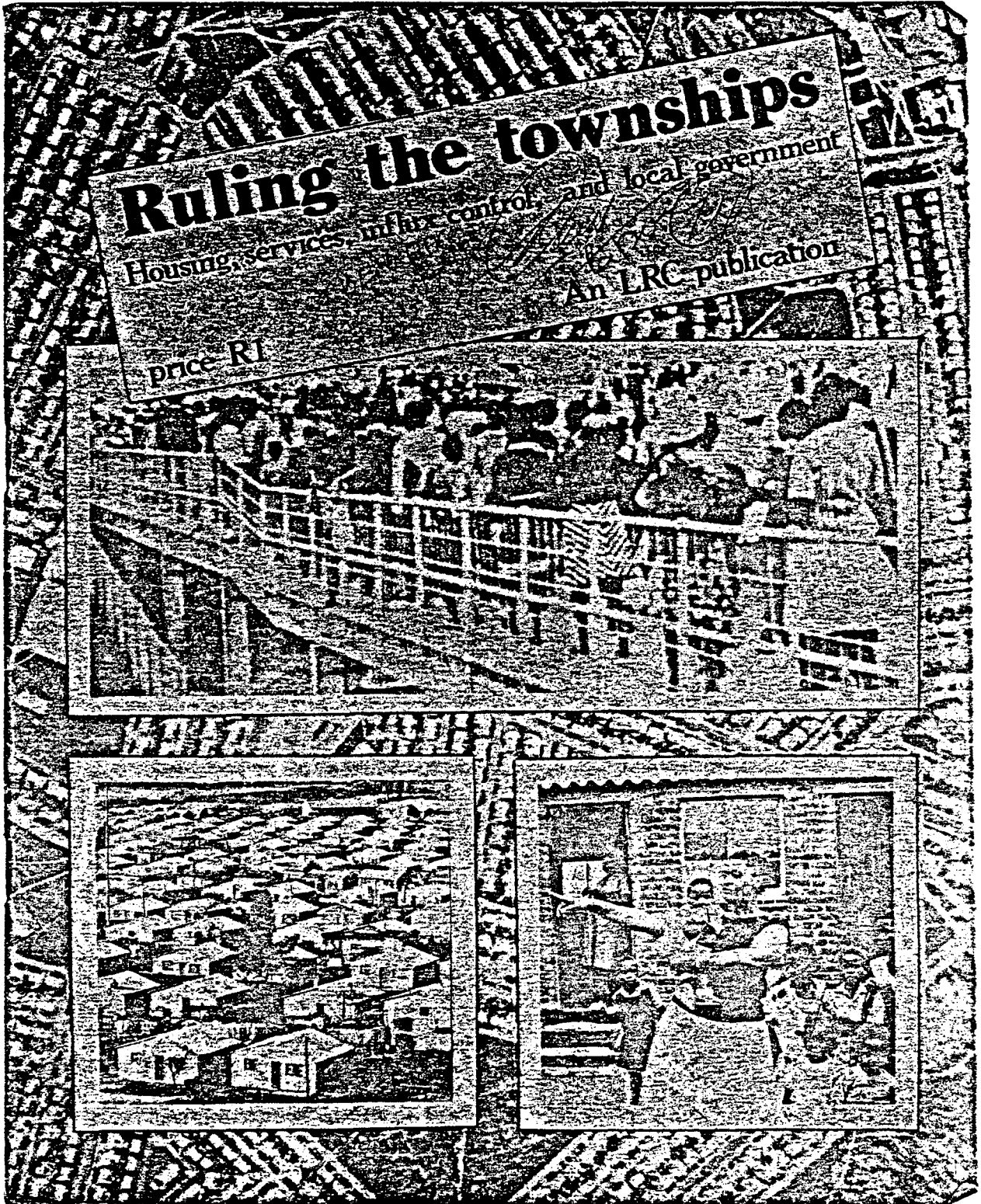


BESK. 22

VERVOLG NR ③



Published by Labour Research Committee, 3rd Floor  
Audward House, 30 Ameshoff Str, Braamfontein

We would like to thank Afrapix, Sowetan and Saspu for the  
use of their photographs

Typeset by Setbold, 3rd Floor, Audward House, Ameshoff  
Str, Braamfontein

# **Ruling the townships**

Housing, services, influx control, and local government

An LRC publication

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# Preface

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This booklet is about conditions and control in African townships. This will involve understanding how the administration boards and the community councils control the townships. It will also involve looking at the kinds of housing and services which are provided and who provides these things. In the course of this booklet we hope to show how South Africa's townships have been used to control African people and in particular the African working class.

We will be looking mainly at the African townships. We have chosen to look at African townships on their own because the way in which the government controls these townships is different from the way the so-called coloured and Indian townships are controlled.

The problems which face Indian and coloured townships are similar to those faced by communities in African townships. For example, problems of the Group Areas Act, a massive housing shortage and rents which are too high for people to afford affect all communities.

However, the institutions which control townships are different. The municipalities are responsible for coloured and Indian townships whereas the administration boards are responsible for African townships.

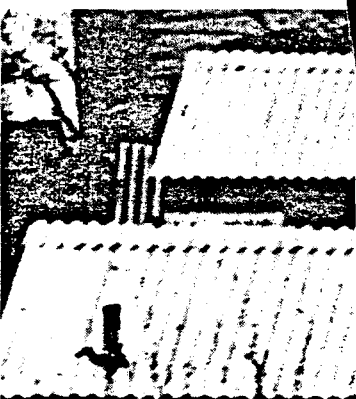
Much of the information which is in this book is knowledge which people have gained through everyday struggles which they have entered into with the administration boards and the community councils over such issues as rent increases. However, we think that this booklet is useful because it puts all this information together.

This booklet is divided into eight different sections. Each section deals with a different aspect of African townships: the housing crisis, upgrading the townships, finance, control, history and resistance. Each section can be read separately to provide information on a specific topic.

At the same time the sections are all related to one another and together provide a more complete understanding of the way in which the townships are run and try to control people's lives.



HOUSES  
IS A  
HUMAN  
RIGHT



# 1. Introduction

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## **Township control: a cornerstone of apartheid**

Government policy in urban African townships has always been one of the cornerstones of apartheid's control over African people and the African working class in particular.

Since 1976 resistance to the government's township policies has become one of the major focuses of opposition to apartheid. Communities throughout the country have mobilised against the mechanisms which control their lives in the townships: the administration boards, the community councils, and the police. They have also mobilised against the living conditions in the townships: the housing shortage, shack demolitions, high rents, high electricity bills and poor maintenance.

It has become increasingly clear that the government's policies in the urban areas have done more to mobilise and unite people against apartheid than it has to disunite and disorganise them.

The provocative and inept administration by the administration boards, shack demolitions, pass raids and attempts to foist the community councils on an unwilling group of people have all served to make people increasingly direct

anger against government policy in the urban areas.

Since the early days of the mining industry, successive governments have looked for ways to prevent African families from living in the urban areas and to limit the government's responsibility to provide housing and social services for those people who did settle in town.

These policies were aimed at creating and channelling a constant supply of cheap labour when and where it was needed most.

At the same time, they were aimed at keeping the African population voteless, rightless and without which 'cheap labour' would not be possible.

The government's policy of controlling the townships and the people who live in them was part of this process.

However the process of controlling the mass of people has never been a smooth or an easy one. Opposition to apartheid and the capitalist system it upholds and defends has faced the government in the schools, the factories and the townships. The apartheid system is full of contradictions which both promote resistance and necessitate constant restructuring by the government.



## New 'improved' apartheid

In the wake of '76 the government has been looking for ways of reasserting control over the mass of people and diffusing political threats. To do this they aim to divide and disorganise the oppressed and at the same time unite and organise the ruling classes.

The government's policies towards the urban areas and the urban working class are a key focus of their attempts.

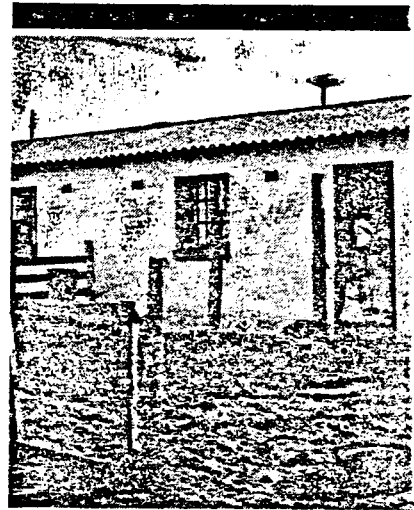
In their attempt, they have drawn on the support of big business, a grouping long dissatisfied with the controls 'old apartheid' placed on labour mobility: opportunities to train black workers and attempts to create a stable, contented urban working class.

What has become clear is the government and big business are trying desperately hard to re-formulate a 'new' apartheid which will have enough reforms to meet the skilled labour shortage, increase labour mobility and most important of all create amongst the mass of people the hope that a better life is indeed possible under 'new apartheid'.

To do this they are attempting to divide and confuse opposition by extending some concessions and denying others.

This policy can be seen clearly in the government's township policies. With the help of the Urban Foundation and massive publicity campaigns in the daily newspapers, the government is offering people the possibility of 'owning a home of their own'.

While communities around the country demand the right to housing for all, the government is trying to encourage people to aspire to property ownership — something available only



# Mobil

to the few.

The government has also removed restrictions on the mobility of Africans with the right to stay in urban areas (those with Section 10.1(a) and (b) rights) to move between different urban areas.

While the government holds out limited concessions to permanent urban residents the Orderly Movement and Settlement Bill makes it clear that much worse is to come for those defined as 'illegal' by the system.

Tightened pass laws, heavier penalties for employers tying urban rights to availability of housing and employment, forced removals and resettlement are all a sign that the coercive repressive



## What's so special about a house?

Right now Mobil is building houses and a community centre at Kewtown outside of Cape Town at a cost of one and a quarter million Rand.

Why houses? Why a community centre? Why Mobil? Because a house is a symbol of social progress — it's a basic condition for full family interaction; it's the

cradle from which our children are educated and matured; it's a haven of rest and security; it's the fountain of physical and psychological peace.

We believe the home, the family, are the foundations of society.

nature of apartheid has not been left behind.

On the issue of representation, a solution has not been so easy to find. The government's reluctance to allow bodies with any real independence or power has resulted in a stalemate.

With the passing of the Local Authorities Act the government hopes to force town and village councils to take over the function of administering the townships and at the same time take responsibility for carrying out the unpopular tasks of raising rents, evicting people, demolishing shacks and policing the townships.

In describing the government's strategies for re-asserting control over

the masses it's important to distinguish between what their plans are and what they actually achieve.

Having a strategy and implementing it are two very different things. Implementation is hindered by white bureaucrats who oppose any influx control reforms, and by the mafia-like activities of community councillors which discredit them in the eyes of the township inhabitants. Rent increases, shack demolitions and forced removals often heighten opposition rather than disorganise it.

In this booklet we will look more closely at what government policies are, what they are attempting to do and the failure of these attempts to solve the 'urban crisis.'

### Settling down

'Housing and its related facilities after all represent the basis of family life and the real foundation of a settled middle class society.'  
Anton Rupert at the first conference of the Urban Foundation

## 2. The housing crisis

---

One of the biggest problems black South Africans have faced since the earliest days of the twentieth century is the housing shortage.

The government has provided very little in the way of housing either in the white urban areas or in the Bantustans. At the same time it had destroyed many of the existing houses through resettlement and removals throughout the country.

The result of this is a massive housing shortage of 400,000 — 160 000 in urban areas, according to Minister Koornhof and almost double this number — 260 000 — in the Bantustans.<sup>1</sup>

This leads to overcrowded living conditions — in Soweto an average of 14 people share a 3 or 4 roomed house.<sup>2</sup> In smaller townships there are 20 per 2 or 3 roomed house.<sup>3</sup> In the Bantustans a similar situation exists. To solve this shortage of space many people build zozos or prefabricated shacks in their backyards which they rent to other families, often at very high rentals.

When people live together in very crowded conditions, they suffer both physically and mentally. Diseases like tuberculosis, measles, scabies and cholera spread quickly from one person to another. Quarrels between families and between landlords and tenants often have their origins in overcrowded

living conditions.

Homeless people are often exploited by the administration boards, community councils, landlords and phoney property companies. The most recent example of this was the case of Impact Homes. The company charged people R250 deposit for stands in Diepkloof, Soweto. People who paid this money either heard nothing further or were given a letter of introduction to the housing officer at New Canada signed by Joseph Mahushushi, chairperson of the Diepmeadow Council.<sup>4</sup>

Overcrowding and shortages have led to the growth of enormous squatter camps on the outskirts of Bantustan townships e.g. Winterveld.

### A historical legacy

The origins of the housing shortage are found in the government's historical policy of limiting the number of African families who were allowed to live permanently in so-called white urban areas. (See part 7)

Because Africans were regarded as 'temporary' sojourners in urban areas, the government refused to take responsibility for providing mass housing for the African working class.

At certain times, for example during the 1950's, resistance in the form of

### Backyard shacks in Witwatersrand townships

Soweto: 23 000 families live in shacks  
Katlhong: 21 700 shacks in the township  
Daveyton: 3 500 shacks  
Tsakane: 1 600 shacks  
Thokoza: 10 000 shacks (SAIRR Survey 1983)



mass squatter movements forced the government into assuming some responsibility for providing housing and services.

However these building programmes were always limited to those with the right to live in the urban areas and in no way provided housing or security for all.

The 1976 uprising proved to be another such moment. In the wake of the uprising the government and big business realised the need to take active steps to deal with the urban crisis in general and the housing crisis in particular.

All along it has been clear that neither the government nor big business have any intention of upgrading the townships or providing housing for all who need it.

Over the seven years since the '76 uprising, the government's approach to the housing crisis has become clearer and clearer:

- Only people with 'permanent urban rights' (PURs) are allowed to live in so-called urban areas;
- The right to live in urban areas is increasingly being tied to the availability of housing;

- The government is not prepared to subsidise mass housing projects;
- The responsibility for providing housing lies with individuals and employers;
- The government aims to promote amongst people aspirations for private home ownership.

### **No job: no right to live in urban areas**

Housing in African townships is only accessible to those with Section 10 rights. These are people who according to Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act of 1952 have lived permanently in town for more than 15 years or worked for one employer for more than 10 years.

In the face of rising unemployment, the government is tightening up influx control with the aim of shifting the burden of unemployment out of the main urban areas to the Bantustans.

In enforcing this, the government plans to tie influx control more closely to housing and unemployment.

The proposed Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Person's Bill will make the right to live in an urban area dependent on the availability of ap-

Winterveld, a squatter camp thirty kilometres north of Pretoria. Almost 800 000 people live here in shacks rented from landlords at very high rents. Many of these people cannot get accommodation in Garankuwe or Mabopane because they are not Bophuthatswana 'citizens'. The South African government refuses to take responsibility for housing people who are most in need of accommodation. People who can afford to build and buy their own houses will be able to remain in urban areas. Those who can't will be forced into the evergrowing squatter camps in Bantustan townships.

proved accommodation. At the same time the Bill will impose heavy fines on people who offer accommodation to people who don't qualify for urban rights. The police will get wide powers to raid homes after ten o'clock at night in search of 'illegals'.

Already the government is attempting to force people without approved accommodation out of the urban areas. Shack demolitions in many townships, the forced removals of people at Nyanga, KTC and Huhudi are all examples of this.

### Who will pay

In July 1983, the government offered 500 000 sub-economic houses for sale to the residents. The government's announcement of the sale of 500 000 homes is an attempt to promote home ownership.

Early in 1982, Dr Koornhof outlined the government's housing strategy in a 13 point plan. The most important point to emerge from this plan was that the government was not prepared to subsidise a mass housing project. It was only prepared to accept partial responsibility for providing low cost housing. The rest of the time the responsibility lay with the individual and with employers. Services such as water and sewerage removal would be provided jointly by the government and the private sector.

'The responsibility for the provision of housing lay first with the individual, then with the employer, local authorities and private sector in that order,' said Pen Kotze, Minister of Community Development.

In line with this approach, in July 1983

the government offered 500 000 sub-economic houses for sale to residents.

### Big business steps in

The whole issue of the housing shortage has been manipulated by both the government and big business in their attempts to 'create' a black middle class who they hoped could provide a bastion of support for free enterprise. As long ago as 1976, Anton Rupert said at the first conference of the Urban Foundation:

'It appears from the information and views aired at this conference that the matter of housing looms large among the problems of urban black communities... Housing and its related facilities after all represent the basis of family life and the real foundation of a settled middle class society.'

Since these prophetic words, the government and big business have removed certain restrictions on physical and job mobility. But the major thrust of the creation of a black middle class hasn't been in terms of the material benefits it is offering certain sections of the urban African community.

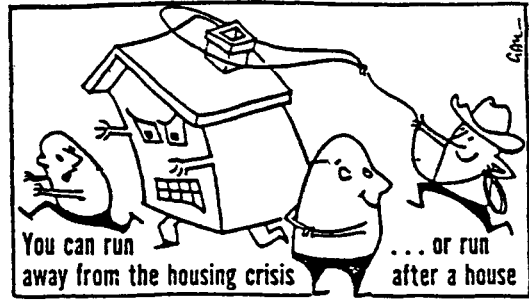
Instead it has been in the form of a massive propaganda campaign with the aim of giving township residents something to aspire to.

This has taken the form of well advertised housing projects, and the promotion of home ownership.

Prior to '76 not even the most middle class resident could pretend there was a hope of better life for them and their families under apartheid. Now the system dangles the fruits of co-option before the hungry eyes of township residents.

So the strategy is not so much one of

# GREAT HOUSE SALE



creating a middle class, as creating middle class aspirations.

The government together with organisations representing the social interests of big business, like the Urban Foundation, are trying to co-opt people's demands. They are trying to change people's aspirations from housing as a right for all to home ownership. They are trying to turn a collective demand into an individual aspiration.

In this way by changing housing into an economic demand, they hope to depoliticise the housing issue.

## Shifting responsibility to the people

The proposed sale of 500 000 government owned houses is part of the strategy by the government to wash its hands of the responsibility of providing mass housing. Also in order to shift this responsibility onto township residents themselves, the government has introduced limited 'site and service' schemes.

People on the waiting list who cannot afford to buy one of the new elite houses, are being offered in some areas the possibility of building their own houses on serviced sites.

In line with this policy the govern-

ment is encouraging new building standards. For example, one construction company is making precast panels which can be slotted between frames by unskilled workers. The external walls have an air cavity which is supposed to provide insulation in hot and cold weather. The major reason for using these blocks as far as the government is concerned is that they use less material than ordinary brick walls.

The government is also removing all obstacles so that employers, building societies and property developers can build houses for their employees or for profit.

The government claims to be trying to find ways in which people will be able to get funding from building societies. Once again it makes it quite clear that it will not subsidise these loans.

## Down to bare bricks

If the government is calling on people to build their own housing or employers to provide housing, let us take a look at what is being done.

## Government subsidised housing

We said earlier that the government has no longer been providing mass housing schemes.

Home ownership propaganda.

It aims to undermine the community's demand for 'housing for all' by persuading residents to aspire to owning their own houses.



Self-help housing schemes mean people must work on providing housing after working hours. In essence, this is the same as making people work a longer day and a longer week to meet the most basic requirements of living.

Although we have no accurate figures on how many houses have been built by the boards over the last couple of years, very few have been built. For example, the West Rand Administration Board (Wrab) built no houses during 1980 and only 48 in the first half of 1981.<sup>6</sup> In Alexandra township, Wrab stopped building houses last year because it ran out of money.

**Amount of money the Department of Community Development has loaned for African housing:**

1976-1977	R5 661 528
1977-1978	R12 432 622
1978-1979	R41 049 589
1979-1980	R59 069 499
1980-1981	R47 256 202

What little money has been allocated to housing has been spent on providing serviced stands on which people will build their own houses. For example,

the East Rand Administration Board was allocated R10,5 million by the Department of Community Development to spend on housing. Erab added a further R2,6 million. The money was to be divided amongst existing housing projects in the board's area.

However, in the middle of the year, the Department of Community Development issued a circular to Erab saying;

'A serious shortage of funds from the National Housing Fund and the Community Development Fund has compelled this department to inform you with regret that no further tenders may be accepted for new projects.'

In January 1983, housing projects worth R500 million were shelved. Thus 1 500 houses for Kagisanong in the Free State would no longer be built, the first African housing scheme in Grahamstown for 20 years has been stopped and in Alexandra township, a R13,8 million programme has been cancelled. Meanwhile, defense expenditure for 1982/3 increased by R203 million and there are plans to spend R1,7 million on accommodation for security and riot police in Soweto.

**Self Help Housing**

Despite government claims that it is encouraging people to provide their own housing, very little is being done. One of the few projects at Cartonville's Khutsong township, involves the rehousing of people from a squatter camp. The Urban Foundation provides loans for building materials and residents can work in the project for a maximum of 3 months to pay off their deposits on their stands.

Similar schemes are happening at Inanda in Durban and Katlehong and

Bontleng in the Transvaal. As yet they involve very few people and are available only to those legally allowed to live in the area. Although people are being provided with some form of housing, they are paying for it all themselves despite the fact that they are often the poorest members of the community.

Another way in which people can get housing is through the 30 year lease plan. Under this plan people can buy houses built by the administration board. They can borrow money from the board. The Boards borrowed R4 325 600 from building societies last year to lend to people at 1% lower than the economic interest rate.

This scheme is currently being implemented on the East Rand and Wrab will sell some of the houses it is building at Chiawelo and Protea in Soweto under this scheme.

### 99 Year Leasehold

Since 1977 the 99 year leasehold scheme has been the biggest smokescreen for the housing crisis. Under the cover of the benefits of home ownership the government can cheerfully escape facing the real housing shortage.

The 99 year leasehold is an attempt by the government to fuse two strands of its policy: on the one hand allowing a better off section of the African population to build and own better houses, and on the other to maintain a system which says that Africans can never be permanent in so-called white urban areas.

Children born after the date of independence of their so-called homeland cannot automatically inherit the right to live in their parents 99-year-lease homes, unless they qualify for

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urban residence. It appears that this right will be closely tied to the availability of employment.

The 99 year lease plan is a dismal failure: in three years only 1727 houses have been built or bought in the entire country. Large sums of money raised by the Urban Foundation and banks and building societies to provide loans are unused.

The Urban Foundation blames the failure of the 99 year lease on the government, who, it says, hasn't surveyed the sites. People who want a house therefore, cannot get a site to build it on. However the reason for the failure seems to be that most township dwellers cannot afford to buy one of these houses.

To give us some idea of the expense of one of these houses let us quote what the building societies have to say:

'We are satisfied that a sound basic home can be provided for R10 000 excluding the stand and the bond repayment. This would total R100 per month and the borrower would have to earn R400 pm.' The average selling price of

Wrab is attempting to solve the housing crisis by encouraging residents to buy their own houses with building society loans.



The price of buying a house

What tenants pay		What home owners pay	
Site rent (for the ground.)	R13.32 per month	Site rent	R13.32 per month
House rent	R3.25	House price (could be paid in cash or in monthly loan repayments)	R700-R1000
		Survey costs	R60
		Stamp duty	R20
		Administration fee	R8
		Leasehold cost (right of occupying that property for 99 years.)	R514
Water (no meter)	R10.50	Water (no meter)	R10.50 per month
Services (sewerage, garbage, road maintenance, etc)	R13.23	Services	R13.23
Electricity levy	R12.00	Electricity levy	R12
Electricity bills	+ - 7c per unit	Electricity bills	7c per unit

\*These figures refer to Soweto.

a United Building Society home in Soweto is R15 000.<sup>8</sup> We need to compare this with R132-R150 which is what the average black wage earner in the Witwatersrand townships earns.<sup>9</sup> This figure is below a minimum wage of R185,27 needed for a family of five (figure supplied by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and excludes writing material, sport, recreation, emergencies). Given these figures many people would find it difficult to part with R1000 for the initial deposit and still keep up a monthly repayment of a quarter of their salary over 20-30 years.

Wrab announced recently that it will charge between R1 300 and R1 800 per house and tenants who buy within the year, pay cash or have stayed in their houses for a long time are offered discounts.

In an effort to force tenants to buy their houses, they are threatened with massive rent increases as the government says it will no longer subsidise service charges or interest costs.<sup>10</sup>

Already there is speculation that tenants who cannot buy their houses will be forced to leave in favour of families who can.

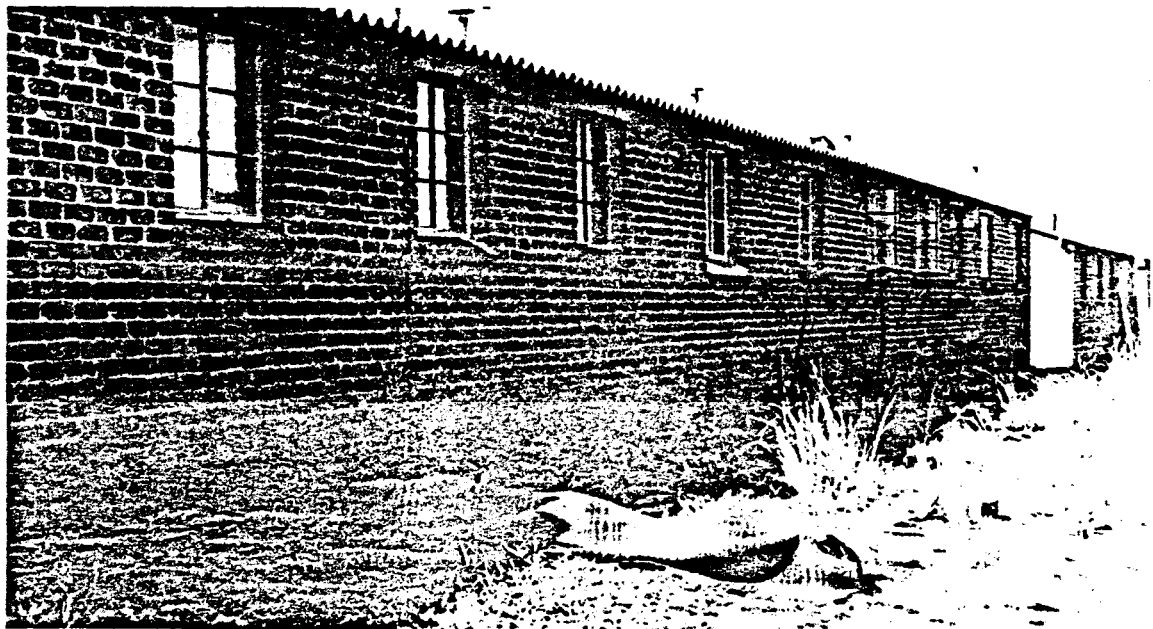
When a person's home is tied to their jobs it becomes that much more difficult for them to protest against bad working conditions or to leave to find another job. There is little doubt that since the earliest gold mines, employers used housing as a way of controlling their workers. There is equally little doubt that this practice continues particularly at a time of skilled labour shortage and working class militancy.

