels, newspapers.

**GUSTA MACDONALD**

## **BORDER**

Membership — 41. We have gained three new members.

**D**URING THE course of the year we have held six general meetings, 14 committee meetings and one public meeting. We have also held

two parties, one to 'celebrate' the 21st birthday of Sash, and the other in honour of the 100th birthday of our oldest member, Miss Little.

When one thinks of the Black Sash as being first and foremost a protest organisation, we in this Region must concede that our efforts in this direction have been rather futile this year. Due to legislation, our time-honoured way of making our protest known, ie through stands, has been removed and the only way in which we have been able to make our voice heard is through the Press.

We have written a monthly letter to the editor on the subject of detainee deaths, each month remembering those who have died in detention and whose anniversary falls in that particular month. We have been fortunate in that the Daily Dispatch has printed transcripts of two of the addresses given at meetings during the year, in the form of leader page articles — namely 'The rise of Black consciousness in South Africa' by Prof. D. Welsh and 'Detention without trial in South African law' by a leading East London lawyer, Mr K. J. Kingon.

In July we were able to arrange to borrow the Cape Western Region's photographic exhibition on housing, which delegates to the National Conference in Grahamstown last year had seen and admired. We were given permission to hang these photographs in the foyer of the Window Theatre during a two-week run of 'Sizwe Banda is Dead' and 'The Island'. In spite of an arbitrary ban imposed on the former play, which closed the theatre for a few days, the exhibition was seen by a great number of people, both from East London and from the surrounding districts.

A further extension of the Advice Office was initiated in July of this year, when we started a project called 'CARE'. Our vice-chairman, Dr Trudi Thomas, had spoken for some time of her great concern at the horrifying rate of malnutrition that exists here — babies dying of starvation, not in some far distant rural area, but here on our doorstep. We felt that we had to try and do something to help these children — or rather their families, for we realised that behind every malnourished baby or child there is a problem family.

Quite often we have found that there was help available for these families from mental health, child welfare, foster grants, maintenance that could be applied for, and we only needed to tide the family over a very bad patch until this help could be obtained. Many of these people come from farm areas just outside East London and are quite bewildered and unable to cope with applying for the help that is available, by themselves. We are able to guide them.

Employment, of course, will always remain the big problem. We have started knitting classes among the mothers and grandmothers so that they will be able to earn a little money working from



their homes — there is a good market in the townships for chunky jerseys and baby clothes. This year we intend expanding this by including rug making as well.

In November we met with representatives of the Black Community Programme and the Border Council of Churches to discuss ways in which we could help those people in our area detained under the Internal Security Act and under Section 6. Particular concern was shown in regard to twelve students from Forbes Grant High School detained in King William's Town. These boys came from very poor homes and were, it was understood, particularly badly treated. We then made contact with people from the various communities in East London who felt that this was a concrete way in which they could help, and so we were able to collect food parcels, books, games, for the students. These were taken to the boys by members of the Black Community Programme in King William's Town, and so we were able to assure those who had helped that the goods did reach the people for whom they were intended.

Our monthly afternoon club for mothers and children has gone well this year, and we are constantly surprised by the enthusiasm of the Black mothers to meet and talk with us over cups of tea.

At a committee meeting at the beginning of February, we were lucky enough to have with us Mrs Barbara Broer and Mrs Mel Hagen from Cape Town in East London to attend a Kupugani Conference. They spoke to committee members of the Women's Movement in Cape Town, and have fired us with enthusiasm to start a similar movement here in East London. Up to now we have not made any steps in this direction as we felt that those of us who would be interested in starting such a movement were too closely associated in people's minds with Sash and so the whole idea would immediately be seen as 'political'.

**V. SULLIVAN**

## **CAPE WESTERN**

Membership — 430

**T**HE PAST twelve months have been a test of endurance in South Africa for those concerned with justice, peace and freedom. It is difficult to see far ahead, and our activities as a region have largely been confined to handling situations as they arose.

We planned a campaign to focus on the need for change, with a slogan, REACH — Real Equality is the Answer to the Challenge — but the Women's Movement was launched and we decided not to stage it.