#### Housing provided by employers

Since big business is interested in co-opting certain sections of the black workforce, it is giving skilled and supervisory jobs to black employees and are providing 'perks' — a major one being a house. These perks are obviously limited to a small elite.

Some examples are: Colgate Palmolive buying houses in Vosloorsrus for its employees; Barlow Rand applying for land to build 110 houses for black employees.<sup>11</sup> Volkswagen has built 10 houses in KwaNobule township outside Uitenhage for its employees and Steel and Alloys is providing 220 family houses.

Some employers are even investing in Bantustan townships. Huletts Aluminium and the KwaZulu Development Corporation are building one hundred houses for Huletts employees in KwaZulu. These figures are insignifi-



cant in relation to the large numbers needed.

### Hostels

Hostel accommodation is still the major form of accommodation provided by employers. Employers prefer hostel accommodation since it is the cheapest and also allows them greater control over their workforce.

Many of the hostels are still 'closed' and workers cannot leave them except to go to work. There is often only one entrance to the compound so all comings and goings can be closely watched.

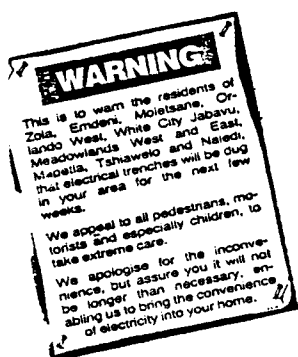
During times of worker militancy the compounds can be completely sealed off to the outside world while management with the help of their own police or security guards, break down resistance.

	Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Africans	Total
1978	15991	2750	1478	456	20675
1979	16582	3205	1649	679	22115
1980	30655	2926	1965	728	36274
1981	23215	3145	2183	918	29461

In many recent strikes, workers have been fired from work and forcibly evicted from their hostel — losing both their job and their home at once. The best known example is the municipal workers strike in Johannesburg in July 1980, when 10 000 workers were evicted from their hostels and forced at gunpoint to board buses headed for the Bantustans.

Single-sex hostels still remain the main type of housing provided by employers. While a great deal of publicity is given to employer-built family housing, these houses are usually only available to managers, supervisors and skilled workers.

### 3. Services in the townships



#### Making the people pay

'I am beginning to suspect that those people with electricity are being overcharged to pay for the installation of electricity in other parts of Soweto,' said a resident. Voice, 14/2/82

These are:

- Maintenance of houses i.e. fixing broken windows, doors and roofs,
- Supply of water,
- Removal of sewerage,
- Electricity,
- Upkeep of roads and pavements.

Any resident of the townships will be quick to complain about every one of these services. As one Soweto resident said:

'When things are broken you report them (to Wrab) and they give you forms to fill in. After that you can wait ages, about 4 months or more. You can't wait so long so you get your own plumber and fix it yourself.'

Similar complaints exist about the water supply. In some townships, residents go without water for months at a time. For example 80 Thokoza residents went without water for over 8 months because the water reservoir which supplies the township was not big enough.

Another major cause of the water shortage is that water is wasted because underground pipes burst or rust away. Since 1973 Wrab has been losing R6,5 million a year because of the leaking pipes.<sup>13</sup>

In the face of this, it's not surprising that Soweto residents object to the

installation of water meters in their homes. Residents will have to pay for the water they use and all the water that gets wasted, due to leaking pipes.

Soweto's sewerage system is much the same. In Dube at one stage last year residents were afraid of an epidemic breaking out because toilets had been blocked for nearly a year.<sup>14</sup> In Thokoza, sewerage pipes were blocked for equally long.<sup>15</sup>

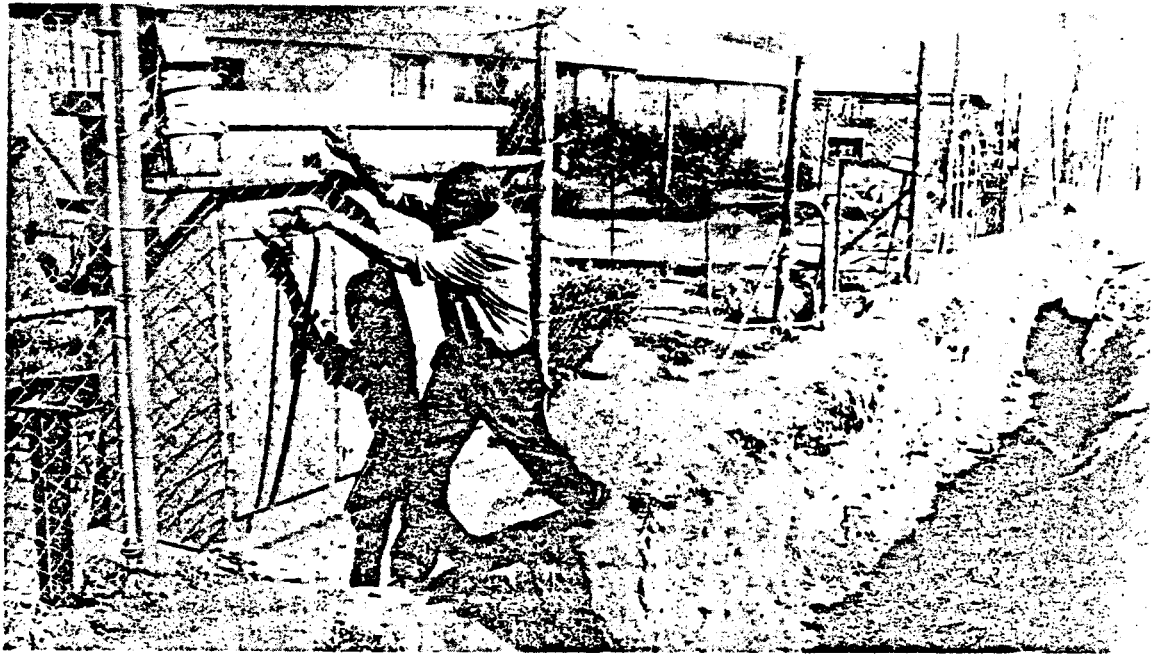
Some townships still do not have water borne sewerage and in Duduza and some parts of Thembisa residents still rely on the bucket system.

Townships in the Eastern Cape must have the most inadequate services in the country. At Veeplaats, outside Port Elizabeth there are only 36 taps for 66 000 inhabitants.<sup>16</sup>

Plans are underway in some townships to improve services by laying new water pipes, building new reservoirs and new sewerage systems:

● R14m has been earmarked for a new reservoir to replace blocked sewerage pipes in Thokoza.<sup>17</sup>

● A R15m loan was set aside for a new sewerage recycling plant and a community centre in Thembisa.<sup>18</sup> The increased rents introduced in early 1981 were intended to cover the repayments on this loan and the electrification scheme.



The money for 'upgrading' schemes comes mainly from loans from banks and building societies. For example, the Greater Soweto Community Council raised a R160 million bank loan to improve roads, sidewalks and the sewerage system.<sup>19</sup> This money has to be paid back by the people of Soweto themselves. If there isn't enough money from the rents to do this, then there is no doubt that the community council will continue to raise the rents.

It seems clear that improvements are taking place in the big townships of Soweto and some of the more prominent East Rand townships.

In many other parts of the country upgrading projects either do not exist or they are so small as to be almost laughable. For example, in the Eastern Cape, Molteno's 'new' township has 31

taps for 530 houses while the old township has nine taps for 331 homes.<sup>20</sup>

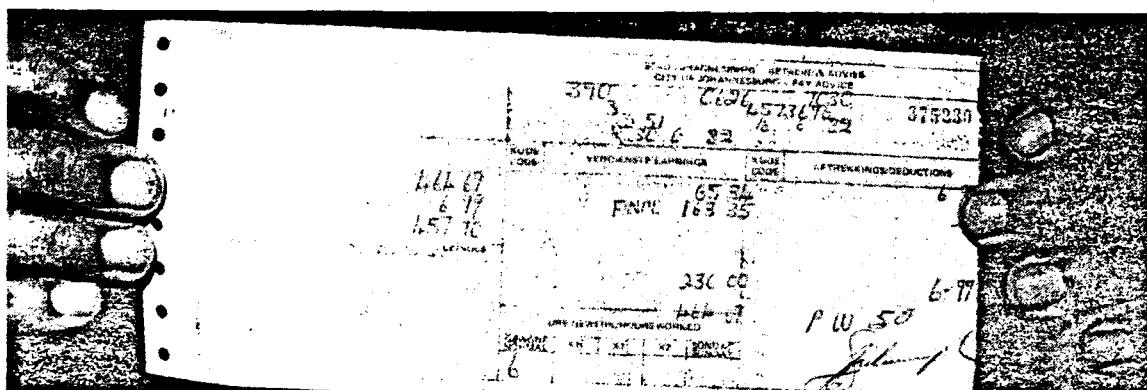
### One man one volt

Plans to electrify African townships throughout South Africa have proved to be yet another example of attempts by the government to co-opt mass demands by offering promises of comfort to the elite few.

Or to put it another way — when the people of Soweto demanded houses, rents they could afford and political rights the government responded by offering them 'one man one volt'.

However, like so many attempts to buy off residents, the electrification project has short-circuited in the government's face.

Soweto's deep, unguarded electricity trenches make coming home a dangerous exercise. Many residents have lived for weeks with deep trenches outside their gates. Wrab and the Soweto Council show little concern for the danger that the trenches pose to residents' safety, although after an outcry, they now issue warning notices. During rainy weather the trenches fill with stagnant water. Many children, animals and cars have fallen into the trenches.



Many township residents claim that their electricity bills are very high. The council and Wrab blame the residents for not saving electricity. Residents believe that electricity meters are faulty and meter readers are often too lazy to read the meters properly. Residents are unable to read their own meters because they are kept in boxes, locked by Wrab.

In Soweto in particular, the electrification scheme has caused more than a few sparks of discontent.

The project has been contracted out by the Wrab to Ecoplan. Ecoplan has subcontracted out the actual work of installing the electricity system to various contractors.

The companies that install electricity often damage people's homes, gardens and verandahs in the process. They do not see it as their responsibility to repair damage they do and householders have to repair damages at great expense.

Electricity trenches have posed a threat to the safety of residents and their children. The trenches are deep and are not fenced off. There have been several cases of people, children, cars and animals falling into the trenches.

Soweto's electricity will be supplied by Escom and not by Orlando Power Station. Escom's electricity is slightly more expensive than electricity supplied by Orlando Power Station to the Johannesburg City Council.

This means Soweto residents will pay more for their electricity than Johannesburg residents do.

The money for the electrification

scheme was borrowed from banks and building societies by the Soweto Community Council, in all about R200 million. This money must be repaid by residents themselves. All residents regardless of whether they have electricity in their homes must pay a monthly levy of between R13-R20 per month to the Community Council.

In the East Rand township of Vosloosrus and in Sebokeng and Sharpeville residents are also having to pay an extra tariff to finance the electrification project. In addition, residents who want electricity in their homes have to pay to have it installed.

High electricity bills have been a major cause of discontent. Residents often say their bills are in no way related to the amount of electricity they actually use. A Katlehong man who lived in a candle-lit room without electricity for 2 years was told to pay a R200 electricity bill. He had never even applied to have electricity installed in his house.<sup>21</sup>

Soweto residents complain they are unable to read their electricity metres because these are housed in locked boxes, and Wrab has the only keys.

#### The poor pay more

Johannesburg City Council  
Tariffs

Average cost per unit 5.5  
cents

Escom Tariff (Soweto)  
Average cost per unit 6.14  
cents

19 31/8/87

## 4. Who controls the townships

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There are two institutions controlling the townships: the administration boards and the community councils.

The administration boards are under the direct control of the Department of Co-operation and Development (CAD). They are staffed by employees appointed by the Department. Township residents have no say over who is employed by the boards nor do they have any representation on the boards. The boards control over two key aspects of township administration, namely influx control and housing allocation gives them wide powers over township residents.

The community councils are supposed to be made up of representatives elected by township residents. The powers and functions of the community councils are defined by the Minister of CAD. The result is that the councils have very little credibility with township dwellers and the polls in the first community council elections were very low.

In an attempt to improve the status of the community councils and also to try and redirect residents anger away from the administration boards to the community councils, these bodies have been given the status of 'local authorities' by the new Local Authorities Act.

To give us a clearer understanding of

how the boards and the councils control the townships let us look briefly at their history.

### The administration boards

In order to enforce a uniform way of running the townships and also to draw a closer link between housing and influx control, the government decided to centralise the administration of the townships in the early 1970's.

In the past the townships had fallen directly under the control of white local authorities. However, the government felt these authorities did not apply influx control strictly enough and continued to build family housing despite a government regulation prohibiting this.

The apartheid government and some big businessmen wanted greater and more centralized control over their labour force in the cities and towns, and on the white farms. So instead of having 450 local authorities who ran townships in their own way, there would just be 22 boards under the direct control of the then Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD).

BAD was once known as the Department of Native Affairs, briefly known as the Department of Plural Relations and Development and now known as the

### Administration boards were introduced to:

- Control the people in townships and on the white farms in a more strict and efficient way.
- Centralise this control under the Minister and Department of BAD — in other words to put one government department in charge of both townships and influx control.

### Department of Co-operation and Development.

BAD would decide how townships would be run, not like in the past when white opposition political parties like the United Party, local businessmen and others could influence the local authorities.

As always, the people living in the townships would have no say in how they should be run.

In 1972, 22 administration boards were set up to run the townships. The boards were put in charge of nearly everything in the townships. They decided:

- Where people worked.
- Where people lived.
- How much rent people paid.
- What kind of services like water and rubbish removal the people had in their houses and streets.

Administration boards were in charge of roads, animals (like dogs), fences, shops and liquor sales. They were also in charge of workers on white farms.

The officials of each board were appointed by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD). BAD was very firmly in charge of each board. The boards did not make policy or regulations — BAD did. The Minister of BAD had the power to hire and fire the chief director of each administration board. This gave the central government strong control over the boards.

The administration boards were — and still are — supposed to be self-financing. This meant that the government didn't give money to the boards and white municipalities no longer paid the township's debts. The boards were able to take over the money which local authorities had left, but after that they

had to get money from somewhere else.

The boards squeezed money out of the people in the townships — rents, service charges, fines, school levies, profits from beerhalls all went to the boards. Even when boards got loans from the central government, the people had to pay these back eventually and with interest. So, the residents of the townships had to pay for everything — housing and services, influx control and the salaries of board officials.

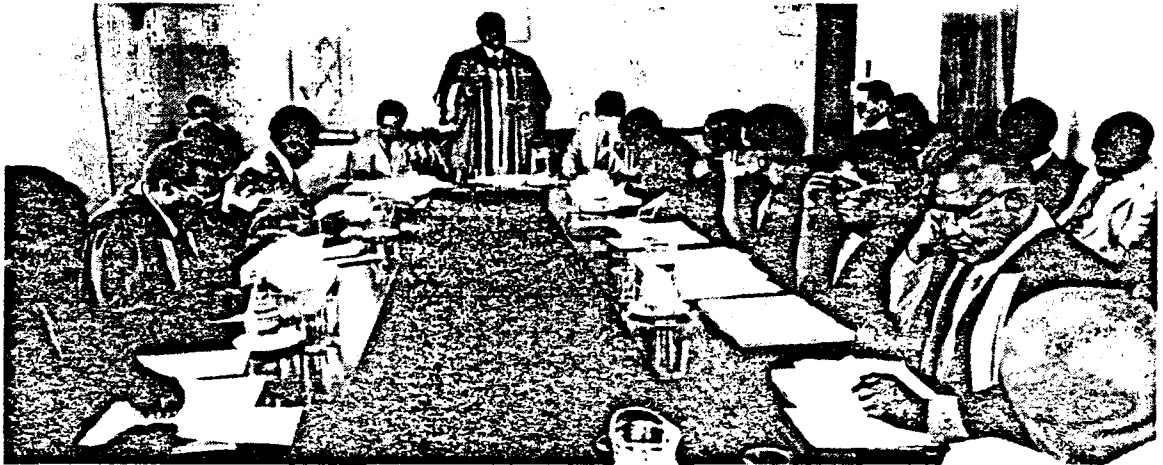
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### Useless Boys' Club

The administration boards used the Urban Bantu Councils (UBC's) to advise them on what the inhabitants in the townships thought. These bodies had been set up in the early 60's to replace the advisory boards which had fulfilled a similar role under the city councils since the 1920's.

The UBC's were an attempt to deal with the fact that Africans were excluded from any say in the running of the townships. However, they had never succeeded in winning any credibility from township people and were seen as what they were, stooge bodies between the people and the administration boards which held power in the townships. The UBC's confined themselves to giving voice to certain African traders and professional people



who objected to the restrictions which apartheid placed on their business affairs.

### Administration board rule

Administration board rule was a disaster for most people in the townships. Conditions in the townships grew worse and worse. People were forced to pay more money for less houses and poorer services.

Administration board rule was also harsh and brutal — the boards employed their own police force, the 'blackjacks' to evict people who were behind with rent, or who did not have housing permits.

The administration boards assumed responsibility for influx control, housing, township finances as well as smaller functions such as trading licenses.

#### 1. Influx Control

The boards were put in charge of the labour bureaux in each area. They were helped by the Bantu Affairs Commis-

sioner in each town, and, of course, by the South African Police (SAP). Together with the 'blackjacks', the SAP made more and more pass raids every year. People were arrested in huge numbers in 1973 — over half a million people were arrested and charged under the different pass laws.<sup>24</sup>

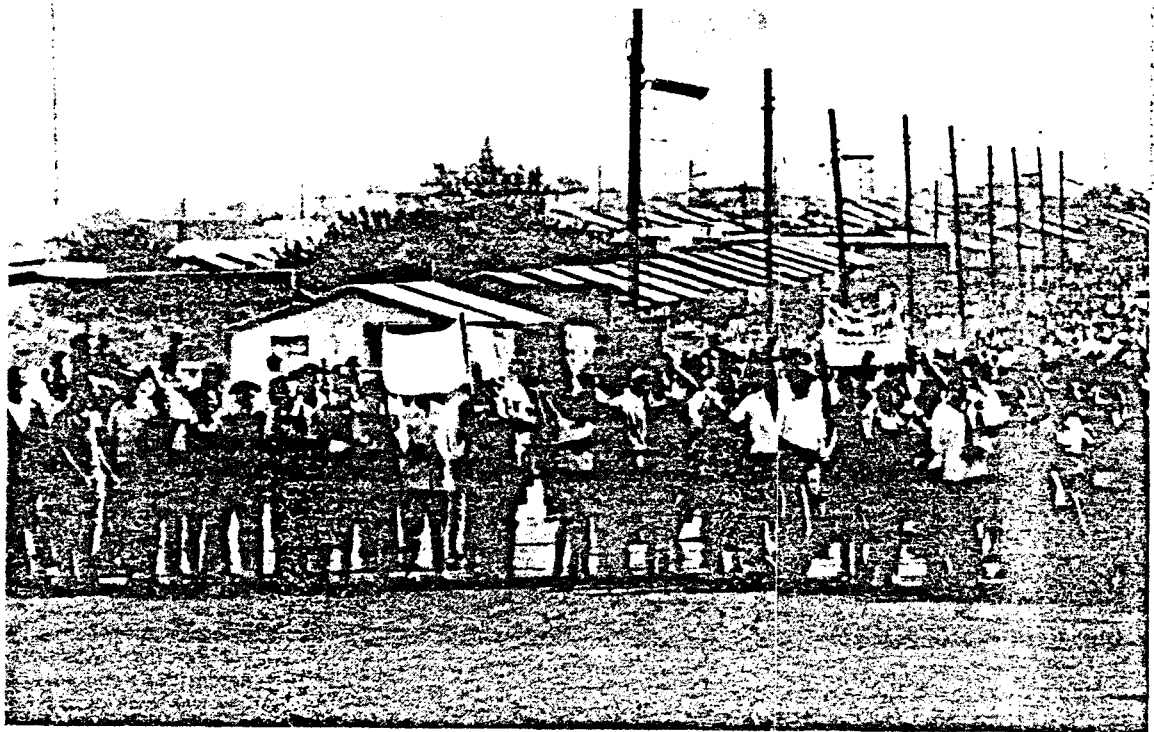
Boards were also supposed to make African people more 'homeland conscious', to 'help as many Bantu as possible from white areas to settle in the homelands'. What this really meant was that the boards would help to dump people in the Bantustans. Between 1969 and the middle of 1975, the boards were directly responsible for resettling 171 000 people in the Bantustans. The boards also tried to force people to live in the Bantustans as a result of their policy of restricting the numbers of houses built.

#### 2. Housing

Administration board rule in the townships meant that fewer houses were built and services got worse and

The role of the Urban Bantu Councils was limited to advising the administration boards on what township dwellers thought. The corruption of many councillors and their inability to represent the demands of township residents for housing, equal education and democratic rights, earned them the name United Bantu Crooks or the Useless Boys Club.





What began as a peaceful protest against Afrikaans medium of instruction, developed into a full scale revolt against every aspect of administration board rule in the township. Administration board offices, beerhalls, bottlestores, UBC offices and schools all became symbols of a system which deprived people of the right to live and work where they chose, which forced their children to accept an inferior and oppressive education and which tried to force people to exercise their political rights in Bantustans or through stooge bodies like the Urban Bantu Councils.

worse. By 1976, there was a housing shortage of about 200 000 houses in the urban areas. The services that the boards took over, like rubbish removal, sewerage, electricity and roads got worse. The boards spent a major part of their income in the Bantustans.

From 1968, the government's policy was to build as few houses as possible in the townships and as many as possible in the Bantustans. Between 1972 and 1977, the government spent 3 times more money on houses in the Bantustans than it spent in the boards' areas. The boards used money they had squeezed out of residents to build houses and townships in the Bantustans. For example the Central Tran-

svaal Administration Board (Pretoria) spent R4,9m on the building of Mabopane.

They also used a great deal of their income to subsidise transport for workers who were resettled in Bantustan commuter towns, but continued to work in so-called 'white areas'.

### 3. Finances

The way the boards spent their money in the Bantustans didn't help their financial position. In fact, the boards were in a financial mess from the beginning. They just couldn't pay for themselves and looked for more money from businessmen and banks. They also got loans from the government finance





Dan Montsitsi, ex-president of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC). Under his leadership the SSRC resisted the rent increases and demanded the resignation of the UBC.

began in Soweto on June 16 spread throughout South Africa and carried on through 1977. This struggle was important because of the huge numbers of people involved, and also because the forms and direction of organisation changed as the struggle went on.

### SSRC challenges UBC

After six weeks of intense violence, the Soweto Student Representative Council (SSRC) was formed on August 1. On that day, students had prevented the UBC from holding a meeting at Jabulani amphitheatre. The next day, the SSRC called a general strike for August 4. When the day came, it looked like the strike had been a success — some firms in Johannesburg said no more than 15% of their workers came to work.

The SSRC aimed to do two things —

- 1) To establish itself as a political alternative to the UBC's
- 2) To try to channel the militancy of students and workers into specific campaigns. This was not an easy task. It was made especially difficult by brutal police action, and by the conflict which developed between Soweto residents and some of the migrants in the hostels.

Even so, the SSRC continued to grow.

In April 1977, Wrab threatened to raise Soweto rents by 80%. The UBC had accepted this move. The SSRC under the leadership of Dan Sechaba Montsitsi called for a campaign against the increased rental, and made their reasons for doing this clear in a pamphlet:

'Have our pay scales been increased to meet the proposed rent increment?'  
'The answer is NO of course.'

Wrab was forced to suspend the rent increase. At the same time, the SSRC called on all UBC members to resign within one week. The UBC collapsed. Its uselessness and lack of any real power had been clearly shown.

### Community Councils: trying to buy off the people

In 1977, in the middle of all these events, the government decided to introduce community councils. They made great boasts about 'giving Africans a greater say in running their townships'.

Certain powers and responsibilities were handed over to the community councils. They were made responsible for allocating houses and hostel beds. They had to make sure that services like rubbish removal, water supply and roads were provided. The councils could decide who should be given residential and trading sites. All these powers were subject to the final say of the Minister of Co-operation and Development. He could give the councils more powers or take some away. He could add on new members, or simply close the councils down altogether.

The boards did not just disappear either. They were still in charge of influx control, labour allocation and finance. In most townships they still controlled the allocation of housing.

The SSRC's response to the community councils was: 'We don't want to be in charge of roads and rubbish. We want real and meaningful power to run our lives outside the system of apartheid.'

It was clear that the community coun-



cils did not give the people 'real and meaningful power'.

### **A new deal from an old pack**

The councils were an important part of the government's strategy to reassert control over the township population. After 1976, the government was forced to make changes in the way it ruled the townships. Even so, it still tried to make these changes in a way which would help it to control and dominate the people in the townships.

In 1976 and 1977, resistance had hit hard at the centres of government power in the townships: the administration boards. R29,7 million worth of board property was damaged and destroyed. It was hoped that now the councils would be seen as the agents of government power. They would have to turn away the hundreds of people who need houses. They would have to raise the rents and explain the bad roads and broken sewerage pipes to the people.

The community councils have not made it any cheaper or more efficient to run the townships, nor have they managed to defuse resistance. People in the townships have rejected them from the beginning. In Soweto only 60 000 people were eligible to vote in the community council election. Of these, only 3 600 actually voted. One could hardly call the Soweto community council the 'representatives of the people'!

There was a bigger turnout of voters in places like the Vaal Triangle and in some small towns such as Fort Beaufort, but on the whole township people have shown their rejection of the councils.

The councillors themselves have acquired great reputations for corruption,

inefficiency and petty quarrelling amongst themselves.

More important, they have never been seen as leaders by the majority of African people. In February 1979, Pretoria residents forced W M Aphase the head of the Mamelodi Council to leave a hall where he had come to tell the people about rent increases.

During the rent protests in 1982, Mohlakeng township on the West Rand, the local mayor, Alfred Tekwane refused to attend a meeting called by residents in protest of the rent increases because he feared for his safety.

The failure of the community councils has been most clearly shown in the many struggles which have taken place in townships over rents, busfares, services and so on. Township residents have defied the councils' attempts to take control of the townships. These are just a few examples:

In the first half of 1979, residents of the Port Elizabeth townships of Zwide IV and Kwa-Ford began to organise around increased water charges. In October of that year, the Port Elizabeth Black community Organisation (Pebco) was formed at a meeting attended by 500 people. It was based on the residents associations which had sprung up in the Port Elizabeth townships. Pebco successfully took up issues like the removal of people from the Walmer township to Zwide, forcing the state to postpone the removals.

In August 1979, the Soweto, Dobsonville and Diepmeadow community councils all announced that service charges would be increased by 100%. Meetings, petitions, delegations and an attack on the chairperson of the Dobsonville Community Council forced them to back down.

### **Democracy community council style**

For negotiation purposes you don't want to go to the masses ... they are scared to take decisions ... I take decisions and I account for them in Katlehong and on the East Rand.'

M B Kumalo, ex-mayor of Katlehong. Interview, February 1981



Sowetans demonstrate their rejection of the community council system as they gather outside the community council chambers during the protest against the 1981 rent increases.

### **Making the people pay**

'Now it's up to the Soweto Council to find ways of getting the money ... either from the residents or from employers, but definitely not from us as our resources are now dry.'

John Knoetze, chairperson of Wrab. Sunday Times 16/3/1980

In the small town of Craddock in the Cape, the Masakane Organisation held a meeting and decided that the community council should be abolished, house rentals and bus fares should be reduced and public transport should be boycotted.

There is a fuller list of township struggles at the back of this book.

What is clear is that residents of African townships did not stop taking up community issues simply because they did not have councils to 'represent' them. In fact, when the councils did try to interfere, they were defied and in many cases threatened by the people.

The introduction of councils has not distracted people from their problems, nor is it easier for the government to get money from township residents.

People have realised that councils have been set up to continue denying real political power and rights to African people. They have been completely rejected because it is precisely

this lack of political power which is the root cause of the housing shortage, influx control and overcrowded, unhealthy townships.

### **Koornhof returns to his drawing board**

'In the face of nationwide rejection of the community councils, Koornhof turned once again to his drawing board and came up with the Black Local Authorities Act and the Community Development Bill.

The Black Local Authorities Act will turn community councils into fully fledged 'town and village councils' with the power to raise their own money and run their own affairs. Councillors will be elected by township residents with permanent urban residents rights.

The councils will be responsible for raising money, allocating houses, and controlling the building of 'illegal shacks' and the entry of 'illegal people'



into urban areas.

### **Black Community Development Bill**

The Black Community Development Bill will change the administration boards into 'development boards'.

As yet it's not quite clear just how power will be shared between the two bodies. At first glance it appears that they have very similar powers and functions.

The development boards will have complete control over all housing and accommodation. The Minister of CAD, through the boards, can decide on rentals and service charges, and decide to limit the development of a township or hostel, or close it down altogether! Control over housing is still too closely tied to influx control for the government to give it up to local authorities, which might be more exposed to popular pressure.

Suggestions are that the development boards will keep the power to make future plans and decisions while the town and village councils will administer and police the townships.

As with community councils, the Minister of Co-operation and Development retains considerable control. He can establish or dissolve a town or village council, decide what powers they should have and decide how they should be elected.

### **Black Local Authorities Act**

The local authorities will be elected by people with permanent urban residence qualifications. Illegal residents, residents who have not lived in the urban area for at least twelve months, people with criminal records and people who have been sent for observation in a mental hospital will not be eligible to vote.

This means that very few people who

Thebahali (left) and Koornhof: looking for a new vehicle through which to achieve stable docile township communities.

spend their living and working lives in the townships will actually be able to vote for the councils that will control them.

The functions of the local authorities will be:

- Administration and allocation of housing.
- Control of squatting.
- Promotion of moral and social welfare and community development.
- Provision and administration of services such as sport, recreation and libraries.
- Finance.

These functions are similar to the ones the community councils were supposed to have. In addition the local authorities will have the following functions:

- Provision and maintenance of refuse removal, water, sewerage, drainage and electricity.
- Promotion of health services.
- Transferal of other powers presently invested in the boards.
- Passing of by-laws.

However, the Minister of Co-operation and Development will still have the power to take these functions away and to dismiss the local authority.

One thing that becomes quite clear is that despite the claims of giving full autonomy to the local authorities, their needs and desires will only be taken account of if they do exactly what the boards and CAD want.

The rent increases last year provided clear examples of this:

- The Western Transvaal Administration Board threatened to dismiss the Ikageng Council in Potchefstroom when they refused to approve a 150% rent rise in May.
- The Mamelodi Council complained

that they were not even consulted on the recent rent increase in the township.

● The head of the community council in Craddock recently said: 'Five years after all the sales talk we can still not show a single thing to the people to justify our existence as a council ... We are a rubber stamp.'

### Financial responsibility

Black local authorities, like community councils before them, will also run into financial problems. Clearly the boards are only too pleased to make them responsible for running certain aspects of the townships. As John Knoetze head of Wrab said: 'Now it's up to the Soweto Council to find ways of getting money, either from the residents or from employers, but not from us as our resources are now dry.'

A look at the 1982/83 budget of the Soweto Council shows that of the R46,5m expected income, R39,9m will come from rentals and service charges. When the council needs to increase its income, this is where it will look for money. Even foreign loans like the R160m raised by the Soweto Council in April 1982 will have to be paid back by the residents.

Despite their extremely limited power, the community councils and local authorities do take steps which affect township residents. The Soweto Council played a big part in destroying the Orlando shacks, until the Supreme Court ruled that they were acting outside their powers. As a local authority they will have full power to pull down shacks.

The council has also proposed an R16 rent increase in its 1983/4 budget, a

### The true role of Koornhof's councils.

The community councils are a vehicle for a purpose. If the purpose cannot be achieved by the vehicle, I will change the vehicle to suit the purpose.

Dr Piet Koornhof



well as a R3 increase in hostel charges.

According to its monthly report for March the Galeshewe Community Council in Kimberly evicted seven families in rental arrears, served 13 residents with notices to demolish shacks and demolished 34 shacks themselves.

Residents are also forced to pay for the vanity and personal gain of councillors — Erab plans to spend R30 098 on 'mayoral chains' for community councils, while the 'mayor' of Daveyton was given R10 000 for a car.

### Doing the government's dirty work

The government's central concern is that the new town and village councils will succeed in doing what the community councils failed to do: in the words of the infamous Dr P J Riekert: 'These local authorities will serve to defuse pent up frustration and grievances against Pretoria'.<sup>24</sup>

Riekert, who is chief director of the Western Transvaal Administration Board and one of the most influential government administrators, advocates a formal bond between the new councils and the 'homelands'. He says that the town and village councils should be linked to the homelands and not serve as stepping stones to black participation in central government of South Africa.

However, Riekert stresses that this strategy won't work unless there is considerable participation in council elections.

Town and village council elections are scheduled for November 1983 in some areas. Already calls for a boycott have gone out.

The formation of the Anti-Community Council Committee in Soweto and Kagiso to oppose the elections and plans to establish similar committees in other Witwatersrand townships are indicative of continued opposition to council rule.

Amos Masondo, a Soweto Civic As-

The Local Authorities Act gives the town councils the power to demolish shacks and so-called 'illegal' structures in the townships.



Police confront Soweto resident at the Wraab offices during the 1982 White City shack demolitions

sociation committee member said the aim was a total boycott of the elections. The Anti-Community Council Committee already has the support of the main organisations in Soweto, including the Soweto Civic Association, Cosas, Azaso, the Women's Federation, the General and Allied Workers Union, the Detainees' Aid Movement and the Council of Unions of South Africa.

The government has also not succeeded in incorporating Inkatha's participation in the new councils. Inkatha's Central Committee said participation in

the councils would depend on:

- A satisfactory explanation from Pretoria for a Department of Foreign Affairs and Information pamphlet which cited the establishment of the new councils as partial justification for the exclusion of blacks from the proposed tricameral Parliament.

- A detailed account of how the new councils would be financed.

In a recent speech Chief Buthezi appeared to advocate a strategy of waiting and then taking control of the councils at a more opportune time.



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## 5. Who pays for the townships

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From what has been said so far it's clear that township residents pay for their own housing, services and electricity.

While in the past, the government subsidised housing to a small extent, this will no longer be the case.

The diagram on the opposite page tries to explain in more detail who pays for the township, how the administration boards and community councils collect this money and how they spend it.

White municipalities pay for the upkeep of white suburbs from taxes or rates paid by local offices and factories.

There are no offices and factories in African townships to pay high rates to the administration boards and community councils. So they have to rely on the township population to finance the townships.

However, many township residents work in the factories and offices in white areas. They help to produce the wealth of these businesses, but these businesses do not pay for the upkeep of the areas where their workers live.

This points to one of the major contradictions in our society. While commerce and industry want a healthy workforce to exploit, and well-controlled townships capable of containing residents' political aspirations,

they are not prepared to pay workers living wages so they can afford decent housing. Nor are they prepared to provide this housing themselves.

### **Abuse and misuse: money and the administration boards**

Since 1972 the boards have been responsible for running the townships and squeezing money out of the township population to do this. They have three ways of doing this: rent on houses, profits on beer and liquor sales, and levies from employers. The only source of money which the boards had that did not come directly from township dwellers themselves was in the form of employers' levies (R2,15 for each worker and R1,50 for each domestic worker.)

From the early seventies the boards were in serious financial trouble. Over half their income came from beer and liquor sales (in 1976 R177m out of R320m).<sup>22</sup> There is a lot of truth in the belief that the townships are paid for at the expense of alcoholism in their communities! In the past 80% of the profits from liquor were channelled to the Department of Co-operation and Development for subsidising transport for commuters from the Bantustans. This was reduced to 20% in 1975. In

### **Drinking makes the world go round**

Over half the income of the administration boards comes from beer and liquor sales. This means that the more people drink, the more likely they will have their houses maintained, services installed and roads repaired, and the less likely their rents will be increased.

1976 the attacks on beer gardens and bottlestores meant the profits on beer and liquor dropped. Wrab alone lost R6m.

A lot of the money which the boards have, is spent on salaries, the government's propaganda organisation - the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra), or goes astray through investment in bankrupt organisations. Less than half the money which the boards have is spent on water, electricity, garbage and sewerage removal for the people who live in the townships.

In 1975 the Boards began looking for new sources of finance. They were given permission to have over-drafts, they received fines and bail from the labour bureaux, they raised school and transport levies. It is important for us to realise that it was not the staff of the boards who suffered but the residents of the townships, who had to make do with inadequate facilities and of course rent increases. In 1975, the West Rand, Northern Transvaal, Central Transvaal, Northern Cape and Eastern Transvaal Administration Boards asked permission to raise their rents. This still did not solve the financial problems of the boards.

Once more the boards were forced to look around for new sources of finance. They found it in the form of loans from the provincial administrations, white local municipalities, big business and foreign banks, for example:

- The Soweto Council borrowed R105m from overseas banks, and R11m from the Transvaal Provincial Administration.
- Duduza Community Council negotiated to borrow R4m from the Nigel City Council.

However, these loans put the boards

further into debt.

### **Raising rents: shifting the burden to the people**

The response of the boards to the deficits has been to raise rents throughout the country. The adjoining table shows the extent to which rents have gone up throughout the Transvaal over the last year.

Despite these increases the boards still claim to be running at a loss. Joe Knoetze, chairperson of Wrab, says 'The fact is that three quarters of the people of Soweto can afford to pay economic rental and service charges. Since I have come here we've managed to increase charges by 133 percent, but we are still running at a loss'.<sup>22</sup>

The Central Transvaal Administration Board claims to be running at a loss of R7 million.

Last year the administration boards were threatened by individual companies under the Monopolies Act having a monopoly over beer sales. Consequently they are being forced to sell their beer halls. Rent increases are going to have to replace this revenue perhaps this explains why Wrab is threatening to drastically increase rents of houses that are not bought in 'Great Homes Sale.'

A new housing scheme in Molapo township gives us an idea of how much rental Wrab would like Sowetans to pay. Residents there pay R138 a month for a 3-bedroomed house which according to the Council's director of townships, is an economic, unsubsidised rental. Two schemes which are being planned in Chiawelo and Protea will charge the same rent.

Because of opposition to rent

### **Boards income not used for township services**

Less than half the administration boards' money is spent on providing services such as water, electricity, garbage and sewerage removal.

Who pays for the townships

**AT THE WORKPLACE THE WORKER BAKES A CAKE**

**THE WORKER GETS THE SMALLEST PIECE OF THE CAKE.**

**THE WORKER SPENDS HIS WAGES ON:**

- ELECTRICITY
- FINES FOR PASS OFFENCES
- TAXES
- CLOTHING
- SCHOOL FEES
- RENT
- FOOD
- ALCOHOL

**TAXES ARE COLLECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT.**

**WE ARE NOT REPRESENTED HERE!!!**

**EMPLOYERS TAXES**

**THE ARMY**

**'HOUSING'**

**'EDUCATION'**

**THE WORKERS TAXES ARE SPENT ON:**

**THE ADMINISTRATION BOARD RECEIVES MONEY FROM:**

- RENT
- ALCOHOL
- EMPLOYERS LEVY
- PASS LAW FINES
- ELECTRICITY BILLS LEVY

**THE FUNCTIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATION BOARDS WILL NOW BE TAKEN OVER BY THE NEW TOWN & VILLAGE COUNCILS ESTABLISHED BY THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT.**

**THE ADMINISTRATION BOARD SPENDS ITS MONEY ON:**

- HOMEOWN GOVERNMENTS
- POSTAGE - IN WHICH WORKERS PAY ON WATER DUE TO BURST PIPES
- SERVICES - WATER, GARBAGE, & SEWAGE REMOVAL.
- CORRUPTION.
- SALARIES FOR ADMINISTRATION BOARD OFFICIALS AND COMMUNITY COUNCILLORS. **50%**
- 5% IS GIVEN TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN BUREAU OF RACIAL AFFAIRS WHOSE FUNCTION IS AMONGST OTHERS - PRO-GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA. **PUBLICITY**

# retoria rents to go up

By Alinah Dube

The Mamelodi and Atteridgeville residents in Pretoria are to be faced with rent increases when tariffs go up early next year.

The Central Transvaal Administration Board (CTAB) has issued a circular to...

while the energy levy for the first 100 kW will be R0.0094.

This means the owner of a metered house, using an average of 600 units, will pay R6.60 more for electricity.

# Wrab raid over R20 power levy

## 'Raids' were just routine inspections, says Wrab

Mr. Berdenboom said that the people of State themselves had agreed to the electrification of the area.

"With electricity in their homes they will not want electric power, but they will not want electric power if it is too expensive," he said.

### Switch on rent up

Two families in Kagiso near Krugersdorp had their furniture repossessed in a row-down bid this week by West Rand Board officials.

### Wrab seizing furniture for rent arrears

Mr. Berdenboom said that the people of State themselves had agreed to the electrification of the area.

# Residents riot over rent

CROWDS went on the rampage in Sothamvu Village near Pietermaritzburg last week and caused thousands of rands damage to beer halls, community council offices and the community hall, the SABC reports.

The disturbances followed an announcement by Drakensberg Administration Board officials that the R20 a month rent increases would be going through, despite protests from residents of the black suburb.

### increase will cover town

## Rent hikes cause storm in Mamelodi

THE MAMMELODI COMMUNITY COUNCIL members are protesting against the proposed increase of R1 in the electricity tariff.

By SAJ

ALAN H. DUBE

Mr. Dube said that the people of State themselves had agreed to the electrification of the area.

## West Rand townships to defy recent rent hike

WEST RAND residents will stick to their guns against rent increases which are being imposed on them.

Mr. Dube said that the people of State themselves had agreed to the electrification of the area.

## Police detain nine

NINE people arrested during a demonstration in Sothamvu village near Pietermaritzburg.

Mr. Dube said that the people of State themselves had agreed to the electrification of the area.

Rent Increases in 1982

Area	Date	Amount Increased by	Present Amount
Wrab hostels	Mar 1982	R4.55	R12
Diepmeadow houses	May 1982	R8	R33.20
Dobsonville hostels	Sept 1982	R3.45	
Kagiso	Nov 1982	R21	av. R36
Mohlakeng	Nov 1982	R15	R32.63
Dobsonville	Nov 1982	R13.20	R44.43
Munsieville	Nov 1982	R21	av. R36
Bekkersdal	Nov 1982	R14	R32.64
Tembisa site rents	April 1982	R1	R19.40
Orange Vaal	1982	R16	
Mamelodi	April 1982	R8.35	
Atteridgeville	Oct 1982	R8	R21.55
	April 1982		
	Oct 1982	R8.35	R25
Balfour, Greylingstad, Ogies and Paardekop		R8	
		20%	

Police used teargas to disperse the crowds while other police stood by with sjamboks.

Sources inside the townships claim that police used sjamboks on the demonstrators, but police deny this.

The 10 men and nine women who were detained with alleged intimidation, according to the police spokesman. — Napa.

creases, some councils are introducing a new system whereby people will pay rent according to their income. This means that residents will pay a proportional rent. Residents in Soweto are being sent circulars on which their incomes have to be filled in by their employers.

In Davyton, residents who earn less than R150 per month, pay R11 per month rent, while those earning between R150 and R250 pay R17,78 per month.

The system does not take account of the number of people who have to be supported on the 'breadwinner's' salary.

A system of proportional rents does not mean that people who can afford a higher rental subsidise those who can't. Instead a person earning R155 a month will subsidise the rental of someone who earns R145 per month.

It can be a very divisive tactic which can create divisions between different members of the community. For example, if rents are different and they are raised by different amounts at different times it becomes difficult to unite the community against rent increases.

#### **'Rents we can afford'**

At present the rent increases have been a major site of resistance both to control of townships by the community councils and the boards, and also a form of resistance by township dwellers against the rising cost of living without any parallel rise in standard of living.

In Tembisa in 1981, hostel dwellers burnt down administration board offices after the rents of houses and hostel beds were increased. In Soweto in 1980, 200 women marched on the Community Council Chambers demanding

that the rents were not increased and threatening Thebehali.

When rents were increased in Mohlakeng in 1982, residents opposed them vigorously. About 50 000 residents resolved at a meeting not to pay the increase as well as to boycott businesses owned by the community councillors and the beer halls. A delegation from the Mohlakeng Civic Association (Moca) met Wrab officials in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the increases.

The rent boycott was however broken, when members of Moca began to be evicted and harassed by Wrab.

In the Durban townships of Lamontville and Chesterville residents have protested against a decision by the Port Natal Administration Board and the Community Council to raise the rents. Ex-Robben Island prisoner, respected community leader and community councillor Harrison Dube, was assassinated after he vigorously opposed the rent increases at a council meeting.

In the wake of his death, residents were subjected to extreme police brutality. However this has not weakened their resolve to resist the increases.

Opposition against rent increases has proved to be one of the biggest stumbling blocks to the government's policy of creating a middle class in the townships.

In order to do this they need to upgrade the townships even to a limited extent, which requires money. However, it insists that this money must come from township residents themselves.

In raising the rents, the authorities open themselves up to a whole new sphere of resistance as people are not prepared to pay for their own oppression.

#### **Residents refuse to pay for own oppression.**

Upgrading the townships requires money. However, despite the low incomes of most township families, the authorities insist residents must pay for rent increases. In raising the rents the boards and the councils open themselves to a whole new sphere of resistance.

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## 6. The people resist

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The last three years have seen oppressed communities around the country uniting against rent increases, bus fare increases, shack demolitions, electricity bills, and dummy community councils and management committees.

Residents of Cape Town's coloured communities, the Johannesburg West Rand coloured and African townships and Natal's African townships protested against rent increases. On the East Rand, at KTC and in Orlando East, homeless people organised to fight the demolition of their shacks and to demand housing. In the Pietermaritzburg and Durban African townships, commuters organised a massive bus boycott in protest against rising fare increases. In the Cape, in Soweto and in Lenasia, high electricity tariffs have become an ongoing focus of organisation.

Government provision of housing, electricity, health services, community and recreation facilities has never been adequate. The government's policy of forcing African, coloured and Indian communities to pay their own way has meant these communities are characterised by chronic housing shortages, and streets, buildings and services are in a state of disrepair.

All this has led to residents in these communities taking up these daily problems and fighting for improve-

ments in their daily living conditions. Since the school, bus and meat boycotts of 1980, grassroots organisations have sprung up in many communities. They have defined their role as uniting people around the daily problems they face in the communities.

Because this booklet focuses on the conditions facing people in African townships, this section will look mainly at organisation in African townships. This does not mean that there are not similarities in the way in which different communities have organised.

Organisations in different areas around the country are characterised by very different levels and forms of development which reflect different histories and conditions. Some areas, for example the African communities in Port Elizabeth have a far longer history of formal organisation than other communities.

However the lack of formal organisations in other communities does not mean that people are unaware of the daily oppression they face due to poor housing, high transport costs, poor health care and lack of control over local government.

This consciousness often expresses itself in times of crisis and very quickly ad-hoc organisations and structures emerge which in time have the potential

to develop into fully fledged community organisations. It is also clear that lack of formal organisation does not mean that informal organisational structures do not exist.

A good example is the African communities of Durban where prior to the bus fare increases at the end of last year, formal organisation did not exist. However after the increases, commuters in Inanda, Clermont, Klaarwater, St Wendolins, Makuta and Lamontville almost spontaneously began to boycott the buses and within a matter of days, commuter committees were set up. They began organising the boycott and providing alternative transport. Three weeks later these organisations decided to unite to form the Joint Commuters Committee.

A long history of repressive conditions has meant that organisation in African areas has not always been able to sustain itself in the form of formal committees and structures. Particularly in the bantustan commuter towns of Mdantsane, Mabopane, Garankuwe and KwaMashu, conditions have been very repressive. The bantustan police are notorious for preventing any form of organisation from developing. Recent action taken against Mdantsane commuters who are boycotting the buses, after fare increases, makes this point only too clearly.

Other areas have a long history of reactionary leadership which has prevented democratic mass based organisation from taking root. In Alexandra township in Johannesburg, the Liaison Committee has had effective control of all the community resources and thereby prevented progressive organisation from holding meetings. It has also retained some measure of

credibility with the community because of the successful struggles which it waged in preventing the resettlement of the community a few years ago.

### **Encouraging grassroots participation**

The priority which community organisations have defined for themselves is to involve people at grassroots level in making decisions and participating in action. The aim of this is two fold:

- To build up confidence in people that they can take control over their own lives and give them experience in doing this.
- To help expose for people the root causes of the problems they face.

The process of mobilising, educating, organising and uniting people is not an easy one. While people may well join a protest against a rent action, this does not mean that they will remain in community organisation after the immediate issue is over. It also does not mean that they will be any closer to understanding the root causes of the daily problems they face, than they were at the beginning of the particular campaign.

Over the last years, community organisations have been faced with the problem of sustaining involvement after an immediate campaign is over. Their ability to sustain involvement did not seem to be affected by the success of the campaign. Victorious or not, people drifted out of organisations and organisations were not able to incorporate people on an on-going basis.

One way of consolidating is seen in building on-going structures which could involve members on an on-going

### **The task of grassroots organisation.**

The new community organisations aim to encourage the participation of residents by mobilising, organising and educating them around their daily problems.

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basis.

Another challenge to organisations is to develop leadership amongst ordinary residents. In the past many organisations relied heavily on the energy and work of young activists. Local leadership is likely to ensure that a community organisation adopts the most appropriate image to draw in more people.

Another problem facing community organisations is that they tend to be too reactive. This means that they are dependent on rent increases, or evictions by the authorities to provide issues to organise the community around.

Organisers are starting to take into account the major on-going problems existing in a community and seek to highlight these problems and organise around them. Examples of on-going issues that are being taken up are: inadequate sewerage and garbage removals, high electricity bills, and maintenance of houses. Still other issues that community organisations could look at in the future are the housing shortage itself, and the right to remain in an urban area.

For community organisations the importance of taking up these issues is that they are on-going problems faced by people, and are not dependent on a particular move by the administration board or the community council. The community organisation can take the issue up at its own pace and more carefully consider how to make long term gains.

### **Drawing the links**

The importance of community organisation is that it can draw on a mass base and can draw people into the struggle for democracy. However, if

this process moves too fast it defeats its purpose because it leaves people behind.

So for example some community organisations feel that they alienated members by taking up much too overt political issues in the past.

While it is the long term role of community organisations to raise in their members an awareness of the political roots of the daily problems they face, it is not the role of the community organisation to take up these questions itself because a community organisation is not a political organisation.

However, in the long term a political organisation is necessary to deal with the root causes of people's problems which lie in apartheid and exploitation. But a political organisation will not spring from nowhere. It will be built through the growth of links between mass organisation, between workplace and community organisations and between different communities

Community organisations entered 1983 at different stages and with different levels of organisation. A priority is to develop community organisation in areas where this has not yet happened and to consolidate existing organisation.

Unemployment, escalating prices and the general assault on the living standards of the people will not necessarily make them more militant or more easy to organise. The new Local Authorities Act and the Koornhof Bills present a new challenge to organisation. The response of the government to growing community organisation has been to offer more power to dummy community councils in the hope that they will be able to control growing resistance and force residents to pay for improvements to the township themselves.

### **Growing organisation**

Rent protests in Sobantu and Lamontville, the bus boycott in Mdantsane and the anti-community council campaign throughout the country are all evidence of growing grassroots organisation in African communities.



## 7. The history of the townships

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From the time when African people first came to urban areas to live and work, they were not allowed to bring their families with them. From the 1920's the movement of people to the urban areas was controlled by the government as was the growth of townships.

Obviously the apartheid strategy did not grow up overnight and as the twentieth century progressed we have seen many policies change and develop. However, since the early days there has been a link between the growth and development of the townships and the whole question of political control over the African working class. To understand how this policy worked we need to look at the different phases in the history of the growth of the townships. We can identify four main phases in the development of this policy:

### 1. The 20's and 30's.

This was a period of rapid and almost uncontrolled urbanisation. Housing was largely provided by employers in the form of single sex hostel accommodation on the mines. Although by law the local white municipalities had responsibility for the provision of housing and services, they did not provide this on any satisfactory scale. So people were left to build their own houses in designated

areas.