A symposium was held in the Rondebosch Town Hall and the speakers were Bishop Stephen

Naidoo, Mr N. Haysom, Mrs Sheena Duncan and Dr Francis Wilson.

The nationwide proclamation in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act, forbidding gatherings of more than one person with a common purpose in open air places, has prevented us from holding stands or walk-about.

We did manage four stands and pamphlet distributions on the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill, bannings, the Internal Security Bill and the Promotion of State Security Bill.

Twenty four letters were published in the Press on Piscom; job reservation; group areas; the Promotion of State Security Bill; the raid on Modderdam camp; bannings; Soweto; the Theron Commission; political matters on the City Council; detentions; Transkei detentions; the expulsion of Mr Dennis Herbstein; consultation or confrontation; Human Rights Day; the opening of Parliament and detainee deaths.

We were glad to have a visit from Sheena Duncan in May, during which she joined a Regional Council Meeting, was able to meet members at a general meeting and branch chairmen at a further opportunity. She spoke at the meeting held in the Rondebosch Town Hall to protest against the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill.

The housing situation in the Cape Peninsula is desperately serious. There is a problem of lack of accommodation for 'illegal' as well as 'legal' Africans in Crossroads and on Modderdam Road, and for Coloured people in Modderdam Road, Grassy Park and Kraaifontein, and some co-operation from the Government and local authorities is needed.

The people at Crossroads, Wrygrond and Lourdes Farm, with some security and some services, remarkably are able to lead a community existence, caring for one another despite very poor conditions. The Divisional Council is levying a charge of R10 per shack per month at Crossroads. We have made representations to them to the effect that it is a high charge for very basic services.

There appears to have been a concerted effort on the part of the Department of Community Development to tackle the problem of squatters by trying to hound them from the urban areas where they offend the more affluent public. When eviction notices were served on people in Modderdam Road, meaning a 'clearing up' of some 10 000 people there was a general outcry. Opposition Members of Parliament were approached and were able to discuss the matter during the Part Appropriation Bill debate. The Minister of Community Development, however, protested that his Department was not cruel nor inhumane, and that no bulldozers were used in demolitions.

The legal representative for the squatters in Kraaifontein brought an action against the Stel-

lenbosch Divisional Council for illegal demolition of two of the shacks — no notice of eviction having been served — and the judgment was in favour of the squatters and instructed the Stellenbosch Divisional Council to re-erect the shacks.

In the meantime notices had been issued to 26 families in Grassy Park by the Divisional Council of the Cape, and their shacks were demolished. The Black Sash organised a meeting to protest against squatter evictions which was well attended.

Four Black Sash members conducted a simple survey of the people at Grassy Park, aimed principally at establishing their 'place of origin' — which turned out to be Grassy Park in something like 97 per cent of cases. When it poured with rain one night there was again an upsurge of public sympathy.

The Divisional Council has now granted those people the right to move their materials and possessions and re-erect their homes at Lourdes Farm, and although some of them did not wish to leave Grassy Park, at least they have some security and the Divisional Council has admitted that it had some responsibility for them. We are proud to be able to help the squatters when they turn to us.

In our concern over the implications of the independence of the Transkei for those who would become its citizens, we sought Counsel's opinion on several points, and submitted copies of the opinion to the Transkei authorities. We are still troubled over the question of citizenship and its results.

The Planning Committee or 'think-tank' was an experiment through which we hoped that the Regional Council could draw on the ideas of members who were willing to help to implement them. It has been helpful in both ways.

Justice must be seen to be done. One of the spheres in which we can still expand our visible efforts is in the attendance, on a regular basis, of the courts and the meetings of the authorities.

Regular attendance at the Langa courts fell away last year, when for a while it seemed unsafe, and now only a few of our members go there. Black Sash women ought to be conspicuously present at meetings of the City and Divisional Councils, and in Parliament, and I hope we will be able to carry this out.