### 2. The 40's and 50's to the early 60's.

Immediately after the end of Second World War, the government moved against the squatter movements which had grown up in the main township. This involved clearing the squatter camps and implementing the Group Areas Act. At the same time the government began a massive subsidised housing programme and forced employers to contribute to the financing of the townships. However the townships were still self-financing.

### 3. The late 60's and 70's

The government began to tighten up influx control and new regulations preventing building of family housing in urban areas. At the same time it began to develop the homeland system and foster the growth of townships in the homelands. Centralised control of the townships under the administrative boards became necessary to apply a uniform system of control.

### Late 70's and 80's

This was a period of mass unemployment and mass resistance. Influx control was tightened and increased

removals and harassment of illegals began, such as Cape Town squatters. Responsibility for housing was put on the 'individual' and on employers while home ownership was encouraged.

We will look in some detail at the historical development of the government's strategy in the townships. From what has been said already it might seem as if the government always works in the interests of all the bosses and has a 'total strategy' which gives it complete control over the African people and the working class. However, if we look at South African society we can see that this is not the case.

Firstly, the policies and laws of the government do not always satisfy every single capitalist. For example, at present the government is demanding that the bosses contribute more to workers housing and transport. Some individual employers are prepared to provide housing loans for their own workers but they are not happy with the suggestion of increasing the contribution which they make to financing the townships as a whole.

Secondly, the government is not in complete control of the African working class. From the early 70's there have been struggles in the workplace over wages, working conditions and recognition of unions. There have also been struggles outside the workplace over rents, education, transport, division of land and many other issues.

These struggles have forced the government to change some of the ways in which they can run the townships and also improve some of the most glaringly poor conditions. It is how the government is trying to regain control over the population of the townships which has formed the subject matter of



this booklet.

### **The 20's and 30's: housing and controlling an emerging working class**

#### **Finding labour for the mines**

Before the discovery of gold and diamonds, African people lived mainly on tribal land which was used for the cultivation of crops and grazing of animals. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, gold and diamonds

The struggle for land between the settlers and the African kingdoms was a long and bitter one. By the end of the nineteenth century the settlers had succeeded in destroying the political power of the African kingdoms. Over the next fifty years they systematically moved African people off their land and into the reserves proclaimed by the 1913 Land Act.



#### Places of detention.

'Steps ought to be taken to render the compounds more easily convertible into places of detention. Where the compound was strong, steel-cased gates which can be locked from the outside, only one entrance and high walls with no outer windows, a comparatively few armed men can prevent exit from it and thus isolate a disturbance.

Government Commission 1913<sup>27</sup>

were discovered. The new mines needed a labour force. However, working conditions were harsh and wages were low. Because African people subsisted off the land they had no reason to work on the mines.

The mine owners demanded that the government step in and help force African farmers to give up farming and move to the mines as wage labourers. The 1913 Land Act deprived people of the right to own land and the government imposed heavy hut and poll-taxes on African peasants. These measures began to force peasants off the land and enter wage labour in order to earn cash to pay their taxes.

#### The pass laws

Africans were not allowed to move freely from one place to another or choose to live and work where they wanted to. There had been pass laws since the beginning of the nineteenth century in South Africa. Because of the very hard living and working conditions on the mines many workers deserted their jobs.

This description from one worker on Jubilee Mine in 1902 gives us some idea of just how bad they were:

'We were not well treated, we even had to work on Sundays, we had to load the trucks. We got coarse food to eat. After about two months we began to get ill. We had stomach-ache first, then our feet got swollen and we could not walk. The doctor used to see us and give us medicine. Some died.'<sup>28</sup>

Because of these very bad conditions, many men began to look for work in the towns, or go back home. By 1897, the desertion rate was so high — 14 000 miners deserted 33 mines in one year — that the mine owners began to demand stricter pass laws. Every African had to carry a pass which gave the following details: name, address, employer, record of any offences, record of taxes and place of origin. The number of police was also increased to make sure that workers carried their passes.

#### Compounds: total insitutions

The mine owners wanted a labour force but they were not prepared to take responsibility for housing and feeding the families of the men who were working on the mines. The South African government was also not prepared to take this responsibility. The bosses were only prepared to provide

accommodation for their employees. They did not want to spend money housing workers' families or providing housing for the working class in general. The result was that in the early days of the twentieth century the main form of housing was either in employer compounds or in shanty towns which people built for themselves on the outskirts of the new towns.

Mine owners were able to control their workers through the compound system. The compounds had usually only one entrance. Workers were not allowed to come and go as they pleased, and visits by friends and relatives could be controlled. Also, in times of protests and strikes, the entire compound could be sealed off to the outside world.

The compounds not only helped mine owners to control their labour force but also helped keep the cost of wages very low. Mine owners said wages were to cover the subsistence of the worker alone because his family was supposed to provide for themselves in the reserves. Mine owners also justified the fact that they paid such low wages by saying they provided workers with food and accommodation. However, these two examples give a very clear idea of the kind of housing and food that was provided:

'Twenty huts in the compound, being about 14 years old and practically worn out as the smoke of the years had corroded the iron of which they are built. There are no floors to the huts, no bedsteads, no stoves, no proper ventilation and no light at night.'<sup>28</sup>

The food at one compound was described in the following way by a commission of enquiry:

'small mielies mostly discoloured, purple and brown in parts. The majority of

the corns contained weavels. Very unpleasant musty smell. Not fit for human consumption.'<sup>29</sup>

### Life in early Johannesburg

In 1904, the total African population of Johannesburg was conservatively estimated at 55 765, of whom 3 840 were women. South Africa's total black urban population in that year was 353 000.

Many of the blacks that came to the towns worked as domestic servants and lived on the premises of their employers. Other workers were forced to find their own accommodation, often near to their places of work.

During these early years, there was little attempt to separate different racial groups into separate areas. So non-racial communities developed on the periphery of the Johannesburg central city area. These included such areas as Vrededorp, the Coolie and Kaffir locations and the Burghersdorp Brickfields.

In areas like Ferrairastown, Marshalltown, Fordsburg, Jeppestown and Orphirton, white landlords constructed shanties which they rented out to blacks.

A report on the housing situation in 1923 described the following situation in some of these areas:

'It is invariable practice to let one room to a whole family with the result that in some cases where there are 16 rooms on a stand of 50 by 100 feet there are often as many as 80 or more persons living on the stand.'

In 1903 the Johannesburg Insanitary Area Improvement Scheme was set up to investigate the 'Coolie Town' area which had polluted water wells and pit latrines. It recommended that the whole area be expropriated and replan-

### A Doornfontein backyard.

'It consisted of forty low, narrow sheds built very close to each other, the whole being enclosed by a high fence of iron sheets. The sheds were separated by passages about four feet wide, they were each divided down the centre by a partition, and again divided transversely into small cubicles. These measured eight feet square. There were no windows. The rent was two pounds a month ... over two hundred human beings were herded together ... these were of all races, of all ages.'<sup>30</sup>

ned. In 1904, bubonic plague broke out and the area was burnt to the ground by fire.

As a result, the municipality provided temporary corrugated iron shelters on municipal land 15km south west of Johannesburg and so the first township of Kliptown was established. It was far from town and transport was inadequate and so people continued to seek accommodation near to their places of work.

In 1905, Sophiatown was established as a township. Stands were sold to whites, coloureds and Africans on a freehold tenure basis.

Although the white municipalities were responsible for providing housing and services for all racial groups, very little was provided for lower income groups. It was only after the flu epidemic of 1918 that the authorities realised that the living conditions of many people were a health hazard. In response to this situation, Western Native Township was established and by 1921, the municipality had built 1207 houses.

#### **Resistance to poor living conditions**

The emerging working class was not at all satisfied with either their living or working conditions. They did not accept these conditions passively. In 1917 there were riots in Kimberly and in 1918 and 1919 there were riots in Johannesburg and Bloemfontein. At the same time, trade unions and political parties began to emerge to give an organised voice to the dissatisfaction which the working class was experiencing. In 1919 the South African National Congress organised an anti-pass campaign and the same year the Industrial and Com-

mmercial Workers Union (ICU) was formed.

#### **The government steps in**

In the face of the growing urban unrest, and the massive housing shortage, the government stepped in to control the situation. A Parks and Estates Committee report in August 1916 summed up the concern of local whites to the situation as follows:

'It is a well-known fact that certain townships are overrun by unattached natives, and that in these townships illicit liquor traffic is prevalent. We are of the opinion that the provision by the council of suitable accommodation for the Natives employed in the towns under proper control would do much to clear these townships of the pests from which they now suffer.'<sup>11</sup>

It did this in two ways: firstly by limiting the number of people who were allowed to enter urban areas to those who were in employment, thereby excluding their families from the right to live in urban areas. Secondly, by making decisions on who was to take responsibility for providing services in the townships while putting the burden of paying for this and housing squarely on the shoulders of the new working class.

#### **The Stallard Principle**

The basis for influx control was the policies of a certain Native Commissioner in Natal called Colonel Stallard. His policy of applying strict influx control in townships under his administration was regarded as highly successful.

His infamous principle was quite simple — Africans could remain in urban areas only as long as they ministered to

the white man's needs. Colonel Stallard was therefore put in charge of a commission of enquiry to look into the urban crisis. It is not surprising that he strongly influenced the Urban Areas Act which was passed by Parliament in 1923.

### The 1923 Urban Areas Act: laying the foundations

The 1923 Act established several principles which have been used ever since in the running of African townships:

1. The number of people who may live in urban areas with their families is limited because of influx control which aims to keep wives and families out of so called white urban areas and restrict urban rights to men with jobs.
2. African townships were to be separate from white residential areas and built on the outskirts of towns so that the working class was outside the main urban area.
3. The responsibility for housing fell on employers and on the working class themselves. The state was not prepared to provide for the urban working class.
4. Township residents could be represented on bodies with advisory powers only.

### White municipal rule

The 1932 Act said white municipalities were responsible for running the townships. A superintendent assisted by an Advisory Board controlled the township. The Advisory Boards could give advice only and were mostly selected by the superintendent. The superintendent and his municipal police force constantly harassed residents with pass and liquor raids.

A separate 'Native Revenue Account'

<p><b>WARNING.</b></p> <p>THIS ROAD PASSES THROUGH PROCLAIMED BANTU LOCATIONS ANY PERSON WHO ENTERS THE LOCATIONS WITHOUT A PERMIT RENDERS HIMSELF LIABLE TO PROSECUTION FOR CONTRAVENING THE BANTU URBAN AREAS CONSOLIDATION ACT 1945 AND THE LOCATION REGULATIONS OF THE CITY COUNCIL OF JOHANNESBURG.</p> <p><b>TEMOSO.</b></p> <p>TSELA ENA E PHOLLETSA MARESHENE A BATHO BA BATHO MOTHO OKE KAPA OKE EA TLAKENA MARESHENE ANA A SEHA LENOLO LA TUNELLO PERMIT OTLA BUKELA OYHO KA HO ROBA MOLAQ OA TLO-TSA-BATHO BA BATHO URBAN AREAS CONSOLIDATION ACT OF 1945 EE MELAO EA MARESHENE MOTSE MONOLO OA JOHANNESBURG.</p>	<p><b>WAARSKUWING.</b></p> <p>WERE HO PAD OOR DIE VERKLAARDE BANTU LOCASIE BIKAN NET OOR DIE VERKLAARDE BANTU LOCASIE SONDER 'N PERMIT IS 'N OORSTREEP VAN DIE WET VAN VERKONKASIE VAN BANTU-URBANE AREAS EN DIE VERORDENINGE VAN DIE STADRAAD VAN JOHANNESBURG.</p> <p><b>ISIXWAYISO</b></p> <p>LOMBONO ENA IA PHALITSE MARESHENE ANA NETSAREI ROMA ENA OYHOA MOLAQ OYHOA ENA BATHO PERMIT OTLA BUKELA OYHOA KA HO ROBA MOLAQ OA TLO-TSA-BATHO BA BATHO URBAN AREAS CONSOLIDATION ACT OF 1945 EE MELAO EA MARESHENE MOTSE MONOLO OA JOHANNESBURG.</p>
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was started to pay for facilities. The money came from rents, fines, contract registering fees and beer sales. Local brewing was outlawed so that local authorities could open beer halls and make profits out of them. Financing of the townships was always inadequate because the money was coming from the meagre wages of the people themselves. While the 1923 Act laid out the basis for the government's urban policy, these measures were not fully implemented until the 1930's.

### The 'civilised' housing policy

By the early 1939's white residents of Johannesburg were faced with a housing shortage. Many of them were urging the municipality to proclaim Johannesburg a whites only area and evict black residents.

The root of this housing crisis lay in the fact that the municipality was not embarking on housing schemes for either white or black residents.

The principle of forced segregation was first introduced in the 1923 Urban Areas Act.



James 'Sofasonke' Mpanza:  
leader of the Orlando squatter  
movement in the 1940's.

Although the municipality had been trying to establish Orlando and Klip-ton as African areas, no subsidised housing was provided in these areas and they were far from the centre of town and transport was bad.

White residents of suburbs like Brixton, Mayfair, Fordsburg, Vrededorp and Jeppe wanted to prevent Africans from living there. At first the City Council tried to restrict the area to black home owners only. The aim was to exclude working class Africans living there as sub-tenants. However, sub-tenancy was a major source of income for African home owners and they were not at all keen to evict their sub-tenants.

The result was that in 1931 the City Council was forced to pass a by-law proclaiming Brixton, Mayfair, Fordsburg, Vrededorp and Jeppe 'whites only' areas. However, areas like Sophiatown, Martindale, Newclare, Malay Location and Prospect Township remained non-racial areas.

Many African resisted moving to the newly established areas. In 1934 the 'anti-slum' Bill was passed giving the local authorities the right to clear whole areas, not just individual houses. This Act was to be used consistently over the next decades to clear racially integrated suburbs.

By the time that the Second World War broke out, there had been a massive economic boom due to the development of manufacturing industry. At the same time, more and more Africans were becoming permanent city dwellers without land in the reserves. The black population of Johannesburg almost doubled during and immediately after World War 2.

White workers went off to war and industry became dependent on African

labour. This led to a slight relaxation of the influx control laws and to allow for labour to meet industry's needs whole families moved to the cities. But there was no accommodation for these people. The government had only provided hostels for migrants up until 1937 when they embarked on a limited sub-economic housing programme.

### **The 40's and 50's: squatter movements and forced removals**

By the 1940's there was a serious housing shortage. Thousands of families resorted to squatting, because they could not afford to build their own houses and the government refused to provide them with land and accommodation. At first people squatted in Newclare. However, in the face of police harassment, people began to squat about 15 kilometres outside of Johannesburg in areas like Orlando, Pimville and Alexandra.

Conditions in the squatter camps varied from bad to worse, Pimville being about the worst: only 60 taps for a population of 12 000 people.

By 1944 the waiting list for houses was 16 000 in Johannesburg.

Central and local authorities were divided on the squatter issue. Central government was not particularly interested — it was turning a blind eye to the situation because industry needed labour. Squatters without employment were removed by the Department of Native Affairs very efficiently.

In March 1944 James 'Sofasonke' Mpanza led a group of sub-tenants from Orlando and a few families from Kliptown and Newclare on to an open piece of ground in Orlando. There they



set up hessian shelters and encouraged others to join them.

The Johannesburg City Council wanted to prosecute but eventually agreed to set up a new camp with water and sanitation in Jabavu. An agreement was made with Mpanza that they could remain in Orlando on condition that new people would not be allowed to join them.

Thousands more moved in despite the agreement until numbers swelled to 20 000 people in 1945. The situation was becoming insoluble, more sub-tenants were being evicted, more people were coming in from the rural areas, the squatter camp was bursting and the tents provided by the City Council were inadequate. Mpanza was seen as the instigator and ordered out of Johannesburg to a farm in Natal.

The sites in Jabavu were only for people already employed and resident in Johannesburg. The people however

resisted being moved from Orlando into breezeblock shelters built there by council.

A group of residents from Pimville marched to Orlando West with their shacks. They set up camp there until they were forced to move to Jabavu.

As one group of squatters was removed, thousands appeared to replace them.

A group from Alexandra under the leadership of Baduza arrived in Orlando after trying to squat in Alexandra, but they were removed, ironically back to Alexandra.

Eventually the authorities realised that the urban population was there to stay. In 1947, squatting was legalised through a system known as controlled squatting. What this meant was that people with employment could apply for a serviced stand in one of the new townships e.g. Orlando and Jabavu where they could live with their families

Alexandra township today: Overcrowded, and badly maintained, this township has been an ongoing site of resistance to the housing shortage and forced removals of so-called illegal residents. Since the 50's the government has done little to improve the township, preferring instead to put a stop to family accommodation and redevelop the area for hostel dwellers only. After long years of resistance, residents have finally won the right to remain.





By the early 1950's the government's control over the urban African working class was being seriously hampered. A growing mass movement demanded equal political rights, equal pay for equal work, an end to Bantu Education and better housing.

until such time as the council was able to provide them with proper housing. This was a limited victory, because only people with employment qualified for a stand. But it was a victory nevertheless and one won by the organised power of the squatter movements in resisting removals.

#### The government dilemma

During the 1950's the government was trying to deal with an urban African population that was ever growing in size and political awareness.

A great deal of debate took place within government circles on how best to do this. One view expressed in the government appointed Tomlinson Commission was in many ways an updated version of the views expressed in the Stallard Commission 23 years previously. The Commission advocated the tightening of influx control, and the

development of the Bantustans with a view to eventually reversing the flow of Africans from the reserves to the urban areas. Africans were not considered permanent urban residents and therefore only limited facilities would be provided for them.

Another view wanted the government to accept the presence of a permanent urban African population. This view held that the growing manufacturing and commercial sectors were dependent on a stable African workforce. At the same time it advocated tighter influx control to control the urban African population.

#### The Nationalist solution

The solution that the government adopted to deal with the urban African population was largely motivated by political considerations.

The mass political campaigns like the Defiance Campaign and the £1 a day campaign organised by the Congress Alliance in the 50's resulted in the mobilisation of thousands of people against the pass laws, forced removals, low wages and racial discrimination.

Mass mobilisation of the urban working class posed a direct threat to the government's control of the black population as a whole and the working class in particular.

The government's answer to this threat was to try to reassert control at every level. In 1960 the government declared a state of emergency, the ANC and PAC were banned and hundreds of leaders of the Congress Alliance were detained, banned, imprisoned and forced into exile.

The large scale building programme that the government embarked on i

the 50's and the early 60's was part of the government's plan to reassert control over the urban African population. By controlling who was eligible for government housing and serviced sites the government was able to use housing as a means of influx control.

At the same time the new townships were rigidly designed to help curb political unrest.

### The Nationalists come to power

The National Party's urban policy followed the guidelines laid down in the 1932 Urban Areas Act. It was committed to the following:

1. The tightening of control on the movement to and from the urban areas.
2. The intensified segregation of racial groups, e.g. through the Group Areas Act.
3. The implementation of policies aimed at making townships self-financing.

#### 1. Tightening of influx control

In 1952, a new law was passed which defined the conditions by which black people could be present in urban areas. Only men who had worked for one employer in urban areas for ten years or had worked in an area for more than fifteen years could legally live in that area with their family. Between 1951 and 1962 four million Africans were convicted for pass offences.

Contract workers could only remain in urban areas as long as they were employed. During the 50's the government extended passes to African women so that it would be possible to control the influx of these people to the towns.

Housing became tied to influx con-



trol. Only people with the legal right to live in urban areas with their families were entitled to apply for a serviced site or to get permission to lodge in other people's houses.

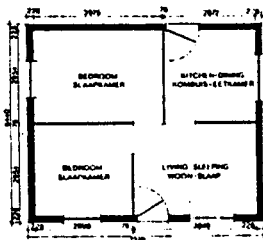
By 1948 there were 50 000 black families in and around Johannesburg out of a total urban African population of 2,1 million.

#### 2. Group Areas removals

Divide and rule became part of the government's strategy for controlling a growing black urban population. The government tried to plan and relocate urban blacks, to segregate black from white and so-called different ethnic groups from each other. Between 1954 and 1964, 110 000 people were resettled by the Bantu Resettlement Board.

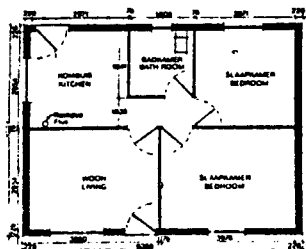
The main targets for group areas removals were Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare. These freehold townships had long been the refuge of people without passes and had also become major sites of resistance to

In an attempt to deal with the growing urban African population, the government tightened influx control, so that only Africans who had worked continuously for one employer for ten years or had lived continuously in the same urban area for fifteen years, could qualify to live with family in an urban area. Those who did not qualify were caught in continuous pass raids and prosecuted.



TYPE/TIPE 51/6

Living/Room	11 314 m <sup>2</sup>
Kitchen/Kombes	8 510 m <sup>2</sup>
Bedroom 1/1st/bedroom 1	11 706 m <sup>2</sup>
Bedroom 2/1st/bedroom 2	8 820 m <sup>2</sup>



TIPE/TIPE 51/9

Room/Liv'd	11 334 m <sup>2</sup>
Kombes/Kitchen	8 732 m <sup>2</sup>
Bedroom/Bedroom	7 330 m <sup>2</sup>
Sleeping 1/Bedroom 1	11 706 m <sup>2</sup>
Sleeping 2/Bedroom 2	8 732 m <sup>2</sup>

Match box houses: Known as 51/6 or 51/9 these houses looked exactly the same, were built in straight rows and had three or four rooms. 51/6 are without in indoor bathroom. 51/9 have an indoor bathroom.

apartheid. The most famous struggle of resistance was in Sophiatown.

### 3. Building new townships

Once the government had decided who was entitled to live in urban areas and re-inforced the policy of racial segregation, it turned its attention to the housing crisis. Between 1948 and 1962, the government embarked on a massive building programme. 11 386 houses per year were built compared with 1 573 per year between 1923 and 1948.

To facilitate this building programme the government looked for ways to reduce the cost of building houses and secondly devising ways of making the working class pay for its own housing.

In 1951 blacks were allowed to be trained as artisans in the building trade. However, by law they could only practise these skills in the townships. Prior to this, blacks were not allowed to train as artisans at all. Many black builders were employed on the new housing schemes at far lower rates than white artisans could have been paid.

In 1952 the government forced employers to help subsidise the building programme to pay a levy for each worker that they employed to help pay for housing and transport. But the levy was only a small portion of the cost of these facilities and township development was primarily financed by money from beer sales, rents and fines.

To further reduce costs while controlling squatting the government extended site and service schemes in 1958. Sites with water and sewerage were rented to people, on which they could build a house subject to approval by the city council. In Soweto 35 000 such sites were made available. This system pushed a large part of the financial

burden of building houses onto the people themselves.

In 1957 a separate housing board for blacks was set up. The Bantu Housing Board provided a channel through which money lent from the central government could be approved and provided. This board drew the money it borrowed from the National Housing Fund which was itself voted money from Parliament. The National Housing Fund was a revolving fund, which meant that it did not have to return its funds to the Treasury but that the loans that were repaid to it were added to its capital and could be relaxed.

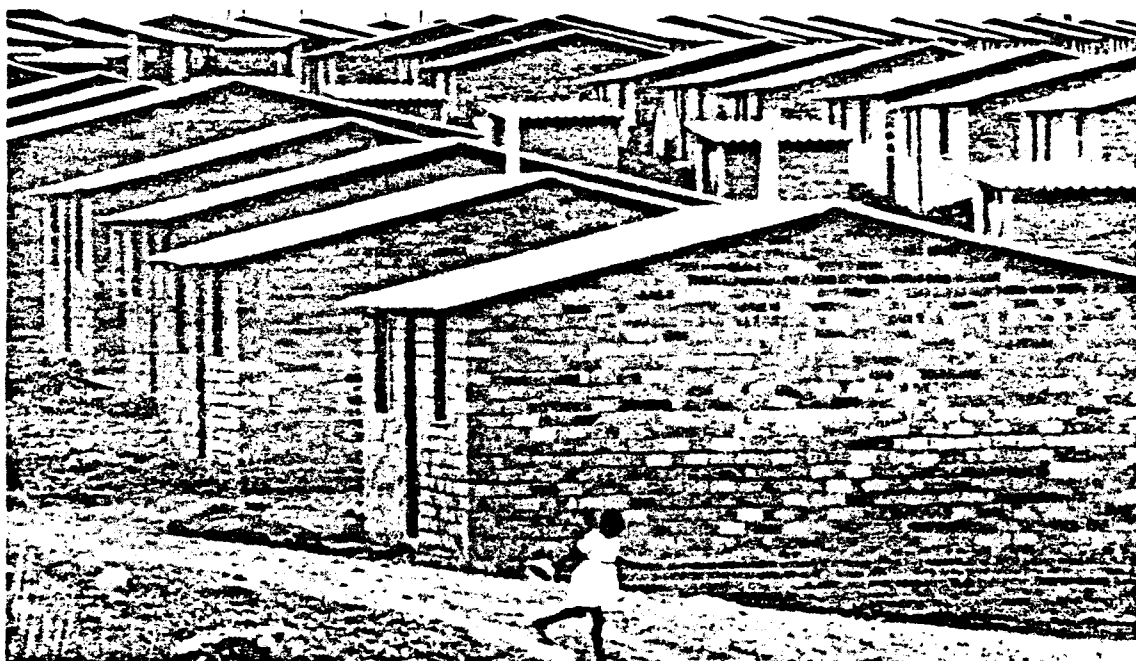
### Township Layout

Townships were laid out with row upon row of similar 'matchbox' houses. The houses were between 40 square metres and 60 square metres in size. They were small and generally had only three or four rooms. The townships themselves were built with few access roads, making entry and exit to them easily controlled by police.

The style of township layout also reduced building and service costs. The repetitive grid layout meant builders were split into teams working in stages and moving from house to house. So one team laid floors, another built walls and a third put in windows.

Long-term occupancy was not considered as African were not supposed to be permanent urban dwellers.

Likewise township layout made no provision for community and recreation facilities. Nor were shopping and business areas allowed as these would compete with white businesses for customers.



### The 1960's: government and bosses get the upper hand

#### Crushing the movements of the people

We saw how in the 1950's the government tried to increase its control over the popular classes — by tightening up influx control laws, destroying squatter areas and building new townships, and by banning the organisations and leaders of the people.

For the next ten years, the government and the bosses had things very much their own way. Shootings, detentions, trials and bannings helped the government regain control over the people. In the course of the 1960's the government extended this control into people's daily lives. The government

brought in new pass laws and new housing policies. They used these to force people to live in particular places, and to keep them out of the urban areas unless their labour was needed.