**MARY BURTON**

## **NATAL COASTAL**

Membership — 87

**T**HERE WERE 13 general, 11 committee and eight branch meetings.

Speakers were Prof. L. Geiring on 'The Transkei Constitution'; Mr Dhlomo, Mayor of Kwa

Mashu, on housing and related problems in Kwa-Mashu; Fiona Morphet on 'Communication at the Natal Medical School'; three of our members on 'Change'; Fozzia Fisher on Trade Unions and Jean Sinclair on the 'Achievements of the Black Sash'.

We held a Brains Trust on 'Whither South Africa'.

Instead of having a celebration for our 21st birthday a successful multi-racial service of intercession was organised.

We continue attending Port Natal Bantu Administration Board meetings and a letter was written asking for the curfew restrictions to be lifted. The director replied that this would be considered, but to date nothing has changed.

Several of our members attended the inaugural meeting of Diakonia — an organisation consisting of representatives of seven churches. We still maintain a close contact with Diakonia and were able to display the 'Who Cares' photographs at their seminar.

Diakonia arranged a Day of the New Covenant Service, which Sash supported and Sash members hope to start an open-door restaurant under the auspices of Diakonia.

We were also asked to help arrange a service of prayer and meditation to mark the 107th birthday anniversary of Ghandi.

All our attempts at protest stands have been thwarted this year by the ban on outdoor gatherings but we have been quite successful with letters to the Press. An article on the Advice Office featured in the Sunday Tribune, aroused much interest.

Three of us paid a courtesy call on our new mayor and intend to follow this up with future meetings. We are still trying to arrange for members to attend City Council meetings on a regular basis. We haven't done nearly enough lobbying this year but what we did seemed to be effective.

Two of our members went on a tour of the townships, organised by the Chamber of Commerce.

Sash members are also on the steering committee of the Women for Peaceful Change Now. The first meeting was attended by about 600 women, and now smaller committees have been formed.

This year we have been receiving all Parliamentary Bills and excellent resumes on them have been given by Monica Barbour.

Solveig Piper and I were invited to attend the meeting of 'The Committee of Ten' — mainly businessmen who hoped to investigate ways and means of change. This looked hopeful but not much has been achieved to date.

Under the guidance of Greta Lockey we are continuing with a transport survey. I gave evidence to the Cillie Commission on our findings



in connection with transport for blacks in the Durban area.

The Highway branch functions well with about 12 to 15 active members, holds school discussion groups, multi-racial dinner parties and organises a playgroup. Members formed a Centre of Concern in Hillcrest which is flourishing. The branch was also responsible for forming a local Women for Peaceful Change group, affiliated to the Durban movement. They have already conducted a survey into cloakroom and restaurant facilities for all races in the main Durban and local departmental stores.

Once again we had a successful Morning Market. We also raised money selling cut azaleas. We held two cake sales, giving the money to the families of the detainees.

**CAROL LAMB**

## **NATAL MIDLANDS**

Membership — 77

**T**HERE WERE eight executive and five general meetings addressed by Mrs Ambler of Natal Coastal, on the 1976 National Conference; Peter Kerchoff spoke on the Roosboom Black spot removals and on the aims and work of the Co-ordinating Committee of Concern, on which Black Sash is represented.

Members and friends of all races were invited to a discussion on the theme 'There must be change — what do you mean by change?'

There have been regular monthly meetings of the Saturday Club. A small group of Coloured women attend regularly, but our African and Indian friends come rarely these days. It may be that the political climate is having an effect on attendance.

A stand was held to remind the public of the Natal detainees — shortly before, the stand boards and posters were stolen. There was a stand protesting against the Internal Security Commission and a second stand about the detainees. Another stand marked the 21st birthday of the Black Sash. Publicity was excellent. No further stands were held because of the ban on outdoor gatherings.

The co-ordinating Committee of Concern has two main objects. The first is to prevent duplication of effort and the second to initiate activities which are supported by the various organisations. A meeting was held to discuss increasing unemployment. Black members explained that often men who lost their jobs hid in Edendale instead of returning to the rural areas. Such men, and Edendale's own unemployed, were becoming a problem in Edendale, and it was suggested that a meeting of the unemployed be held so that their rights under UIF could be explained to them.