Changes in the laws made it more difficult for people to enter the urban areas and to find jobs. They also made it easier for government officials to expel those who were unemployed and those who were 'troublemakers'. The Bantu Labour Act of 1964 said that labour officers could throw out anybody who they decided was 'a threat to the state'.

In the past, only the courts were allowed to do this. Workers with section 10 qualifications could now be thrown out of the urban areas if they were found to be 'idle or undesirable'. They could also lose their section 10

The mass building programme of the early sixties. Row after row of identical three or four roomed houses. The new townships had no community or recreation facilities and no shopping or business centres. Long term community development as not considered as Africans were not supposed to be permanent urban residents.

qualifications.

The 1964 Bantu Labour Act said that contract workers (those with 10(1)(d)) would only be allowed into urban areas if there was 'approved accommodation' for them. This had important effects on housing policy and in 1970 a total of 1 820 000 Africans were relocated.

Three main groups of people were relocated :

- Workers living and working on white farms who were redundant because employers used machinery more and more to do the work that people once did. Between 1960 and 1970, 996 000 people were removed from white farms and relocated in the Bantustans.

- Unemployed and illegal Africans living in the cities. Between 1967 and 1970, 1 969 635 Africans were prosecuted under influx control laws — many of these would have been 'endorsed out' of the urban areas and forced into the Bantustans.

- African people living on areas declared 'black spots' — areas to be occupied by whites. Between 1960 and 1970, 97 000 people were forced into the Bantustans from 'black spots'.

Forced removal was also an important part of the government's political plans. Back in 1959, when the people were demanding the right to govern their country, the government came up with the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act. It said that a Territorial Authority should be appointed for each of the 'eight national units'. In other words, the African people would be divided up into ethnic groups and forced to live in little pockets of land where they could vote and have political rights. They could still come and work in the factories, mines and farms of course, where they

would have no more rights than before.

As the 1960's went on, the government became more and more confident and began to make boasts about 'reversing the flow to the cities' and making sure there were no urban black South Africans by the year 1975.

The government continued to tighten influx control throughout the 1960's. In 1968 tribal labour bureaux were introduced. Contract workers were now classified in particular job categories, e.g. construction worker or domestic servant before they left the Bantustans. An employer had to ask the Central Labour Bureau in Pretoria for a worker in a particular category. The request for such a worker would then be sent to a tribal labour bureau. This was the only way a contract worker could legally find a job. However this practice was not enforced until the 1970's.

The 1964 Act also introduced the call-in card system whereby contract workers had to return to their tribal labour bureaux every year to sign a new contract. This system was supposed to make it theoretically impossible for contract workers to qualify for permanent urban residents rights in terms of Section 10 (1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act.

#### **Sending people to the Bantustans**

From 1964, contract workers could only enter urban areas if they could find 'approved accommodation' a house, a bed in a hostel or a lodger (provided they had a permit). In 1967, local authorities were told that they could not build any more family houses in townships unless they could persuade the Department of Bantu Administration and Development that this was es-

sential or that houses could not be provided in an adjacent Bantustan.

From 1965, the government began pouring money into building houses in Bantustan townships such as Mabopane and Ga-Rankuwa near Pretoria, and Mdantsane near East London. At the same time, no more houses were built in townships in 'white areas' such as Mamelodi and Atteridgeville.

In 1968, the government took away residents rights to buy houses under 30 year leasehold. African people could only rent their houses — unless of course they wanted to buy or build houses in the Bantustans.

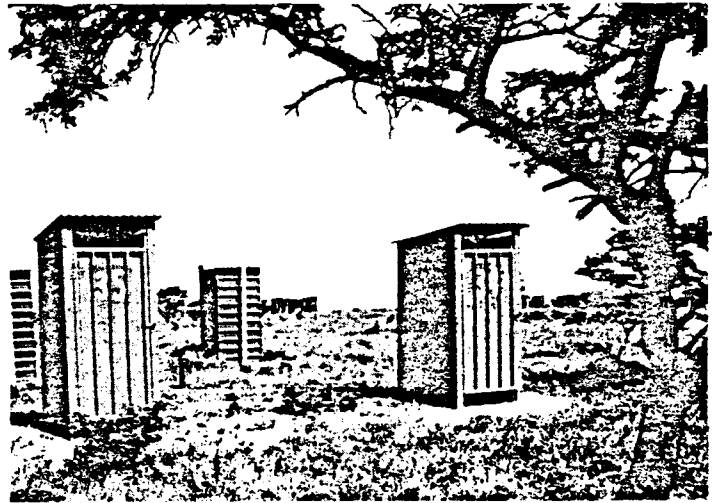
The government's aim in creating this terrible shortage of houses was to try to force many people to move into Bantustan townships. This was part of the mass removal of African people from so-called white urban and rural areas and their relocation in impoverished and overcrowded 'homelands'.

Forced removals and influx control were closely linked to the government's plans to deal with the people's demands for political rights. The little pockets of land forming the Bantustans were to become the places where African people were supposed to live and exercise their political rights.

#### **Preparing the path of the administration boards**

The 1964 Bantu Labour Act, and the 1968 regulations gave the government the legal armoury to enforce influx control. However by the late 60's influx control was still not being applied as rigidly or as uniformly as the government would have liked.

Township administration still fell



under the control of the city councils and the government who felt their administration was too liberal.

The conflict between the Johannesburg City Council and the Department of Bantu Administration and Development (BAD) is an example of this.

In 1958 BAD decided not to provide any more sub-economic housing schemes. Although sub-economic housing schemes approved before this date remained in existence. The government gave sub-economic housing loans to local authorities for people earning R30 per month or less.

By 1968 the Johannesburg City Council (JCC) decided that this maximum income level was too low and offered subsidised interest rates to people earning R40 a month. This made the department angry and in February 1968, the deputy minister of BAD issued a warning to the JCC that 'they must kindly comply with our instructions in regard to the collection

Tin toilets marking building sites for houses at Frankfurt Resettlement Camp in Eastern Cape. Since the mid-sixties nearly four million Africans have been removed from townships, farms and 'black spots' in so-called white South Africa and resettled in homeland townships.

of economic rentals'.

Three years later the government decided to centralise the administration of African townships directly under BAD. With this in mind administration boards were established throughout the country to control and administer African townships.

Administration board rule is dealt with elsewhere in this book. At this stage all that needs to be said is that the boards brought about no improvement to the daily lives of township residents. Instead their harsh and inefficient administration led directly to the poor state of housing and services in the townships today.

## 8. Footnotes

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- 1 Star 24/9/81
- 2 South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) Survey 1979
- 3 Sowetan 24/9/81
- 4 Rand Daily Mail (RDM) 5/4/82
- 5 Anton Rupert, 1976, Carlton Conference keynote address
- 6 Phillip Scales, United Building Society
- 7 The Star 30/7/81
- 8 Afrikaans Handels Instituut, 1981
- 9 Social Review, August 1983, p3
- 10 SAIRR Survey 1981
- 11 SAIRR Survey 1981 p254
- 12 Hansard
- 13 Sowetan 8/7/81
- 14 Sowetan 25/6/81
- 15 Sowetan 11/3/82
- 16 Eastern Province Herald 21/1/82
- 17 Sowetan 11/3/82
- 18 RDM 6/5/81
- 19 Star 23/3/82
- 20 Eastern Province Herald 21/1/82
- 21 RDM 19/3/81
- 22 Kane Berman, J, 'White revolt black reaction', 1978, p66
- 23 Sowetan 5/1/81
- 24 SAIRR Survey 1974, p171
- 25 RDM 29/8/83
- 26 Callinicos, L, 'Gold and Workers', 1980, p44
- 27 Callinicos, p51
- 28 Callinicos, p43
- 29 Callinicos, p45
- 30 From Daniel Venanda W C Scully, quoted in Bozzoli, B, Labour, Townships and Protest', 1982, p56
- 31 Bozzoli, B, p59
- 32 SAIRR Survey 1968, p195



# A chronology of township struggles

## **Katlehong: February/March 1982**

Katlehong residents form a committee to oppose forthcoming Community Council elections. On it sit members from Cosas, Azaso, Azapo, Erapo, Er-cab, YCW.

## **Vereeniging: February, 1982**

Vaal Cosas hold meetings to protest R10 rent increases. Community Council have also proposed a R2 - R4 increase in electricity charges.

## **Port Elizabeth: May, 1982**

More than 700 people attend a rent-protest rally organised by Pebco. They endorse a total boycott of shops and filling stations owned by members of the community council until rents were reduced.

## **Kwazakele: May, 1982**

Kwazakele Residents Association protest over rent increases, the lack of running water, communal taps and bucket latrines. At a protest meeting the indefinite closure of ECAB liquor outlets are demanded until the demand of 'rentals we can afford' is met.

## **Langa: 31 March, 1982**

Langa Resident's Association have increases of recently converted bachelor quarters in Langa set aside by the Supreme Court. The judge ruled that the Western Cape Administration Board had no jurisdiction to increase rentals,

and only the Minister of Co-operation and Development could.

## **Ikageng: April, 1982**

Three people were shot after hundreds of placard-waving pupils and some parents clashed with police after rent increases of 40% in Ikageng near Potchefstroom. The Ikageng Community Council also opposes the rent increase and says that the Board had not explained why rentals were being increased. They tell residents to pay the old rentals. Consequently the ICC were not paid their June salaries and are threatened by the Board director to pass the rent rise, or be fired.

## **Soweto: May, 1982**

About 50 women march to Soweto Council in protest against the pulling down of White City Jabavu Shacks.

## **Guguletu(Port Elizabeth): June, 1982.**

Members of PEBCO said crowds gathered to stop administration board officials pulling down shacks near PE's Guguletu area. ECAB officials are armed with sten guns and shotguns.

## **Dobsonville: July, 1982**

A meeting of hundreds of Dobsonville residents reject a R13 rent increase and call for the immediate resignation of community council chairperson Mr Don Mmesi.

## **Grahamstown: July, 1982**

An umbrella body called the Central Ratepayers Association is formed to unite Residents Associations which were formed about five months previously in three townships in response to rent increases. They plan to nominate candidates for council elections.

## **Daveyton: July, 1982**

Mr Andrew Nxumalo, member of Daveyton Council is shot dead while three other councillors and ERAB officials get death threats.

## **KwaNdengezi: August, 1982**

Over 1 000 people from KwaNdengezi boycott buses after a 20% fare increase. The Government Road Transportation Board and police stop vehicles to check for private taxis.

## **Galeshewe: August, 1982**

Galeshewe Council Chairperson Mr T W Nyathi's shop is pelted with stones.

## **Bophutatswana: September, 1982**

Commuters from Odi district stone buses when left stranded on a 'Bophutatswana public holiday'. Others hijack buses and attack drivers at Marabastad station.

## **Sobantu: October - December, 1982**

Three rent increases spark off militan

protest during which:

- Three people are shot, one dead during rent increase demonstrations.
- The funeral is broken up by riot police.
- Youth organise and enforce bread and beer boycott. Bread deliveries are turned away and liquor outlets run by the administration board are closed down.
- Three petrol bombs are thrown at the board's offices.
- A Sobantu Anti-Rental Committee and Sobantu Youth Organisation is formed.
- Homes of Sobantu Community Councillors are stoned. They feel pressurised to argue for the demands of the residents but are then ignored by the board.
- An Anti-Bus Fare Increase Committee is formed in January after a bus fare hike of 2c.

#### **Mamelodi: October, 1982**

About 300 placard carrying women are stopped by police from marching to the superintendent's office after a rent increase.

#### **Guguletu: October, 1982**

Over 500 people resolve to boycott WCAB liquor outlets and community council-linked businesses in protest against 'unlawful and unnecessary' evictions at a meeting organised by the Western Cape Civic Association.

#### **Evaton: October, 1982**

Over 500 people at a meeting called by Evaton Ratepayers Association strongly condemn the Evaton Community Council for raising water tariffs by R3.50.

#### **Mohlakeng: October, 1982**

5 000 people at a meeting accuse the Mohlakeng Council of being too afraid to accept an invitation to come and explain rent increase.

All shops are closed during the meeting where the Civic Association resolve not to pay the new rent, lodger's permits and also to boycott taxis belong-

ing to councillors. MOCA resolve to take legal action against rent increase. However, in March, 1983 Moca decide to pay rent in March after people are threatened with eviction.

#### **Kagiso: November, 1982**

The Kagiso Residents Organisation opposed a R10 rent increase. At a meeting residents decided not to pay.

#### **Sharpeville: November, 1982**

Over 100 residents in Kensington section, Sharpeville reject an Oranje-Vaal Administration Board order to pay R25.50 'arrear' in service charges. They said they were being charged for installation of facilities in other parts of the township.

#### **Howick/Mpophomeni: November, 1982**

A bus boycott is sparked by 19% price hike. Taxi operators cut fares by 10c in support of the boycotters. Commuters walking 15km each day are harassed by police.

#### **Duduza: November, 1982**

The newly formed Duduza Civic Association in Nigel force the local community council to suspend a R9 rent increase. The council had argued that the increase would pay for a sewerage system in the township but residents said they have a right to one. They are prepared to pay for usage but not for installation.

In February the rent hike is dropped.

#### **Durban: December, 1982**

Buses from Clermont, Lamontville, Kloofwater and Mnguma are boycotted and about 70 stoned after the Durban Transport Management Board raises fares by 12%. Successful boycott continues for many months and a Joint Commuters Committee is formed to coordinate actions.

#### **Cape Town: February to May, 1983**

Squatters at the KTC camp in Cape Town despite constant police harassment refuse to leave. The situation remains unresolved although the government announces plans to rehouse residents of Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga at Khayalitsha, 40 km away from Cape Town.

#### **Vryburg: May, 1983**

The recently formed Huhudi Civic Association call a mass rally to protest against the removal of people from Huhudi to Pudomeng, 55 km away from where they work.

#### **Durban: July, 1983**

Chesterville, Lamontville, Klaarwater, Hambanaki and Shakaville residents rally under the Joint Rent Action Committee (Jorac) to boycott rent increases. The townships are places of seize as police brutality claims four victims - two of whom are children.

1 000 people march on the Lamontville administration offices setting them alight. The same happens to the Chesterville offices while the house of the Lamontville mayor is also stoned and set on fire.

Prominent community councillors in the Durban townships of Chesterville and Lamontville resign and reject the community council system. They affirm their support for the Joint Rent Action Committee as representing genuine and democratic black leadership.

#### **Durban: September, 1983**

Eight months after the bus boycott begins, the management of the bus service are forced to the negotiating table. They meet with the Joint Commuters Committee.

AAC 57

"AAC57"

Accepted  
T. Pakarino.

(75)

THABISO RATSONIC

4. 5. 85.

PROPOSED SUPER-8 FILM PRODUCTION.

TITLE: THE TWO FACES OF GRAHAMSTOWN.

SYNOPSIS: South Africa is a land of extremes and remarkable contrasts. It is a peaceful country. But it is also a violent country. It is a rich country but the majority of its people ~~live~~<sup>live</sup> in abject poverty. It provides overflowing happiness to the minority and denies basic (political) rights to the majority of people. It is a "land of Two Faces": A country divided against itself.

"The Two Faces Of GRAHAMSTOWN" purports to capture and highlight the life of two SA workers: a black and a white. It seeks to show how differently are they affected by apartheid. This film also purports to provide an expose' of the SA "way of life". In fact the original title was "The two faces of South Africa". This is too general.

This film will be about SA. About the people of SA, black and white. But it will also be a film about apartheid. About the conditions of people who are struggling very hard to survive. It will be a story of people with burnt mouths because of poverty and starvation. But it will be an expose' of people who <sup>use</sup> into crustbins food that can feed a thousand mouths.

The film-maker is aware of exaggeration that will be involved in this film. It is too mechanistic and simplistic to simply divide the SA people in the way I did. I hope, in any case, that this is the best way of driving my point home.

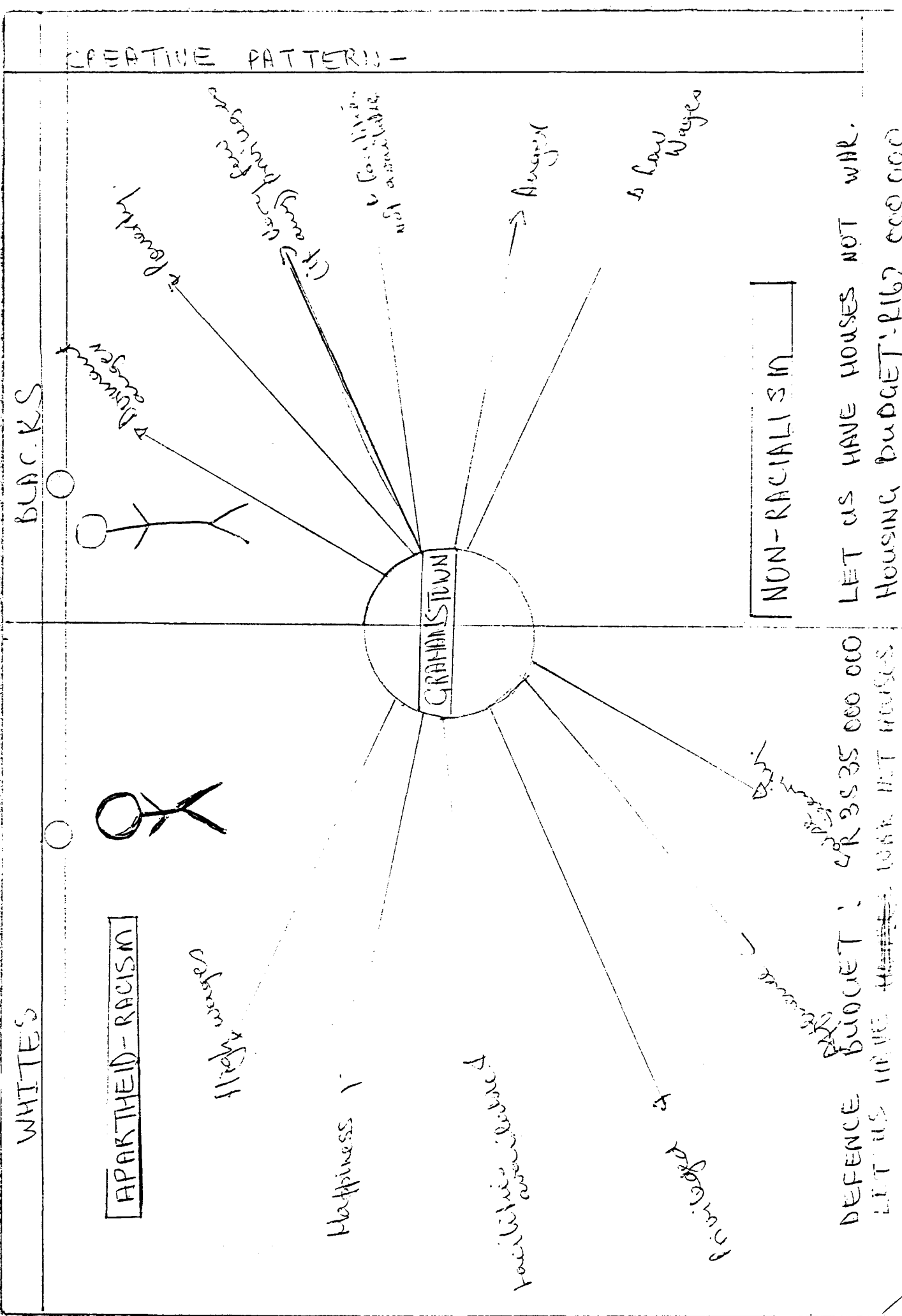
TREATMENT. The purpose of the film is to contrast the life, opportunities and privileges of two people employed by the same firm and living in the same geographical locality.

This will be achieved by shooting the actors in different places that they will go to. This will not be any place(s) but those places that will always reflect ~~and~~ the contrasts.

This is, admittedly, an ambitious venture. It will need a lot of time. The problem of finding a willing and co-operative white actor is a reality. This might affect the whole presentation of the film if I don't find one.

- ① Your <sup>Synopsis</sup> ~~treatment~~ is too vague - we still don't know exactly what your film is about
- ② Your treatment should give a DETAILED account of how the film will proceed. ~~It~~
- ③ After reading your synopsis or treatment we should be able to visualize your film.

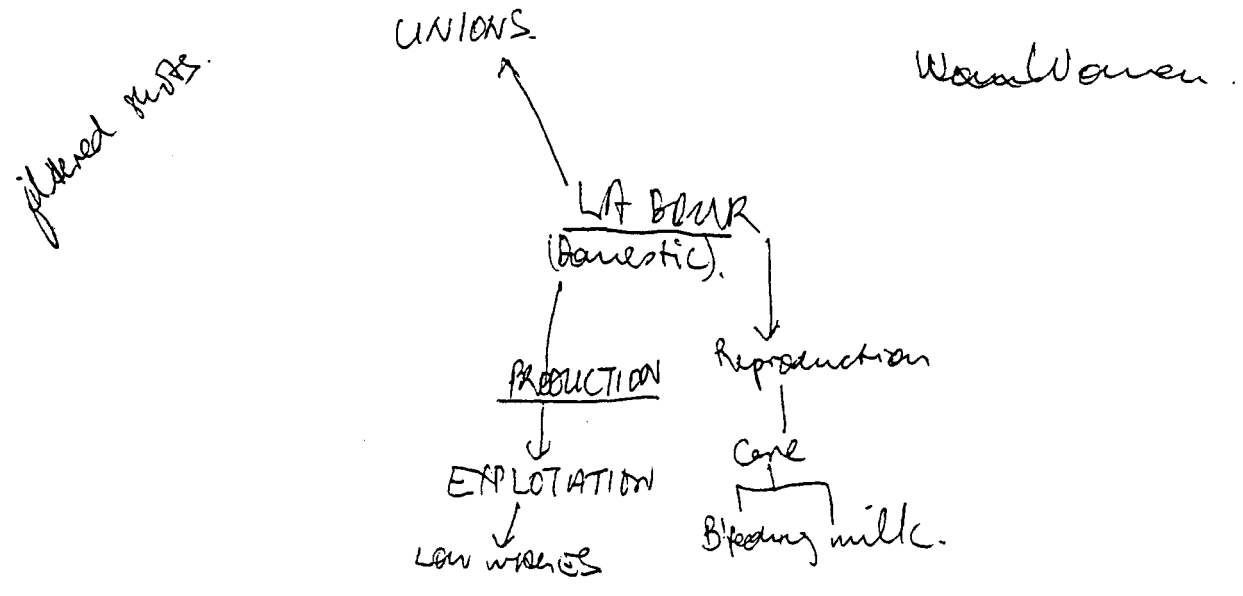
CREATIVE PATTERNS -



1. Explore related issues.
2. Show what those issues are.
3. Related them to each other.
4. Related them to the film as a whole.

credits: Poor housing  
 No sanitation  
 No electricity.  
 No fruit  
 Poor health.

Why do you use a particular shot.  
 Why do you make your film



Handwritten initials and a circled number '16'.

Handwritten text: T. RATSOMO, Giller, Kaulis.

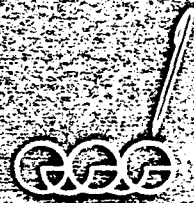
Handwritten text: T. RATSOMO, NEW ATC 5A.

# Examination Pad Eksamenskryfblok

T. RATSOMO

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Vell

Punched  
Met Gaatjes



108023  
65

premium stationery products



ACQUIRE DEMAND, REQUIRE SUPPLY AND THE PRICE LEVEL.

An individual's demand curve is downward sloping, and the aggregate demand curve is downward sloping.

AS and the price level.  
 The aggregate supply curve is upward sloping.

GNP, the market value of the final goods and services produced during some period, is a price x quantity relationship. An increase in the general price level, or an increase in the price level, will increase GNP.

The theory of AS - concerned with the price level. A change in nominal GNP is directly related to a change in output and a change in the general price level.

It is a relatively mechanical procedure to calculate the changes of any part change in GNP with that part with the result of a monthly average. We make statistical use of the AS curve of nominal GNP. The AS curve is upward sloping. A 1% increase in nominal GNP is by 3% increase in output and a 3% increase in the price level.

$$\Delta \% \text{ in Nominal GNP} = \Delta \% \text{ in GNP price level} + \Delta \% \text{ in real GNP}$$

What relationship we observe, however, is the relationship between real GNP and the price level. The relationship will depend on the AS curve. An increase in the price level will increase the quantity of goods and services produced. It is important to note that the relationship is not a simple one.

Although macroeconomic policies can be adjusted to bring about long-run equilibrium, it must be emphasized that countries are often very reluctant to change their monetary & fiscal policies for this purpose. Consider a country that is suffering both a balance of payments deficit and a less-than-full employment level of output. To achieve its domestic objective of full employment would require expansionary macroeconomic policies. But this is the opposite of what is required for bop. To start inflation would require contractionary macroeconomic policies. In the face of these conflicts, countries are very reluctant to abandon domestic economic policy objectives in order to achieve the goal of bop equilibrium.

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P253  
Kesehatan  
Masyarakat      Petice    Insang,    Nandana.

Low income engagement:

during the construction process

- ① Peaceful change.
- ② Apartheid is morally wrong
- ③ Create pressure on the govt.
- ④ Diplomatic negotiation.
- ⑤ Military disengagement.
- ⑥ To ~~pressure~~ <sup>coerce</sup> SA to move from apartheid to a 'just society'.
- ⑦ Namibian Settlement. → The withdrawal of the Cubans and the withdrawal of Soviets in the area.
- ⑧ Chester Crocker → US has very important political interest, security interest, ~~to alter the balance of power~~
- ⑨ Policy opposed by some rightwingers in the senate. They felt that he was pressing too much for change.

General Econ. - Exam paper.

**3 hrs.** Choose 5 Questions out of 10.

app. 36 minutes per question. This will cover all sections in the course.

S.A. Education Programme: 400 students

① Newspapers and even some rightwingers in America have criticized the policy they claim that it has failed also ~~black~~ <sup>black</sup> pressure groups, in particular have attacked the policy.

② State + local action sought by many groups to deal with S.A. (e.g. bills + legislation)

③ Black pressure groups create a climate in which people question the relationship between S.A. + USA.

## DETERMINANTS OF NEWS.

9/10/89.

### A. Sources

(Attainment)

1. Source's perception of ~~sources~~ <sup>events</sup> - ideology.
2. record - reliability, consistency etc.

→ [passive sources: books, cuttings and files.  
active: people and groups.