A letter from the Region asked the City Council to abolish the curfew for Africans in Pieter-

maritzburg. The Council took this up with the Drakensberg Bantu Affairs Administration Board (DBAAB), which decided that the opinion of all areas under its jurisdiction must be canvassed. After much delay the Board's decision was to take no decision!

This non-decision drew protests from Sash and other bodies. The City Council again approached the Board, whose most recent decision is to maintain the status quo, but representation from local authorities will be considered. The Pietermaritzburg City Council will again make representation.

Attendance at DBAAB meetings is farcical. Board members have detailed agendas, outsiders do not. The chairman announced that Question 1 on the agenda paper was now before the Board: 'You have before you all the details. Are you prepared to accept the executive's recommendation? Thank you, gentlemen'... and so on, with the onlooker having not the least idea of what was being discussed or decided.

During the year five newsletters, reporting local and national Sash news, were sent to members. The circular on 'Legal aid and how to get a lawyer' was sent to the Zulu newspaper 'Ilanga' for publication.

Eight hundred copies of an excellent letter were sent to members of the Chambers of Industry and Commerce.

A letter was sent to Natal members of Parliament asking for representations to be made about Natal detainees.

Letters were also sent to the Natal Witness on the 21st birthday of Sash; Roosboom removals; detentions; Soweto riots; wording of national campaign posters; banning of Trade Unionists; the impossibility of expecting African parents to guarantee that their children enrolling in the first class would remain at school until the end of Std II.

Although no study groups were held, six copies of Nyerere's book, 'Ujamaa', were obtained and handed to members to study.

The University of Natal Department of Speech and Drama were asked if they could include plays of political relevance in their street theatre programme. The response was sympathetic, but the view seemed to be that there was nothing of sufficient artistic merit available.

Whites here are complacent because so far there has been no unrest. It is difficult at the moment to see quite what Sash can do.

**MARY CORRIGALL**

## **TRANSVAAL**

Membership — 287

**A**LL THOSE elements of our society which the Black Sash year after year has exposed as trouble spots — the Pass Laws, Migrant Labour, job reservation, unequal education, in-

adequate housing, overcrowding, the denial of human and political rights — have indeed proved to be flash points.

The violence which exploded in Soweto on June 16 and rapidly spread to other regions caught us unprepared. We sent a statement to the Rand Daily Mail and an official telegram to Minister M. C. Botha calling on him to resign; assisted other organisations with the collection and distribution in Soweto of food and recreational materials; approached the Urban Bantu Council to offer our help and as a result telexed the leader of the PRP; expressed our solidarity and sympathy to Dr Manas Buthelezi of the Black Parents' Association and distributed 4 500 handouts on the riots.

We wrote to Acting Prime Minister Mr P. W. Botha, asking for the redress of Black grievances before it was too late.

Dr Dhlamlenzi addressed us on the actions taken by Black school principals to try to avert the clash over the Afrikaans language medium in Soweto schools. Bishop Tutu, Dr Manas Buthelezi and Mrs Bernadette Mosala told us of the needs and aspirations of Black people.

The Saturday Club gave further insight, and arrangements were made with the Institute of Race Relations to set up an office to assist people to find their missing children.

A memorandum was presented to the Cillie Commission of Enquiry, and Mrs Duncan gave evidence.

Senator Anna Scheepers agreed to discuss with the TUC the non-payment of workers who stayed away as a result of the strike.

Sash members joined a feeding roster for detainees in the Fort and, in their individual capacities, assisted the complaints' section of the Industrial Aid Society when a number of their workers were banned.

Letters were written to the PRP and the UP prior to the granting of independence to the Transkei; an article appeared in the Press; handouts were distributed and case histories of difficulties experienced by Transkeians after independence were sent to the Press.

A public meeting was organised in the Selborne Hall to protest against the Internal Security Bill.

A questionnaire was drawn up to investigate income and expenditure of Black families, and research was undertaken.

Cases of hardship caused by the inadequacy and/or non-payment of social pensions were documented in the Advice Office.

Extensive use was made of lobbying techniques and MPs and MPCs were effectively lobbied on a number of issues.