Radio and TV are events-orientated. In the US newspapers are issue-orientated.

### B. Needs of a newspaper source.

- ① Constant supply of saleable news.
- ② Stable relationship with source.



Walzer  
Bill

Natural Law  
Balance of Power



ORIENTATION MEDIA

For Orientation Weeks we produced a folder containing an introductory publication to NUSAS, a fact sheet highlighting the inequalities in our society, a year planner and a sticker. Problems were experienced in getting the media to Mils and Rhodes. The Mils media 'got lost' for three days and Rhodes media arrived repacked and late.

STUDENT BENEFIT PAMPHLET:

The aim of this pamphlet was to introduce to students the many benefits provided by the National Union. We tried to write the pamphlet in a similar style to advertising copy.

CLASS REP GUIDE:

The guide ahs been completely rewritten in order to provide an easy reference handbook which gives ideas on what to do when faced by specific problems or issues. The format of the guide has also been changed to A6 size so that it can fit into a pocket.

THEME PAMPHLETS:

Following on the recommendations of the Media Committee at Congress, it was decided not to produce one theme booklet but rather a series of 3 pamphlets explaining and contextualising the NUSAS theme. The first pamphlet which looks at the theme in the context of the events of the past year has been produced and the next two will be available in the first two weeks of next term.

POSTER:

A poster "Who cares about your education - Your National Union does" has been produced advertising the Faculty Council Conference and the Class Rep Guide.

\*\*\*\*\*

HEAD OFFICE MAINTENANCE

The problems with Head Office maintenance are legend but to repeat a few:

- 1) The files (press clips, campus and off-campus media etc) are regularly declimated
- 2) The office is left in a mess by organizations
- 3) The post is sometimes stolen from the box
- 4) The office equipment is often abused.

Some solutions present themselves:

- a) Stricter controls on the use of office and equipment
- b) Guidelines on use of office sent to all organizations
- c) Disciplinary measures against organizations who abuse facilities.

Some other points: The printing press is still used regularly. Its use is co-ordinated by the printers (not necessarily NUSAS members) but Head Office is keeping a much closer check on things that are printed there.

The photostat-machine is an absolute disaster area. We decided not to sell it after we had it repaired and it seemed to be working very well. It has now subsequently started using toner (ink) which costs R48.00, at a phenomenal rate. We will sell this dreadful machine at the earliest opportunity.

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FUND RAISING AND FINANCES

This as usual remains a weak area. As mentioned at last National Council, campuses are required to come to this National Council with a report on the progress of fund-raising. Mils has promised R2000.00, Cape Town R2000.00, PHB, Rhodes and Durban R1000 each.

Head Office will embark on a concerted fund-raising drive as of next term. We are going to require funding for the July Festival and Congress - but campuses will be hearing from HO about this in the near future.

More than ever, NUSAS is struggling to finance its ever increasing scope of activity. We are NOT at the stage when we have to cut back, but ... if campuses don't raise the funds they have promised, if campuses don't pay all the affiliation fees soon, if campuses don't pat for HO media promptly then we may face serious problems in the future.

However, as reflected in the financial statement, we are in a fairly healthy state at present ( financial statement, Addendum 1 )

\*\*\*\*\*

RELATIONS WITH OTHER GROUPS

1) PFP: Head Office received an invitation to address the annual PFP Youth Congress. Brendan could not attend and so Nic went. Nic addressed the topic, "Strategies for opposing Apartheid". He was able to critique parliamentary opposition without antagonising the delegates. When these opportunities arise, they should be jumped at. It is important that an understanding of the dynamics and direction of the PFP Youth is developed. This is the only way we can assess what form our approach to them should take.

2) ARIKAANS CAMPUSES

Brendan participated in a panel discussion on student organizations at Stellenbosch. While HO knew that the N.S.F. would be present, the presence of AZASH surprised us. We, nevertheless decided to continue with the discussion which from our point of view was successful. Several members of the Stellenbosch Student Parliament expressed interest in setting up a NUSAS Local Committee on the campus. This is being followed up. It is important that campuses attempt to establish contact with progressive students on Afrikaans campuses. In the present political climate, potential exists to expand our base and this is one sector which must be closely examined.

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*T. Rossouw*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*HO Report APRIL 1985*



WTS FROM THE CONGRESS G. 803 H5

A CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS LEAFLET

# SIGN THE FREEDOM CHARTER

J. R. ...  
(1) ...

## What is the Freedom Charter?

It is a programme of full human rights for all South Africans.

On June the 26th, 1955, 7,000 delegates, representatives of all sections of South Africans, elected at hundreds of meetings big and small throughout the country, gathered at Kliptown, Johannesburg. This was the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

They met to shape the FREEDOM CHARTER from the thousands of demands which were sent to the Congress organisers during a year of intense activity in the town and countryside.

The FREEDOM CHARTER is therefore intimately connected with the dreams and aspirations of our People, the vast majority of whom suffer hardship, poverty and political oppression. At the same time it is a practical document blueprinting the aim of an independent multi-racial democracy for South Africa. A significant fact is that most of the provisions of the Charter are also covered in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by all but a few of the United Nations.

## Why have a Freedom Charter?

Because it is a vital necessity to the millions of South Africans who despise Apartheid and who wish to have before them in their struggles a goal, a rallying point, a uniting influence which is a practical and noble alternative to the viciousness and arrogance of "baasskap".

It would not be realistic to expect everyone seeking such an alternative to agree forthwith to all the provisions of the FREEDOM CHARTER. But we, of the Congress of Democrats, together with other sections of the Congress Movement, the African National Congress, the S.A. Indian Congress and the S.A. Coloured Peoples Organisation, firmly believe that the implementation of the ten points of the Charter are necessary for a free and peaceful South Africa.

We therefore urge all true democrats:

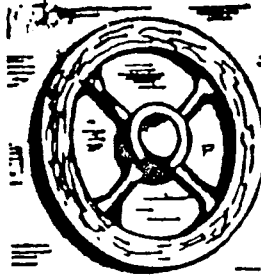
1. To study the Charter and to demonstrate your support by adding your signature to the thousands who have already signed.
2. To grasp the hand of friendship which is extended from the Congress Movement to all who support the FREEDOM CHARTER, wholly or in part, and to co-operate with us in the daily struggle to DEFEND THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

A copy of the Charter may be obtained from Signature Collectors or from 5, Albertus Street, Cape Town.

**THE FREEDOM CHARTER CALLS FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL SOUTH AFRICANS.**

Issued by the Congress of Democrats, P.O. Box 4552, Cape Town.

INTERNATIONAL, C.T.



# speaking together

'Congress of the People' Bulletin

No. 2. END OF AUGUST, 1954

## What it means to be a VOLUNTEER

Chief A.J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress has called for 50,000 Freedom Volunteers for the Congress of the People. Many thousands in different parts of the country have already answered the call. Many more are volunteering daily.

Coming so soon, when the tasks of the heroic Defiance Volunteers are still fresh in the minds of the people, there is bound to be some misunderstanding as to the tasks of the Freedom Volunteers. And in their desperate attempts to discredit and disrupt the movement, the enemies of the Congress of the People go to all lengths to spread deliberate lies and distort the real meaning of this great movement.

Firstly, it should be made quite clear that while the Congress of the People came about as a result of the radically changed political situation caused by the Defiance Campaign, the present campaign is NOT the continuation of the Defiance Campaign.

We realise that the entire South African political situation has changed; we must meet it with changed tactics and methods. Therefore, the tasks of Freedom Volunteers would be quite different to those of the Defiance Campaign.

The word VOLUNTEER is retained, firstly because it has become a word of honour in our struggle for freedom; secondly, because though they will have different tasks and duties, the Freedom Volunteers will be volunteers nevertheless, in the same struggle.

### VOLUNTEERS ARE THE "SHOCK-BRIGADE"

We can't enumerate ALL the tasks Freedom Volunteers will be expected to carry out. But simply stated, their task will be to act as the "Shock-brigade" of our non-violent army of Freedom.



They will be the active organisers against the apartheid menace. They will go from house to house, street to street, to the factories and farms, to schools and mines, to meetings, parties and weddings, everywhere where there are people; and they will be expected to carry the message of the convening of the Congress of the People, to gain support for it and to recruit new volunteers.

They will carry the message of light and truth to areas and to people who have for years and years been kept in deliberate ignorance and darkness. They will educate the masses about the

## TASKS of VOLUNTEERS

To undertake regular, active and intensive work in mobilising resistance to the apartheid policy of the Government. Volunteers must campaign against the Bantu Education Act, the Group Areas Act, the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, the Western Areas Removal Scheme; as well as all local grievances of the people such as housing, passes, rents, and transport.

To carry to every corner of our country the message of the Congress of the People, and to gather in the people's demands for the Freedom Charter. Volunteers must visit every town, village, farm, factory, mine and reserve in South Africa. This is directly linked with the first task, for the Congress of the People must not be an abstract campaign, but must at all stages and on every issue be related to the actual conditions of the people.

To assist in every way possible in building the sponsoring organisations.

To assist in any other tasks required for the Congress of the People.

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## VOLUNTEERS continued from Page 1

L.L. Jhag writes:

"Every right-thinking person, whether he or she be a churchman, teacher, nurse, cook, street sweeper, clerk, miner or a pilot will agree with you.

.....Many, many years back people used to think we are safe in the hands of the ruling class; by the ruling class I mean the VOTERS. But now we realise that those who thought that way are very much mistaken. Because should it not have been for the voters, those who are ruling today would not have been ruling. Something MUST be done!

Since the non-voter is in the majority and the voters in the minority, something shall have to be done to let the voices of the non-voter be heard, and heard in a very big way. That is, THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE."

dangers of the Bantu Education Act, the Group Areas Act, the Native Resettlement Act, the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, and about every other Act that is insulting to our dignity as human beings and that aims to maintain the jack-boot of oppression on our backs till eternity.

They will speak to people, study their conditions, make careful note of their grievances and demands, and ensure that the smallest of these is conveyed to the organisers so that they can be expressed in the Freedom Charter.

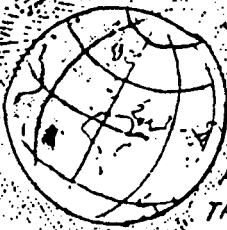
They will bear in mind all the time that their foremost aim in carrying out their tasks as volunteers will be to strengthen the national organisations of the people.

They will ensure that by their work, propaganda and careful explanation they will educate the people sufficiently not to be provoked into violence which will be constantly attempted by the enemies.

Freedom Volunteers will carry out their tasks with courage, discipline and utmost devotion, with the realisation that their tasks will end only when our country, South Africa, is free from the bondage and oppression under which it has suffered for so long.

AUGUST 29<sup>th</sup> - MEETINGS WERE HELD IN MANY AREAS.

## 500 COPIES OVERSEAS



500 COPIES OF THE FIRST ISSUE OF "SPEAKING TOGETHER" WERE SENT TO PEOPLE AND ORGANISATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

## Your-help is needed!

A separate office has now been opened for the National Action Council. The address is 8, Somerset House, Fox Street, Johannesburg; and the Box number: 11645.

There is a tremendous amount of clerical work to be done in the office, and volunteer helpers are needed.

After you have finished work, and during the week-end, give up at least some of your time to assisting with this work. 'phone 33-0975 before calling at the office if you can only come 'after-hours', so that arrangements can be made to show you what work must be done.

See that this Bulletin is not wasted! Proper distribution is important - and if you read this Bulletin, you can help in distribution. Pass it on to another volunteer, or to someone you wish to enlist as a volunteer. Do not put it in your pocket and leave it there. Make "Speaking Together" one more weapon in organising a mighty Congress of the People.

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# MONEY for JEWELS

There's a 15 JEWEL WATCH going to the star money raiser for the Transvaal. And what's more, the money is to be well used - its to help make the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE the great success it should be. All you have to do is to get a collection list from your organisation - A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.P.O. or C.O.D. - and get busy. Ask your friends, your neighbours, your workmates and your fellow members - nobody will refuse to give something, and whether it is a penny or a £100 it is all needed urgently - for issuing such bulletins as this you are reading now, for pamphlets and leaflets, stickers, and every conceivable type of propoganda to ensure that the message of the Congress reaches every town and village, every home, office and factory in South Africa.

**WIN A WATCH** The person who collects the most money between now and the 15th March will be the lucky winner of a 15 jewel watch. So here's your chance. Not only will you be helping to spread the message of the Congress, but you will also have a chance of becoming the proud owner of a watch which we hope will remind you always of the good work you have done and inspire you to carry on the struggle for Freedom in South Africa.



## WE WRITE to the PEOPLE

WHAT CHURCH ORGANISATIONS, SPORTS CLUBS, VIGILANCE ASSOCIATIONS, YOUTH CLUBS OR OTHER BODIES HWE YOU GOT IN YOUR AREA? A LETTER IS BEING SENT TO AS MANY ORGANISATIONS AS POSSIBLE, AS FOLLOWS:-

"Dear Friend,  
It is the aim of the sponsors of the Congress of the People to embody all the wishes and aspirations of the people of South Africa in a great freedom Charter which will eventually be adopted at the Congress of the People representing every group and section of the population. In this way it is hoped to give every South African the right - which the great majority have hitherto been denied - to put forward their own demands regarding the sort of constitution and the sort of laws they would like to see in force in the country.

Your organisation is now invited to play its part in this great democratic task by discussing among its members and formulating your demands for the Freedom Charter.

The sponsors will be glad, if you wish, to send a speaker to address your organisation to explain more fully the conception and object of the Congress of the People.

" We enclose herewith copies of the "CALL" to the Congress of the People which we are using to explain to people everywhere the type of problems with which the Freedom Charter will presumably deal.

We cordially invite you to send in your proposals for the Charter by the 15th March, 1955 to the Transvaal Provincial Committee at P.O. Box 11045, Johannesburg.

We trust that your organisation will play its part in the framing of the Freedom Charter.  
Yours faithfully,

....."

WE SUGGEST THAT YOUR LOCAL BRANCH SEND A SIMILAR LETTER TO ANY ORGANISATION IN YOUR AREA YOU MAY THINK SUITABLE. WE WANT THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE TO BE AS BROAD AND REPRESENTATIVE AS POSSIBLE OF ALL SECTIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN OPINION, AND THIS IS ONE WAY OF MAKING ITS AIMS KNOWN TO THE GREATEST POSSIBLE NUMBER OF PEOPLE.

GET YOUR LOCAL VOLUNTEER-IN-CHIEF TO GET COPIES OF THE "CALL" TO ENCLOSE WITH THE LETTER, AND SEND IT OUT AS SOON AS YOU POSSIBLY CAN.

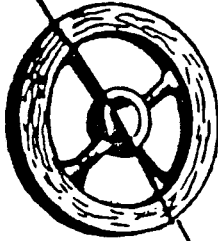
Issued by the Transvaal Provincial Committee, C.O.P., P.O. Box 11045, Johannesburg.

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This is an Invitation to the

### CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE . . .



a mighty gathering of the people to draw up a FREEDOM CHARTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS which will express their desire for a better South Africa.

Do you feel that everything is right in South Africa?

or

Do you think that there is something seriously wrong with things as they are today?

IF SO . . . WHAT DO YOU THINK IS WRONG?

WHAT NEEDS TO BE CHANGED?

ARE YOU CONTENT WITH . . .

- the record high cost of living?
- the threat to domestic servants (Locations in the Sky Bill)?
- the restrictions on passports?
- the extension of the pass system to Europeans?
- the threat to industrial expansion on the Rand?
- the interference with the right to speak freely?
- the right of the Police to enter your house on the flimsiest of pretexts?
- the Ghetto Act and the compulsory mass removal of Africans?
- the threat to deprive African children of the right to genuine education?
- the threat to the freedom of your newspaper?

HAVE YOU CONSIDERED THE DANGEROUS EFFECTS OF APARTHEID ON RACE RELATIONS?

WHAT OF THE CONTINUAL LOSS OF HUMAN RIGHTS?

We want our own Charter of Human Rights. Why not add your demands to this Charter?

WHAT IS THIS FREEDOM CHARTER?

This Charter will express all the demands of all the people for the good life that they seek for themselves and their children. The Freedom Charter will be our guide to those "singing tomorrows" when all South Africans will live and work together, without racial bitterness and fear of misery, in peace and harmony.

THIS IS A CALL for an awakening of all men and women, to campaign together in the greatest movement of all our history.

Those who are not afraid to speak of freedom will join us. We will welcome them, and work together with them as equals.

We invite all South African men and women of every race and creed to take part as organisers of the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE and awaken others to its message. Those who are prepared to work together for freedom and the Freedom Charter will join us. We will welcome them, and go forward together with them to freedom.

Having read this leaflet, think about the issues we have raised and let us have YOUR demands for inclusion in the Freedom Charter.

You will have an opportunity of discussing your demands with us, when next we call on you.

LET US WORK TOGETHER FOR A FREE SOUTH AFRICA.

Issued by the S.A. Congress of Democrats, Somerset House, Johannesburg, and Printed by The C.R. Press, Rosettenville.

FSW II A



# What do Women Want?

Women - this is your chance to speak out - your needs, your wishes, your demands!

This public meeting is being held to give women a chance to put forward their demands for the FREEDOM CHARTER. What do women want to make South Africa a better land for their children and families? YOU must give the answer! Let YOUR voice be heard. The Demands will be discussed at the great Congress of the People.

SUNDAY 29<sup>th</sup>  
MAY - 2 P.M.

TRADES HALL  
KERK STREET

ALL WOMEN WELCOME!  
Prominent Women Speakers

BRING YOUR DEMANDS FOR THE FREEDOM  
CHARTER!

Organised by the Federation of South African Women,  
Box 10216, Jhbg.

## THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE will take place

- when all the peoples' demands for inclusion in the Freedom Charter have been gathered in;
- when the whole country has been awakened to speak of freedom and the call for elections has been made;
- not later than June, 1955 — at a date and place still to be announced.

## THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE will be organised

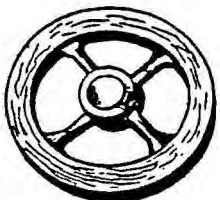
- by 50,000 Volunteers, who will give their time to carrying through the campaign as directed;
- by a network of committees in every village, town and factory representing and uniting all sections and all races;
- by the National Action Council, composed of all national bodies that agree to act as sponsors.

## DO THESE THREE THINGS — NOW !

- ONE: SEND IN YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS TO A PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE, stating that you are interested and would like to assist.**
- Transvaal Committee, Box 11045, Johannesburg.  
Natal Committee, Box 2299, Durban.  
Western Cape Committee, Box 4552, Cape Town.  
Eastern Cape Committee, Box 1294, Port Elizabeth.  
O.F.S. Committee, 3397 Masilo Street, Bloemfontein.
- TWO: FORM COMMITTEES to campaign for the Congress of the People.**
- THREE: GATHER GROUPS to send in their demands for the Freedom Charter.**

**DO NOT THROW THIS LEAFLET AWAY! — PASS IT ON TO A FRIEND. DISCUSS IT WITH OTHERS. SEE THAT IT IS READ BY MANY PEOPLE.**

Issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People, Box 11045, Johannesburg.



*This Call to the*  
**CONGRESS of the PEOPLE**

is addressed to all South Africans, European and Non-European.

## THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

It is made by four bodies, speaking for the four sections of the people of South Africa:— by the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats, and the South African Coloured People's Organisation. It calls you all to prepare to send your chosen spokesmen to:

a meeting of elected representatives of all races, coming together from every town and village, every farm and factory, every mine and hotel, every street and suburb in the whole land. Here all will speak together, freely, as equals. They will speak together of the things their people need to make them free. They will speak together of changes that must be made in our lives, our laws, our customs and our outlooks. They will speak together of freedom. And they will write their demands into

## THE FREEDOM CHARTER.

This Charter will express all the demands of all the people for the good life that they seek for themselves and their children. The Freedom Charter will be our guide to those "bright tomorrows" when all South Africans will live and work together, without racial bitterness and fear of misery, in peace and harmony.

**THIS IS A CALL** for an awakening of all men and women, to campaign together in the greatest movement of all our history. Our call is to you—the People of South Africa. We invite all Union-wide Organisations to join as sponsors of the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE, and to take part in its direction. Those who are not afraid to hear the voice of the people will join us. We will welcome them, and work together with them as equals. We invite all local and provincial societies, clubs, churches, trade unions, sporting bodies and other organisations to join as partners in the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE Committee, and to share the work. Those who are not afraid to speak of Freedom will join us. We will welcome them, and work together with them as equals. We invite all South African men and women of every race and creed to take part as organisers of the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE and awaken others to its message. Those who are prepared to work together for freedom and the Freedom Charter will join us. We will welcome them, and go forward together with them to freedom.

## OUR CALL IS TO YOU!

- Give your time to spread the message of the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.
- Become a Volunteer to organise for freedom.
- Tell your neighbours and workmates of the nation-wide elections that are coming.
- Advise the people to discuss what they want of freedom.

**LET US WORK TOGETHER FOR FREEDOM!**

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# NO WHITE OR BLACK SUPREMACY

WHAT DO YOU WANT WHEN YOU SPEAK OF FREEDOM? Let us all speak out and decide what changes we want made. Let us think of what should be done and TALK ABOUT IT, and write these things for all our fellow-men to read and study, and to guide us all in helping to make the changes that we want.

LET THIS GREAT CHARTER OF FREEDOM BE TRULY REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. Whether your demands are big or small - whether they are for the ending of the pernicious system of apartheid by which our country is ruled, or for an extra street lamp next to your house - send them in.

## HERE IS WHAT SOME PEOPLE SAY:

From Roodepoort - "I would make a law protecting the public from being assaulted by the Police even when they are not resisting arrest...."

"There would be one education for all the people. No Bantu or European education. We want doctors, lawyers and so on from all races found in South Africa...."

"People would marry whom they pleased"

"I would do away with the badge of slavery, that is the Pass. All the laws relating to passes would be abolished. Everybody would be free to move as they pleased at any time.."

"I would do away with all oppressive laws. There would be no white or black supremacy in our country."

"I would see that the land is distributed in such a way that everybody would have the right of buying and possessing land."

The law that bans and deports peoples' leaders for speaking the truth would end. There would be freedom of speech."

I would see that people had houses they wanted. And people could buy houses where they liked."

From Corona- tionville "Our children are continually being arrested for playing in the streets .. have sports grounds, one especially for small children where all our kids could play without being molested...."

"... I would see that Non-Europeans be allowed to play"

DRAW UP YOUR DEMANDS AND SEND THEM IN TO US. AND THE TIME IS NOW - THERE IS ONLY A SHORT TIME LEFT. SO GET CRACKING TODAY!

in world sports federations.... all promising young sportsmen would be given thorough training.."

From South African Youth "Compulsory free education for all at all levels - up to University standard. The right to choose the language medium."

"Free and mixed nursery schools for all".

"Universal suffrage at 18".

"No farm prisons".  
"Free health services for all."

"Adequate sporting and cultural facilities."

From Belle-vue "The outlawing of weapons of mass destruction and agreements on general disarmament."

"Implementation by UNO of all articles of the UNO Human Rights Charter".

"Admittance of Non-Europeans to concerts and provide greater opportunities for cultural advancement."

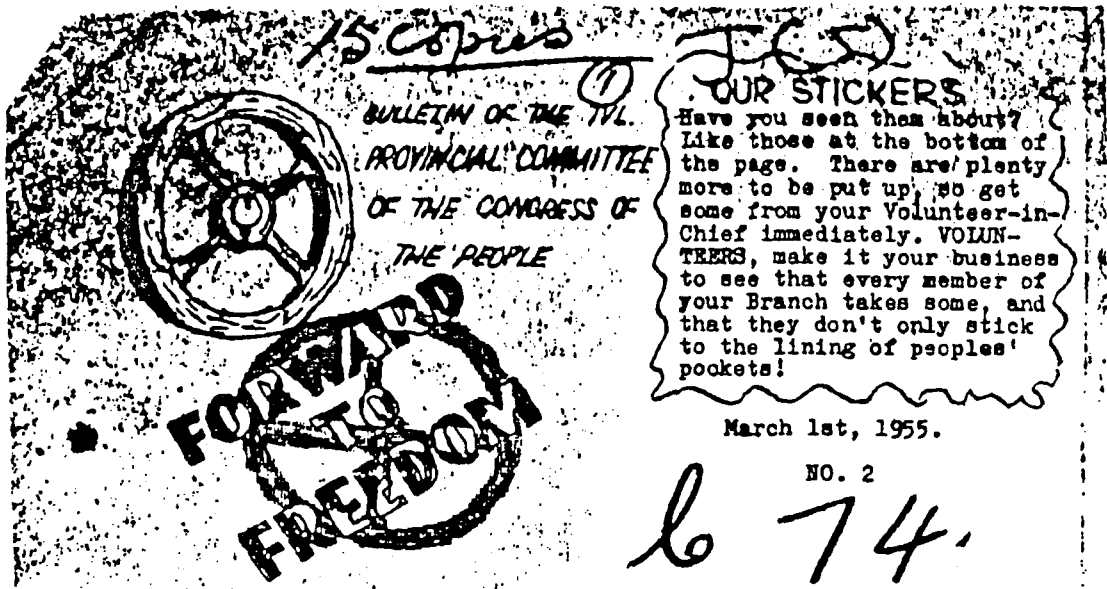
"Freedom to leave and enter the country as one pleases".

"Reduction of defence expenditure."

"Decrease Cost of Living. Increase Cost of Living Allowance".

WHAT DEMANDS CAN YOU ADD? GET TOGETHER - with your neighbours and workmates, kinfolk in your kraal, or members of your church organisation and congregation. Speak to anybody you meet - get together in a house, in an open square near your work at lunch time, anywhere at any time.





# MOBILISE and ORGANISE

The time is already past that the world should know what a sham democracy is in our country and how desperate are the needs of our people.

The time is already past that our people should have won their freedom.

The situation cries out for something to be done. So let us all, members of the four Congresses and their allies, put our shoulders to the wheel of the Congress of the People and make it an overwhelming success.

We must work fast and furiously - the date set for holding the Congress of the People is not later than June of this year. We have just 4 months.