Letters were written to members of parliament drawing their attention to the inequities and difficulties involved in the functioning of the

UIF. Following an excellent article on the subject in the Rand Daily Mail by Sheena Duncan, Mr Gordon Waddell, MP, visited the office with the intention of asking questions in Parliament. A Rotary Club asked Mrs Duncan for a pamphlet on the subject for distribution to Black workers throughout the country.

There were 20 statements, 33 letters and four articles published in the Press on the Squatters' Bill, Transkeian independence, bannings, detentions, deaths in detention, UIF, Piscom, Alexandra, the riots, legal aid and police indemnities.

The Black Sash is deeply indebted to the English Press for its support, co-operation and helpfulness at all times.

Pageview was visited on a number of occasions to express support for evicted tradesmen.

When rentals went up in Eldorado Park and squatters were evicted in Kliptown these areas were visited. Contacts made with the residents have been maintained and the authorities were approached on their behalf.

With the increase of rentals in Riverlea the authorities were again approached, and requests have been made for permission to enter Deelpan where removals are taking place.

The difficulties of obtaining legal aid in small centres was highlighted, and Mrs Duncan prepared a handout on Legal Aid for distribution.

The tracing of workers entitled to workmen's compensation continues. The Saturday Club's monthly lunch meeting of Black and White women remains a rewarding and worthwhile project.

A comparative study of education in White, Coloured, Indian and African schools was launched and Black school principals were consulted.

The employment assistance scheme for domestic workers continues, and is flooded with people seeking work.

A letter was sent to every member of Parliament personally, in both official languages, indicating the hardships caused by the Pass Laws, together with a different case history for each one. The position of Transkeians in relation to passports is being studied.

Nine general meetings were held, and Professor Ballinger addressed us on 'SA in Africa'; Barney Simon on 'Theatre and Communication'; Bishop Tutu on African attitudes; Patrick Lawrence on Bantustans; Dr Dhlamlenzi on the Soweto Language issue; Mr Saloojee on Townsville and Indian problems; Dr Manas Buthelezi on the BPA and Bernadette Mosala on Soweto.

Twenty one new members joined the Black Sash during the year.

The Evening branch has run a study course on economics and economic history and the lively, young Pretoria branch runs an Advice Office, holds meetings and intends to embark on a membership drive.

**JOYCE HARRIS**



# A LETTER TO THE BLACK SASH

DEAR Mrs Duncan and the Staff,

*I am writing to heartily thank you for the struggle you took to save my marriage to my dearest wife I nearly parted with because the laws of the country forbade her to stay with me in the so-called urban area.*

*Indeed I was in a predicament. Believing not a bit in separate development coming into families, I did not see how I could call my wife mine when she could stay away in Pietersburg and I in a compound or hostel elsewhere.*

*Going down to Pietersburg with them would mean hunger and poverty. For them to stay alone at Pietersburg and myself alone in a hostel was as good as death.*

*What you have done to us is indeed quite very very much Godly and we say hearty thanks to you and all you staff.*

*I hardly had any more hopes of being a husband to my dearest wife and father to my beloved kids. Surely what was divinely put together was put apart by the laws of the country.*

*Thanks there are God's people who keep a keen watch over helpless creatures of God that have never to reason why but have only to do and die.*

*Long life BLACK SASH*

*With heartiest greetings to all of you.*

*I am,*

*Sincerely Yours*

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**I** *DOES* not matter how often authority tells the Black man that Communism is bad. Blacks will still tend to say: "It may be bad for you, the White man, but this does not mean it is bad for us. Anyway, anything is preferable to your eternal discrimination against us".

'World' editorial, March 22, 1977.

**S** *OCIETY* is held together by a common agreement to uphold the rules. If one group, the executive, suspends the rules in its own favour at the expense of others, then the law itself will be brought into disrepute, and lawlessness on the part of the governed will inevitably be encouraged.

Dot Cleminshaw

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Magazine subscription R1,60 per annum. Kindly notify us if you no longer wish to receive SASH, or if deliveries are irregular.

*The Black Sash, May 1977*

*Die Swart Serp, Mei 1977*

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

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