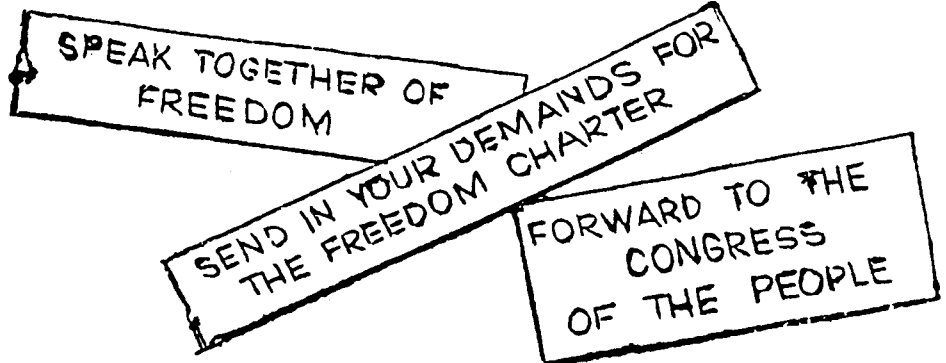
WHAT IS TO BE DONE? (1) Is there a Volunteer group functioning in your area? If not, get to it.

(2) Has everybody in your area read a copy of the "Call", a leaflet explaining the campaign? Make it your business to see that they have.

(3) Demands to be incorporated in the Freedom Charter, which will be drawn up by the Congress of the People, are now pouring in. Are demands from your area included? You had better check up.

(4) A set of lecture notes are available which are entitled "The World we Live In". It is your duty to get hold of a copy and study it. Also, assist others to know its contents. If you would like a speaker to address a group on the subject, make your request to the Transvaal Provincial Committee and he or she will be right along.

An idea has been given of what is required of us. On with the good work. Organise and mobilise the people here and now! FORWARD TO A VITAL AND MIGHTY CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE!



3 A.M.

11  
T. R. S. ...  
(11/11/11)

Flash! Flash! Flash!  
Knock! Knock! Knock!  
Flash! Flash! Knock!  
Polisie! Polisie! Polisie

The door flungs open  
As Lieutenant Synman enters  
An executive bag in the hand  
A search warrant, a big torch  
And a gun on the hip.  
You peep through the window  
Perplexed that Lt. Snyman is so brave to be alone.

Slowly enters a grinning African constable  
Followed by another, and another and another  
(Sell-outs! White-pigs in black hides).  
But the white man can never be alone.  
Another two Snymans enters  
And suddenly the match-box is filled with  
no space to move around.

When their duty starts, they do it thoroughly  
Without thinking of your sleep.  
And you have to stay awake until 6a.m.  
When every piece of paper is looked at, looked  
over, and overlooked  
That is 3a.m.

\*\*\*\*\*

WORK

They say it's tiring and boring  
Exhaustive and fruitless  
But I say it's good and fruitful  
for it is only by working  
by producing the means of production and reproduction  
that we can survive.

But I hate the sucker  
who has made work  
such a burden and fruitless venture  
in order to gain more and more  
profits while the masses sweat  
for a penny.

\*\*\*\*\*

VOLCANO

T. R. ...  
④

Mt. Vesuvius and Mt. Etna  
Known volcanoes of our era  
Great Rivers of Volta and ... Amazon  
Big cities of New York and London  
Have made history.

Cross the Mediterranean Sea  
to reach the unknown Africa  
Cross the Limpopo River and the Lebombo Mountains  
to reach the small rivers of Orange and the Vaal  
The small cities of Johannesburg and Cape Town  
The ghettos of Soweto, Langa, and Sharpville  
The dark corners of Driefontein, Mogopa, and Rooigrond .

Go through the small and big factories,  
through the gold mines which are our heritage,  
our wealth, our foundation,  
seized by the bloody Oppenheims  
The exploiters of the toiling masses.  
Who receive a penny for eight hours' work.

Oh Africa! Our Africa,  
Motherland of the exploited creatures  
When will you be free!  
We have seen Ghana and Algeria freed from oppression  
When the spirit of nationalism blew  
throughout Africa.

We have seen Angola and Mozambique  
Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands  
Ethiopia and Zimbabwe  
Oh! Africa our motherland  
Are you attaining liberation or independence?

We have heard of MPLA and FRELIMO  
of PAIGC and Patriotic Front  
of Fapla and Zanla.  
We've heard of Shafihuna Sema Nujoma  
of Zipra-Mkhonto, inyamazane.  
Liberators of the toiling masses.

Cross the River Limpopo  
Reach the dark corners of South Africa  
And hear of the great volcano that is about to erupt  
Lamontville, Crossroads, Mdantsane.

Gallant warriors of my motherland  
The great Minis and Mahlangus  
The indestrutible Mogoeranes and Mosololis  
The brave Motaungs and Gcabis  
The tested Dadoos and Firsts  
We shall remember you when our freedom comes.

Oh! Hector Peterson and Dumisani Mbatha  
 Young militants of mother Africa  
 We shall remember you!  
 Steve Biko and Neil Aggett  
 The haunting spectres of the racist regime.  
 We shall remember thee!

*Handwritten notes:*  
 Remember  
 (Signature)

We remember the great Mandelas and Sisulus  
 The Goldbergs and Kathradas  
 The Nyembes and Ngoyis  
 The gallant militants who swells the Isle of Makana  
 Take forward their fight!  
 Mobilise and Fight On!  
 For their history is that of courage and heroism  
 Of toil and sweat  
 For the noble liberation of humanity.  
 Come dark dungeons and grim gallows  
 Murders in the corridors of John Vorster and Sanlam  
 Victory is certain  
 The people shall govern.

oo

A WORKER

*1 Rejected  
2/1/1921*

There he goes  
Completely dependent on his boss  
for existence and survival.  
He is a worker.

There he goes  
Very early in the morning  
leaving his innocent creatures in their beds  
for them he must work.

There he runs  
for the earliest bus to work  
for he must prepare the way  
for his lazy master.

He is a worker  
He is worth two-pence for 30 days' work  
for his master is greedy for profits,...  
profits ... AND profits.

There he comes  
Tired as ever  
Like a hopeless tiger  
Which has lost its sting.

He is a worker  
Who must succumb to his master's will  
for he depends on his goodwill  
the bloody sucker.

Wait for the day  
When the worker will say  
ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!  
And the volcano will  
destroy the sucker for good.

Resistance in print.

Ngugi p 71.

T. Rarobu

15  
(15) *[Signature]*

Forward we shall march.

You may kill them  
You may ban them  
You may detain them  
Them are they going to defy you

Harass them you may  
Threaten them you may  
Intimidate them you may  
Never are they going to give up  
Bats you may use  
Bullets you may use  
Guns you may use  
The <sup>Amayida</sup> ~~strong~~ we shall say  
strategic ~~convinced~~.

Hippos may patrol  
Tanks may be mobilized  
Troops may be deployed  
Forward we shall march.

Vitoria et cetera  
Ananika ngawethu  
Power to the people  
Viva the Mandela  
Viva Sizwe Sisulu  
Viva Khatuanda etc.

The next three poems were written during the Grahamstown disturbances. But they were dedicated to our people all over the country 12/11/84

## Sammelawa

In the ghettos of our South Africa  
 were paved roads and a privilege  
 There were sitting under the trees,  
 Hanging around at the local ~~main~~ shops  
 with nowhere to go.

When across the street there were cinemas  
 theatres, discos name them.

In the ghettos of our country  
~~Young men and women were dying~~  
 where kwashiorkor and marasmus claimed  
 many lives

where police brutality was the norm  
 They were sitting under the trees  
 Hanging around the local shops  
 with ~~nowhere to go~~  
 when across the street  
 there was plenty of milk and honey

In the ghettos of our country  
 where education is a privilege  
~~Men and women saw road~~

They were sitting under the trees  
 Hanging  
 with nowhere to go  
 when across the <sup>street</sup> schools were ~~empty~~ plenty.

In the ghettos of our country  
 where a boycott was a powerful weapon  
 There were sitting under the trees  
 Hanging around the local shops

T. Mabasa  
16 April '79

When across the street boycott was a crime  
punishable by death four RI bullets.

In the ghettos of our country  
under the ~~street~~ trees,

In the classrooms

In the factories

In the universities

Word went around,

Down with oppression!

Down with apartheid!

Forward to the people's government!

Forward we shall march.

Forward we shall <sup>march</sup> they sang

Forward we shall <sup>march</sup> to the people's government

Forward we shall march

Forward we shall march they agreed

Forward we shall march to the people's government

In the ghettos of our country



~~Long live comrades!~~

T. Redmond.

17/11/18

Ungaste Mir

In the ~~poor~~ <sup>naust</sup> dungeons of my motherland  
Far away from their homes and beloved  
Robben Island, Pollsmoor, Kroonstad  
You name them.

In the ~~naust~~ <sup>naust</sup> dungeons of my motherland  
They ate ~~stept~~, ~~welce up~~ and existed  
Under the mercy of the Fascists  
For they Botha and Malan surrogates

Long live the spirit!

~~When they came.~~  
They raped their country,  
Plundered their resources  
Crushed their resistance.  
And forced them to submit  
But the spirit lived.

They killed them  
Bastarded them  
Oppressed them  
But the spirit lived.

Long live the spirit of Makhana,  
Long live the spirit of Bambata,  
Long live the spirit of Ungaste Mir  
Long live the spirit of Hector Peterson  
Long live the spirit of Solomon Mahlangu

long <sup>live</sup> the spirit of Mogoerane, Motameng, Mosoladi

long <sup>live</sup> the spirit of resistance

long live <sup>the</sup> spirit of defiance

long live the <sup>spirit</sup> of Shaka, Dingane, Sekhukhuni, Moshoeshoe

long live the spirit of the people.

long live the spirit of progress

Down with imperialism

Down with ~~with~~ capitalism

Down with fascism

Forward with the spirit of internationalism <sup>to</sup>

Forward with the vox populi

Forward with the darling motto

~~Forward~~

!MANDLAARARARAAA!

A DREAM 15/11/54

T. Robinson

20  
18/11/54

My dear friend  
I was in your room  
I found you asleep  
And I left my ~~dirty~~ undiespant

I am sorry <sup>it was</sup> ~~they are~~ dirty  
But because I wanted  
To pass to you  
That I came  
I had to leave <sup>it</sup> ~~them~~  
Dirty as <sup>it</sup> ~~they~~ <sup>is</sup> was.

I saw the undiespant  
With some dirty socks  
As my friend daunted  
I wondered ---  
How and <sup>when?</sup> ~~they~~?

When I <sup>opened</sup> ~~was~~ my eyes  
I looked for it  
Under my books  
In my wardrobe...  
But it was <sup>not</sup> there...  
Was I dreaming?

Written after writing the journal in exam. I sleep  
and dream.

~~DEVIANCE = Maratambos~~

~~Women~~

~~We discovered that women are not aware of what marriage is really about.~~

~~T.† became clear that the institution of marriage "protects" women in the same way that the institution of slavery was said to "protect" blacks - that is that the word "protection" in this case is simply a euphemism for oppression.~~

(19) + (20)<sup>22</sup>

In secondary Book "W 17"

AZASO March 1984

$$\textcircled{21} + \textcircled{22} + \textcircled{23}^{23}$$

In gehandig Bew "W 15"

AZAZO March 1984

T. Robinson  
P. y. 1/11

*Long I Have Looked For The Truth*

Long I have looked for the truth about the life  
of people together.  
That life is crisscrossed, tangled, and difficult  
to understand.  
I have worked hard to understand it and when I  
had done so  
I told the truth as I found it.

When I had told the truth that was so difficult  
to find  
It was a common truth, which many told  
(And not everyone has such difficulty in finding)

Soon after that people arrived in vast masses  
with pistols given to them  
And blindly shot around them at all those too  
poor to wear hats  
And all those who had told the truth about them  
and their employers  
They drove out of the country in the fourteenth  
year of our semi-Republic.

From me they took my little house and my car  
Which I had earned by hard work.  
(I was able to save my furniture)

When I crossed the frontier I thought:  
More than my house I need the truth.  
But I need my house too. And since then  
Truth for me has been like a house and a car  
And they took them.

Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956)

Ikatano 25  
25/11/63

In the epoch of imperialism, in the epoch of the downfall of capitalism and the establishment of socialism the national liberation moment even in those countries where the proletariat was weak or practically non-existent ~~is~~ the national ally of the international working class and its offspring - that struggle against imperialism, for national emancipation will inevitably overgrow into the struggle for social liberation, against C'ism.

Full-scale democracy - democratic rights and freedom. We cannot make progress without observing the rights and freedoms of the individual. There should be definite standards of culture and social life guided by the judgement of the people in keeping with the development objective needs of development.

Places place the assimilation of the most important gains of culture, the affirmation of the spirit of collectivism and of high moral ideals.

High principles, self<sup>less</sup>ness and courage exhibited by those struggling against inhumane conditions.

When the Addis Ababa conference of African countries was taking its decision in May 1963 on observing Africa Liberation Day every year, about 20% of African territory was still under colonial oppression.



Council for Mutual Economic Assistance with the developing states in Africa is a major aspect of the foreign-economy ties of the socialist community. Its purpose is to strengthen the young countries' economic independence, consolidate their positions in the struggle against imperialism and for economic and social progress.

abyssmal=(bottomless) - abyssmal ignorance (fig. speech)

"Every controversy has two sides, and both sides condemn anyone who attempts a purely dispassionate analysis. It is an ancient principle that he who does not agree, disagrees,

An evaluative attitude, an attitude of praise + blame, of accusation + justification, thus pervades every human society. To question the rules, or worse yet, to question the sentiments lying behind them, is to incur certain penalties, the least of which is controversy.

Without neutral analysis knowledge is impossible. All science is neutral in the sense that the emotions of the investigator do not influence the observation + explanation of the facts.

One of the marks of an educated person is that he has a perception and appreciation of things the ordinary individuals take for granted. He therefore has a better understanding both of himself and of others, and is more flexible in adjusting to new situations. He is capable of thinking in terms of underlying principles rather than popular stereotypes and is thus better at judging long range consequences. Finally, by a comparative grasp of societies and groups other than his own he is able to see many things so relevant to his existence which would otherwise escape notice. His life in this way becomes richer and fuller than it otherwise <sup>would</sup> be.

44

28  
T. Rankin  
E. M. M.

Our principal aim is to ~~build~~ free our country from apartheid and racism, but we also believe that we must build a new society as well.

As with seed that has long lain waiting for conditions propitious to the germination that will preserve the species and assure its evolution, the culture of Africa's people now springs forth again, across the continent, in struggles for national liberation.

American Labor.

What is above all necessary is that the mentality of colonized people be built anew - so that they think freely and feel themselves free, even when their country is not yet free - A. Negro.

If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favour freedom, and yet depreciate sacrifices are men who want crops without ploughing up the ground. They want the ocean without the anguished roar of its waters. Frederick Douglass.

For Angola, at least, the case is not in doubt. True development must begin with the building of a national unity embracing all its people, and this to become possible, must be a ~~one~~ national movement of a non-elitist nature.

We are involved in a common struggle against poverty, race and class domination and exploitation.

Education is not only part of, but central to the liberation struggle, and that it is in the course of the struggle that the education of the future is focusing the people themselves in developing the institutions of the new nation.

The colonial power cannot impose a complete cultural occupation. The majority of people retain their identity and are the one entity really able to preserve and to create it - that is, they can make history. A people's cultural manifestations, including their literature, oral and written, their songs and poetry, reflect this resistance, reflect the various stages of development of the anti-imperialist struggle.

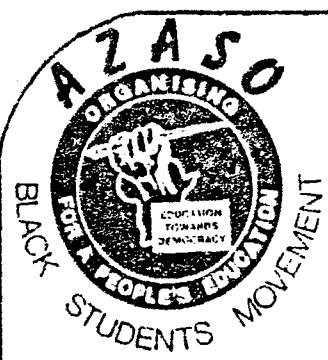
The liberation struggle is the most complex expression of the people's cultural energy, of their identity, of their dignity. Liberation opens up new avenues, helps to enrich art and culture, and in the course of the anti-imperialist struggle finds new forms of expression. These manifestations also become a powerful instrument for political information and training not only for independence but also in the great battles for progress.

Culture is the dynamic synthesis at the level of individual or community consciousness of the contextual and historical reality of a society or human group, of the relations existing between man & nature as well as among men and among social categories.

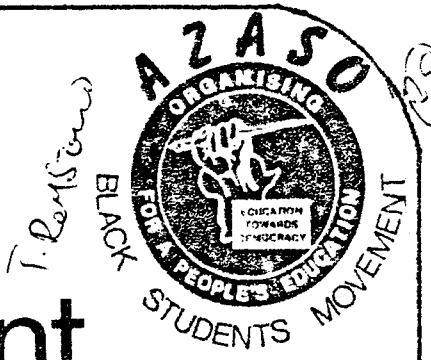
A multiplicity of social categories & particularly of ethnic groups, makes the role of culture in the liberation ~~struggle~~ <sup>struggle</sup> more difficult to define, but this complexity cannot and must not lessen the importance to the struggle, and all to recognize and define the contradictory data so as to maintain the positive values and channel them in the direction of the struggle, with an added dimension.

What must be borne in mind is that while the success of the struggle unites all sections and ethnic groups of a people under the banner of nationalism, and accelerates the process of nationhood, while cultural manifestations will reflect this fusion in terms of national art, national literature and so on, the influence of the international character of the struggle at the same time gives the national form an international content. This movement should move towards the development of a richer culture - popular, national, scientific and universal.

The struggle for the peoples of what we sometimes call the Third World for national liberation and independence has become a titanic force for man's progress and is without doubt one of the most dynamic and most ~~most~~ <sup>important</sup> features of our time.



# Black Students Movement



## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Black Students Movement (BSM), I would like to welcome you to Rhodes University and to wish you well for the 1985 academic year.

University education is a privilege, not a right for the majority of our people. It is therefore important that you should use your stay here profitably as possible. Our education is the result of years of hard work and sacrifice on our part, that of our parents, and the community as a whole.

Education, however, must not be seen merely as the acquisition of information but as the making of a person so that he/she may function more effectively and usefully within our society. Education must not be used for individual and selfish gains. It should help us to address ourselves to the problems confronting our society. In a word, education should make us aware of, and not isolate us, from the conflict and contradictions in our society.

In South Africa, education is used for the promotion <sup>of apartheid.</sup> As Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, the great architect of apartheid, said in 1953: "Native Education should be in accordance with the policy of the State..." What is this policy of the State?

Most of you come from oppressed, exploited and under privileged communities where there is a lack of basic facilities such as electricity, tarred roads, housing and recreational facilities. This is so because of the policy of apartheid, which we experience daily. The education system in South Africa is also based on apartheid. Hence, today we have Bantu Education, Christian National Education, and Indian and Coloured Education. The establishment of the so-called independent homelands resulted in the formation of separate education departments there as well. Today we have over 10 educational departments in the country. What do we as students, as young people and future leaders, as future mothers and fathers do with this situation?

We should strive for a better and more relevant education that will help us to realise the goal of democracy and justice in our country; we should fight for an educational system that is free of racism and tribalism; we should fight for a non-racial and democratic system of education. These are the long-term goals that our student organisations are striving for. This year AZASO, COSAS (Congress of South African Students), and NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) will be involved in the drawing up of an Education Charter. The Charter will spell out our demands for a better and more relevant education system.

The Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO), the major black student organisation in the country, is striving for the above ideals. AZASO believes that students have the right to organise themselves and demand a relevant education. The building of solid and strong bases on all campuses and colleges is a prime and immediate objective.

At Rhodes, AZASO exists in the form of the Black Students Movement (BSM) which was formed in 1982 and affiliated to AZASO in 1983. Apart from the long-term goals of students throughout the country, BSM is concerned with the interests and aspirations of students on this campus. BSM is your only authentic voice. The underlying rationale for the existence of such a movement is that through our unity as students we will be able to achieve what we cannot achieve if we act individually. " UNITED WE STAND, DIVIDED WE FALL "

Secondly, BSM offers you an opportunity to realise your potential and ability. We encourage students to join our sub-committees, which are responsible for organising and planning our activities.

Thirdly, we offer students the opportunity of learning more about the society we live in through seminars, mass meetings, pamphlets and discussions. I am convinced that this information will be of great help to you while still at the University as well as after acquiring your degree.

I sincerely believe and have proved that those people who "advised" me that I should not involve myself in the BSM were misleading me. I would therefore like to encourage you all to join the Black Student Movement and I hope to welcome you as members very soon.

Finally, don't hesitate to approach our members if you have any problems or if you wish to find out more about the BSM. The following people may be contacted:

- \* Mvuso Mbebe - 2115 (Matthews)
- \* Charles Mngomezulu and Thabiso Ratsomo - 4963 (C.B.)
- \* Portia and Bonita - Oppies Common Room

**THABISO RATSOMO**  
President of BSM.

Summary

Thurston

(2)

5/4/85: 2 Day.  
 General strike in Sudan: high prices.  
 strikers want to overthrow the Nimeri govt.

Universities should resist being turned into vocational guidance centres churning out unthinking graduates who will uncritically slot into the relations of production which have determined the prevailing social order. (Tomaselli + G. Hayman p2).

the formation of the ~~SAANAC~~ <sup>SAANAC</sup> therefore, marked the birth of a nation whose foundation were laid in a stirring call by Dr A.P.I. Sene, later to become its treasure, social: the denouement of racialism, the observations of Xhosa-lingo people, the amity that exists between the Zulus and the Tsongas, between the KwaZulu and every other native, must be learnt and forgotten. "We are one people."



## Education with Production

Patrick van Rensburg

it; it comes about only through struggle in which the exploited identify their common interests and unite to change the social order. In that unity and struggle they gain a new awareness of themselves and of their power, and a new understanding of the relationships of production and in society at large.

It is in the context of changing social attitudes that education is potentially of the greatest significance to social transformation; but in this role education must be conceived not only or even primarily as schooling, but broadly in terms of the whole range of social processes that shape attitudes and consciousness in society. The shaping of consciousness is not a purely isolated, individualized mental activity, because consciousness is a reflection in the mind of social and material realities. Consciousness motivates people in struggle and is therefore central and integral to the processes of social transformation. But consciousness also reflects the real positions of people in society and in social struggles, and it develops in, and out of their activities in conjunction with the assimilation of relevant theories, ideas and knowledge.

The struggle for social transformation is not confined to each society and country, because societies are linked in an international system of exploitation which profits a power structure based largely in the industrialized world though not without annexes in the previously colonized countries. Ruling elites of most societies are both accomplices and rivals at the same time. Exploitative relationships exist within most countries and are largely sustained by the exploitative system that cuts across frontiers.

The essential struggle is between those who own and control the means of production, and those without who are obliged to seek exploitative wage employment from them. It is this relationship which forms the basis of the owners and privilege and of the accumulation of wealth, of the means of the means of production. But in the previously colonized world, the effect of the concentration and control of the main means of production in the industrialized countries is to limit the options for autonomous development, to create vast labour reservoirs for the cheap extraction of raw materials, to stunt the growth of small producers, to create conditions of uneven development, and in many cases to place power in the hands of client classes.

The struggle of all those who feel stunted in their political, economic, cultural, educational and social development is a necessary complement to the struggle of the wage worker. It is the task of the workers to lead and coordinate other oppressed groups in the broader struggle. The workers need the support of

### Guiding Principles

In most societies today, economic and social structures and the educational systems that serve them, are marked by exploitation, inequality and hierarchy, and the great majority of people are unable to develop their full human potential in these conditions. The transformation of societies has to contend with vested interests of privilege and power. Such interests, united in protecting and maintaining themselves, rarely concede their power and privilege except under intolerable pressure from those they exploit, in conditions in which they can no longer maintain the existing social order. Social transformation requires great changes in social attitudes to achieve and sustain

T. Rensburg



other groups if their own struggle is to succeed, but only they can carry it to a successful conclusion. All other groups and classes will inevitably develop in their own interests, which they will place first.

For the time being the focus of the struggle is different in those countries which are little industrialized and as yet without a well established and numerous population in wage employment, and which have freed themselves from national oppression through the struggle of patriots of various classes. The progressive task in those countries is to create the basis for social transformation by broadening and extending the options for autonomous, self-reliant and collectively organised development and raising the cultural level of the mass of the people. It is however a task requiring international solidarity: the co-operative and continuing struggle of such countries in association with progressive countries everywhere, linked to the struggle of workers in industrialized countries, will weaken the power of those who own and control the means of production. This will permit to all who struggle against them greater autonomy and self-reliance in their development. As socialized production develops in the less industrialized countries, it is a necessary condition of internationalist solidarity that workers be free to form their own political, social, cultural and economic organisations to safeguard their interests within the wider struggle.

Because the main contestants in this world-wide struggle are the owners of capital and the workers, the main arena of their struggle is the workplace; it is in demanding improvements in their conditions of work, that workers raise their consciousness. But the struggle is a total one because exploitation is reinforced in all arenas of social activity controlled by the owners of the means of production and the state which serves their interests. The struggle of the exploited thus finds expression in the economic, political, ideological, cultural, educational and social arenas. Consciousness grows in, and out of this struggle and guides it. By and large, the struggle is fought in resistance to exploitation in the workplace and in opposition to and defiance of the various manipulations, manoeuvres and machinations of capital and the State it installs. The struggle thus exposes the limitations and contradictions of the system it opposes and in so doing welds the unity and further raises the consciousness of the exploited. It is in the nature of this system to create want in the midst of plenty, to create cycles of boom and recession, to create unemployment, insecurity and inflation. The system is not without its own

weapons in the struggle as it erodes the gains of living standards of workers and divides them. It stultifies the mind in the workplace, with its endless division of labour, and it manipulates the mind through its control of communications and within the educational system.

The struggle of the exploited everywhere requires the application of knowledge, thought and scientific understanding. Social conflict points to the need for those engaged in it to have a deeper understanding of the conditions which underlie it; to the need for a greater understanding of society, of the processes of production and their management, of the origins of the current relations of production; all this requires a scientific outlook. Society is an arena of conflict and struggle; educational institutions are a part as well as a result of the conflict. Education involves the total reproduction of society and a given educational system either reproduces existing society, with its inequality and hierarchies, or if it is linked to the struggle for transformation, promotes that process. Education is not only the product of schools or of formal teaching, but is rooted in the economy and in society as a whole, the family, the workplace, the community and in political and social movements.

Social and political movements are the source of alternative views of society, and can educate people to analyse critical social and personal development. Conflict reveals to the political parties, the movements and organisations which lead and co-ordinate the social struggle, the necessity for their involvement in educational process. It poses the task of demanding the transformation of schools and the need to undertake educational, economic, cultural and welfare activities linked to the political action in which they engage. It brings them face to face with the limitations of learning systems of schools which are divorced from the realities and conflicts of the world outside. It suggests the creation of alternative educational institutions and activities controlled by themselves, both as a direct means of raising consciousness and as a base from which to press demands for change in the entire educational system.

Schools pre-occupy themselves with mental activity in social and production systems that divide mental and manual labour and fragment both. The need of individuals, and of society, is to develop a mass-based pedagogy and learning systems appropriate to all kinds of talents. The assimilation of knowledge, especially science, and the ability to conceptualize, are in general best served by the active linking of theory and practice, with the allocation of time to both as a means of systematically guiding the learners. These processes need to be

*Thompson*

rooted as much as possible in the social and cultural environment, itself changing as the result of conflict and struggle. Education is thus recognised as a whole social process involving action and reflection across the range of human experience.

The linking of theory and practice can be achieved by the regular and real involvement of learners and teachers in the social, political, economic and cultural life and activities of the community. This requires ideally the decentralized control of schools by their local communities and the joint participation of teachers and learners. A cornerstone of this linking of theory and practice is the introduction of productive activities into schools within a progressive arrangement of production relations.

Combining education and production is an important and crucial innovation because production and the relationships established between and amongst people in the course of it are crucial not just to the existence of the individual and society, but to the shape society takes, as well as to the activities of people in society, whether social, recreational, cultural or political. The combination of education and production is thus a first and vital step in the linking of education to social reality and one which points the way to the broadening of the linkages in other important ways. But the linkage of education and production has its own importance as a crucial innovation. It is a means of countering the division of labour and of educating the worker as a worker. This enables the worker better to understand society, the processes of production and their management, and how and what relationships are formed in the course of production. Such understanding makes it possible for workers to press for social change. It is also a means by which students can identify with workers and producers.

The combination creates the possibility that everyone in educational institutions can participate in planning and decision making. It makes it possible for everyone to master the aims, technology and concrete methods of production processes and to understand their relationship with society in general. It makes it possible for everyone to acquire both a specialisation and sufficient basic knowledge and capabilities to change occupations with new technological developments. The need is to learn the scientific principles underlying production processes and for the acquisition of versatility in several skills as well as mastery of one. The benefits of education combined with production, may be summarised as follows: In economic terms, this means creating new wealth and resources which can be

utilised for social, educational and economic development of the school and community. Involvement of students in production provides opportunities to learn technical skills in a production setting — technical skills which are sorely needed by developing economies. It also means the production of goods and services and creation of infrastructure not otherwise available.

In pedagogical terms, it means recognizing that production can be a vehicle for skill training, as well as for development of mental skills. It provides a practical basis for concept-formation, especially in rural societies where the concepts of an industrial culture may be unfamiliar. The use of scientific principles in production provides a real base for their fuller assimilation in theory lessons. Education and production should not be two separate and unrelated activities in the life of institutions, but closely linked, sustaining and informing each other. A great many learning opportunities can be mobilised through the co-operative effort of teachers and instructors on the job, in the classrooms, in clubs, libraries, in recreation and in the broad-ranging participation in the life and activities of the community. This means that the teachers of academic subjects and the technicians in charge of production and skill training should work closely together and that the opportunities for such co-operation should be planned and built into the curriculum and methodology of both the academic and productive activities.

In social terms, the insertion of production in the activities of schools promotes the students' identification with workers and peasants and with their aspirations and interests. It creates respect for work — which lies at the root of the transformation of the environment. It is an important means of linking the school and the community and of integrating the school into the process of development of the community.

The transformation of schools along these lines must become an urgent and central demand of progressive teachers, students and parents, especially in the relevant political and professional organisations and unions to which they belong. But it must also become the demand of all workers in their political and trade union organisations and movements. Their demands are strengthened when they actually maintain and control institutions of their own to demonstrate the concepts and prove the point in practice.

The education of workers is a vital necessity in their struggle, requiring the establishment of workers' education centres controlled by trade unions and involving workers in a range of social and cultural activities. It should be a demand of trade

*T.R. Atkinson*



unions on employers and the state to support such education financially and by releasing employees for attendance. Another means of raising their cultural level is to mobilize them around the demand to understand the whole process of production in the factories and farms in which they work, the demand for rotation amongst different details of the process. Productive work, instead of being stultifying, could then become the basis and source of enlightenment.

A fundamental question facing those who struggle for social transformation and the changes in social attitudes necessary to sustain it, concerns the creation of alternative means of producing, consuming, living, learning and enjoying culture and recreation, when all these are controlled by the power structures of exploitative societies. It is a question posed in both industrialized as well as in predominantly rural countries. Is it appropriate in industrialized countries for those working in factories which are closed down, to take these over and run them co-operatively? Is it appropriate for those made redundant and for the mass of unemployed to establish and run co-operative enterprises? Is it appropriate for workers to have their own presses and publishing houses, to make their own films, to control their own cultural and recreational activities? How should they react to the closure of schools and hospitals, the cutting back of social services and legal aid? How should they deal with a school system that selects and rejects and manipulates their minds? Is it appropriate to establish and maintain, under their own control independent, alternative activities and programmes? Or in resisting capital and the state can and should they only have recourse to political struggle, demonstrations, strikes, demands, petitions, boycotts and protests?

In the conditions of underdevelopment and uneven development, of massive unemployment, underemployment, poverty and want, with hopelessly inadequate social services and school systems oriented to the service of those who own the main means of production, the question has greater urgency. There are overwhelming reasons in the conditions of underdevelopment to promote alternative development strategies and alternative forms and means of education. Programmes and projects which alleviate misery and hardship, create jobs, provide education and training, develop production, grow food and satisfy needs, are a fundamental necessity in these conditions. Those who strive to engage in self-reliant, self-managed development need support. They demonstrate that alternatives are feasible and they involve the deprived in

creating them. The task is not just to change conditions and create new institutions but to change consciousness in the process.

The essential aim of such alternative programmes and activities, as of trade union, protest and parliamentary activities involving workers, is to raise their consciousness and help organize them in their struggle. All such activities create the subjective factor in social transformation, namely the changing of consciousness; engagement in such activities, provided it is accompanied by analysis and study, is a means of raising the level of struggle and with it consciousness. In no way should alternative activities, any more than trade union activities, be seen as an end in themselves or as the direct means of modifying or reforming the existing social order at large. They cannot in isolation break out of its constraints and overcome its contradictions. They can only help to confront such constraints and contradictions in a manner which exposes them more readily.

Given the prevailing consciousness, such institutions and alternative activities are vulnerable to co-option and reform, for the forces at work in society emerge in new institutions as much as they are at work in the old. Confrontation and conflict cannot be avoided but if the deprived can have hegemony in their alternatives they can develop their consciousness in the struggle, provided however that they link that struggle to the main confrontation, namely that between the worker and those who own the means of production. There should and need be no antagonism between the politics of resistance, of exposing the limitation of the prevailing social order, on the one hand, and the politics of positive action and alternatives on the other. The first is the essential struggle and it takes different forms involving different strata in society in different ways. But the second should be complementary to it, and linked to it, again involving different social classes in different ways. Social transformation must be the common goal of both strategies so that alternative programmes assume a new dimension and become positive action in struggle. It is thus not a question of withdrawing from the main struggle but of raising the level of struggle of those without work, education and training, of the hungry who are prey to disease and are ill-clothed and poorly housed, the orphans of the prevailing socio-economic order. While the struggle continues in the main stream, positive action confronts the system in new ways and also proves that many of the demands of the exploited are feasible and capable of achievement.

T. Rakover

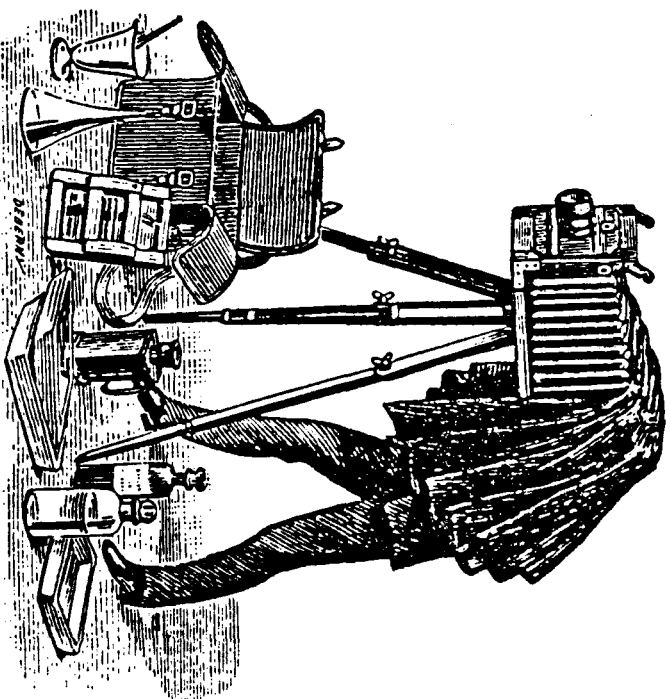
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Although workers' co-operatives are limited in their operation by market forces and inflation, exposure to and confrontation with those realities of the existing social order has great learning potential for all if properly analyzed and interpreted. It is a necessary condition for the formation of such co-operatives that the difficulties and problems experienced by the participants in their actual conditions should, as analyzed by them, point to the necessity of their co-operation. For such producers' co-operatives to survive they must be linked to consumers' co-operatives which guarantee them a protected market. Part of their activities must also be concerned with the immediate satisfaction of basic needs of those involved in them, improving housing, amenities, community health and education, child care and education, care of the aged, production of food and clothing. Subject to the limitations imposed by the contradictions of the existing social order, such co-operatives can survive and provide opportunities for workers to learn to manage their affairs. Participation in such co-operatives also increases the security of workers who are thrown into unemployment and is a means of reducing the size of labour reserves which the existing social order creates for greater competition amongst the unemployed in order to hold down wages.

It is not the purpose of positive action, so conceived, simply to solve the problems of deprived individuals, but through giving them a greater measure of control over their own destinies, to establish a firmer base for struggle in their political parties, their unions and other mass organisation. Participation in workers' co-operatives can be on a full - or part-time basis. Positive action, in this conception, is not economic, but engages its participants in political, ideological, cultural and social activity. This recognises that consciousness develops in a whole social process of experience and activity as well as of learning, study and collective reflection. Consciousness is raised in a total struggle that involves theory and practice in all its arenas. The links between the reality and study, the activity and reflection are quite fundamental to the conscious struggle. In the conditions of underdevelopment especially, the task of positive action in struggle is to lay the foundations, in practice and study, on which people can build an awareness of struggle. This means creating conditions and involving people in activities in terms of which basic concepts would be well understood. One element of this is that people should have a sense of controlling their environment and that they acquire the basis of a scientific outlook. At the political and ideological level, it means practices

and activities which can underpin a slowly growing understanding of co-operation and interdependence, of class awareness, participation, the relations established in production, and so on.

Positive action in struggle enables people to assert themselves and gain new dignity; it is a struggle which requires the constant broadening of the range of issues around itself, such as the nature of the development process, development for what, for whom and how; each issue is of immense learning potential if the linkages between reality and reflection are effective. It is a revolutionary ferment that through its theory and practice can become another base for broadening the resistance struggle. It is a means of widening the concerns of workers and extending their solidarity with underprivileged strata.



Robbins.



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Roland White

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## State strategy: The constitutional proposals

In my talk on the new constitution, I will not focus so much on the specific workings thereof, but rather will try to situate the constitution in the context of the development, and change in form of the South African state.

Before I begin, some preliminary points are in order; in a sense, these will be the themes which run throughout my talk and to which – at least implicitly – I will return.

a) Firstly, as concerns the question of the PC and reform in general, I wish to stress that the question of whether a measure such as the new constitution is a “true reform” or merely a “cosmetic change” is – apart from its ideological importance – at worst misguided, and at best superficial. The question is rather why has it been introduced and what will its effects be? The point that emerges here, is that such measures are motivated only by the conflict and struggle of the contending political forces.

The PC proposals, as a particular instance of what we may term a “formative” response, exist as both a reflection and a mechanism of the conflict that characterises South African society: the struggle, between on the one hand the powerful to preserve an ever changing economic and political system from which they benefit, and on the other hand, the oppressed masses, the majority of whom are the black working class, to overthrow that same system under which they suffer. The PC proposals cannot be assessed in terms of “true” or “sham” reform, but only in terms of their effectivity as a strategy of a particular group or class trying to ensure its domination in the ongoing process of struggle between those

who produce the wealth and those who reap it.

b) Secondly, the PC proposals are just one part of state strategy – one aspect of a more generalised restructuring of class relations – precipitated by the crisis Dave elaborated on earlier. It is not an independent measure, but is closely integrated into the gammit of formative measures – from initiatives in industrial relations to latest attempts to revamp the African Community Council system in “white urban areas” – all designed to preserve the essentials or dominant components of the present system. The PC constitutes one aspect of what I will term the change in the form of state.

c) Thirdly, I would like to draw a distinction between on the one hand (i) the general political terrain on which reform takes place (ie. the entire arena from say “industrial relations” to the latest government initiatives on local government), and on the other hand (ii) the narrowly and formally defined political institutions which have arisen as mechanisms of domination, through and in which struggles are conducted, strategies defined, etc. Parliament would be a good example here.

The constitutional proposals can be seen at both of these levels, as a feature of the general political struggle between groups contending for power (class struggle) but crucially effective at the level of formal political institutions. The proposals, bearing the name “reform”, have arisen as one very important aspect of the changes the state is being forced to undergo if the dominant relations which characterise this society are to be preserved.

## THE GENERAL TENDENCY

Before I turn specifically to the PC, let me briefly sketch out a general tendency in terms of which we can concretely situate the new constitution. First, following the 1973 wave of strikes, and even more so after the 1976 uprisings, it became increasingly clear to the ruling classes and their representatives within the state that the dominant order could not be maintained by repression alone, and that long-term political and institutional measures would be required to ensure stability.

It was this perception that underlay the 1977 Constitutional proposals initiated by Vorster, but the dominant faction of the Nationalist Party at the time had not the political power to even begin to implement them. After Vorster's ousting by the P W Botha faction, things took on a new light and since then the state has been undergoing fundamental changes. These changes, or to use the current jargon this "restructuring", has occurred in three closely related areas: in "reform", in "militarisation" and in "authoritarianisation".

I cannot go into detail here except to point out that the first "reform" as concretely embodied in measures taken to promote a Black middle class, "enlightened" labour legislation etc., refers mainly to changes in the relation between state and civil society, while the latter two refer essentially to changes within the state and, to a lesser extent, the NP itself. "Militarisation" and "authoritarianisation" of the state are particularly closely related. The first refers to a process of penetration of the state by the army, particularly at an institutional level, while the second refers to the process whereby decision-making power has been increasingly elevated to levels above or outside of parliament. Under Botha, the Cabinet and state bureaucracy have been fundamentally re-organised so as to concentrate power in the hands of the Prime Minister. In effect, the cabinet has largely been abolished as a responsible decision-making body and many of its functions have been taken over by six broad cabinet committees — State Security, Finance, Economics, Internal Affairs, Welfare, Legislation and Parliamentary Affairs. These are now the effective executive bodies of government and are answerable only to the PM. The significance of this — and the emergence of the State Security Council which stands over and above the cabinet committees as both a committee and a separate security council — lies in the extent to which it has shifted executive responsibility away from parliament and even the parliament caucus of the NP, and into the hands of a non-parliamentary body of prominent businessmen and senior military officials.

The changes in the above three areas comprise the constituent elements of what is generally referred to as "Total Strategy" i.e. an overall restructuring of the constitution and relation between different state apparatuses and their overall relation to civil society. The PC proposals comprise a constituent element of this, as such they confirm and entrench these tendencies. They are stamped with the specifics of the struggles and history that has produced them.

The specific economic and political aspects of the crisis responsible for the genesis of the PC proposals has already been drawn out by Dave at a general level. I now want to examine the specific form of response that constitutes the PC against this general backdrop.

## STATE INITIATIVES

It should be clear, that on a general level political stability is central to the reproduction of any social system. Two points to note here are — (i) that the state plays a crucial role in ensuring such political stability and (ii) that stability is threatened by organisation and unity of the oppressed, i.e. those people for whom "stability" only means the perpetuation of a political system under which they suffer.

It is thus of primary importance that the state keeps the dominated classes divided and disorganised in order that their struggles be fragmented and limited. In South Africa, this has historically occurred through the enforcing and entrenchment of racial and ethnic divisions among those who are all subject to the same order, but on different levels and through different institutional mechanisms — Africans are divided into "Xhosa", "Zulu", "Tswana", etc. through the homeland system; Indians, Coloureds and Africans are made to live in different "group areas", enjoy different institutionally enforced access to the labour market and so on.

Importantly though, the nature of this division and the way in which the state attempts to enforce it is conditioned by concrete conditions in which the state acts and responds. Thus, as organisation amongst the oppressed groups in South Africa has grown, as their struggles have advanced, and as sectors of the dominated classes (particularly among the Indian and Coloured communities) have developed economically (hence have moved into stronger structural positions) it has become necessary for the state not only to rely on repressive measures to bring about division, but increasingly to complement these with co-optive strategies. It has, in other words, found it imperative to gain some level of credibility with at least a limited section of the oppressed.

Two things need to be stressed here: the "co-optive", "divisive" and "repressive",



aspects are combined in a complementary manner into one overall strategy. Thus at the same time as the state is repressing the development of popular organisations, it is also attempting to divide "Indian" and "Coloured" from "African" and trying to co-opt sections within each of these communities such that they will take on the role of immediate oppressor (run the Bantustans, join the SAIC, etc.).

Second — the co-optive strategy that the state has found increasingly necessary to pursue, particularly post-1976, and which is finding its most full and recent expression in the PC proposals, is not solely a matter of ideological legitimacy. As progressive organisation has grown, especially in the form of community, youth and women's organisations post-79/80, it has become increasingly necessary for the state to attempt to subvert such organisation so that the demands of the oppressed are not expressed in opposition to, but through the state (ie. through the "correct constitutional channels" eg. through SAIC rather than through the Durban Housing Action Committee). The attempt to provide "space" for representation of the demands/grievances of the oppressed is at the same time an attempt to limit their revolutionary nature, or effectively as focal points of progressive organisation.

The extent of the PC proposals as a co-optive strategy must be seen in the context of the failure of previous attempts, by the state, to successfully create political institutions designed to divide and co-opt the oppressed (the CPRC was still-born in 1964, never managed to get off the ground and eventually disbanded in 1979; the SAIC was voted in on a percentage poll of less than 20 percent; Community Councils have never managed to gain anything resembling credibility among the African community). The point is simply that the political and ideological failures of such bodies — due primarily to the organisation and resistance of the oppressed classes — has meant that the question of central, national political power had been placed on the agenda. The state has been forced to initiate a co-optive strategy on a more fundamental level than has ever been the case before.

Not only do the PC proposals entrench racial division by their very nature, but they are obviously concerned to guarantee white domination. The 4:2:1 ratio of whites to coloureds to Indians, is I am sure familiar to all. The overall picture we have at this stage is one in which some access to the avenues of formal political power is being offered to limited sectors of the dominated classes (Indians and Coloureds), but only in so far as it institutionally confirms their subordinate political positions.

On another level, however, the nature and shape of the formal political arena in South

Africa is undergoing fundamental changes. We have already seen how under the label of Total-Strategy, the state has been assuming an increasingly authoritarian form. The PC proposals, when implemented, will entrench a set of institutional measures at the level of formal politics such as the move away from the traditional democracy — albeit of a racially exclusive type — that has characterised the organisation of the South African state to date. Also, the effect of implementing the PC proposals will entrench the tendency to remove the locus of formal political power from a parliamentary to executive and semi- or entirely extra-parliamentary levels of decision-making. The awesome powers of the State President and the possibility of people from outside any of the racial parliaments being co-opted into the cabinet, concretely embody this.

The point is simply this: that for a gammit of reasons the state is increasingly taking an authoritarian form — the relations between different apparatuses is changing and its institutions are being overhauled. At the same time, the pursuit of political stability as a precondition for the preservation of the status quo demands that co-optive overtones be made vis-a-vis the dominated classes; overtures which though they must be formative (ie. must extend beyond window dressing) must not in any way threaten the basic distribution of power.

The expression of this contradiction is between on the one hand the necessity to "share" power and on the other hand the necessity to concentrate it, is what is expressed in the constitutional mish-mash proposed by the PC. The extremely circumscribed incorporation of sectors of the oppressed into the formal political arena has occurred only with a concomittal subversion of the process whereby they could express themselves politically or make any genuine political impact.

#### THE STATE AND THE DOMINANT CLASSES

The anti-democratic tendencies of the PC are not related solely to the question of incorporation of Coloureds and Indians. Another factor of crucial importance in determining the specific nature of the PC as a strategy of domination in South Africa has been the splits within the ruling class alliance, particularly as manifest in the split within the Nationalist Party and the changing position of the electorate.

The drive to "reform" has produced a powerful backlash among sections of the white working, rural and petty-bourgeois classes (the ones most threatened by talk of "black advancement and traditionally those most ingrained with racist ideology) and it seems as if the NP has lost a significant proportion of the groups which have



historically provided its greatest voting strength. In the 1981 general election, NP support dropped from 65 percent (1977) to 50 percent and two polls taken in April 1982 indicated a further slump to 44 percent. In August 1982, the combined right-wing vote in the Germiston by-election was comfortably ahead of that of the Nats in what had previously been a rock solid NP seat. In November last year, the NP managed to beat the Conservative Party by only ten votes and the combined HNP/CP vote was 570 ahead of that of the Nats.

In the February 1982 split of Treurnicht and 18 other MP's to form the CP has told heavily on the Nats, not only in that it has detracted numerically from the party but in that it has created the most coherent and articulate right-wing opposition to Botha's reform drive. Since May 1982, the CP has begun a propaganda war against the PC proposals centred around two points:

1. the almost unlimited powers of the state President;
2. that the proposals "abrogate the white man's right to self-determination".

That this has been effective, if at least in limited areas, is born out by Treurnicht's recent electoral victory in Waterberg and Fanie Botha's close shave in Soutpansberg. Overall, the right-wing threat, as it has become known, has been a significant force in determining the formulation and implementation of Botha's reform.

Not only has the pace of reform been considerably slowed by the consideration of the right-wing threat, but the nature of the changes themselves have been determined by the necessity of maintaining credibility among an increasingly threatened electorate (and Treurnicht et al have been quick to stimulate such feelings in their ongoing propaganda war with PW). Yet, as Dave argued, significant reform has in the face of decaying crisis become a fundamental necessity for the state — and hence for the Nationalist Party as its primary political agent. Measures even as weak and ambiguous as that of the PC Constitutional Proposals have become unavoidable.

The proposals allow the NP to lose its parliamentary majority (a possibility on the face of things at present) but to be able to exercise full power as long as it remains the largest single white party — even if it has just 34 percent of the seats. The executive president (whose powers have all been emphasized) will be chosen by a college comprising the majority parties of the separate chambers only; the majority party will choose the white members of the PC and, it seems, those participating on the permanent parliamentary committees. The new constitution will thus

make it possible for the minority of the minority to retain control of the political system. It will make possible a government with less popular support than any before in the history of South Africa.

It is important to note here that the conflictual developments that have surfaced in and around the NP do not occur autonomously from the dynamics and conflicts that traverse the broader society. As the struggles of the oppressed have intensified, struggles within the dominant classes (for the moment within the white power bloc) over appropriate political solutions (i.e. solutions which would favour the maintenance of each group's current position best) have also heightened.

We cannot go into the complex dynamics of all this here: suffice to say for now that the positions that the respective sectors of the dominant (white) classes have taken on the issue and the support they have given to the different political parties tends to reflect their material interests. While a white mineworker may favour the maintenance of job reservation to protect his relatively privileged position, for example, Harry Oppenheimer, whose immediate interest lies in the development of skilled labour from whatever quarter, will favour its being scrapped. On a more specifically political level, the same conflicts occur and have been increasingly sharply reflected in the conflicts between "white" political parties. Thus, extremely crudely, the Nationalist Party and the reformist solutions tended to become more closely associated with the military and monopoly capital while the parties of the right and more overtly supremacist/repressive solutions have come to be supported by the white working class, petty-bourgeoisie and rural bourgeoisie. Though these links are difficult to draw without lapsing into an over-rigid or mechanistic approach, it can be said that the class base of the NP has altered substantially, particularly post 1977.

The immediate effect of this will be to downplay the role of the political party relative to the executive aim of government. The scope for an increasing emphasis on extra-parliamentary forums, for policy and decision-making is wide open, and is, in fact, highly likely. The authoritarianism the PC embodies, need not lead to an increasing breakdown of state/private sector links, but is likely to begin to elevate such links above and away from the level of legislation mainly because of the ineffectiveness of parliament and political parties, particularly the opposition, under the plan. The PFP, for example, is likely to find itself increasingly marginalised because, quite crudely, groups say in the private sector, that want things done will begin to explore more effective channels with closer ties



to the executive as they are developed by the state.

The PC as a particular "reform" maintains some vestiges of bourgeois democracy but as subordinate, and largely impotent components, of an increasingly militaristic and clearly dictatorial order. How this is all to be implemented remains to be seen: crucially it is dependent upon the organisational unity and struggles of the classes it has been designed to dominate. There is a strong possibility that the most essential components of the proposals will never begin to succeed.

CONCLUSION

The President's Council proposals amount to a significant move away from the "racially exclusive bourgeois democracy" which has characterised the South African state to date. They constitute a restructuring of both its racially exclusive and bourgeois democratic nature. This amounts to, in the most general terms, a change in the form of national oppression that constitutes the cornerstone of the South African political economy. The PC proposals are a vital political component of a broad state strategy whose essential objective is the continued control and subjugation of the black working class. As such, the effectivity of the new constitution will extend far beyond those (particularly Coloureds and Indians) which it immediately confronts. The state wishes to co-opt those sections of the oppressed not just because they present a danger in and of themselves, but because the oppressed as a whole are most strong when they are united.

Secondly, and more specifically, the restructuring of the constitution and the restructuring of the conditions and mechanisms of political repression (in the form of Apartheid) is to take a particularly authoritarian form. Historically, the

reality of the bourgeois democratic state in South Africa, has been predicated on that arena not being threatened by the dominated classes, that is by maintaining its racial exclusivity. Therefore, it can only be predicated on changes in the nature of the "democracy" (or indeed its total subversion) itself. This is precisely what has happened. This time, however, there is an additional factor — the right.

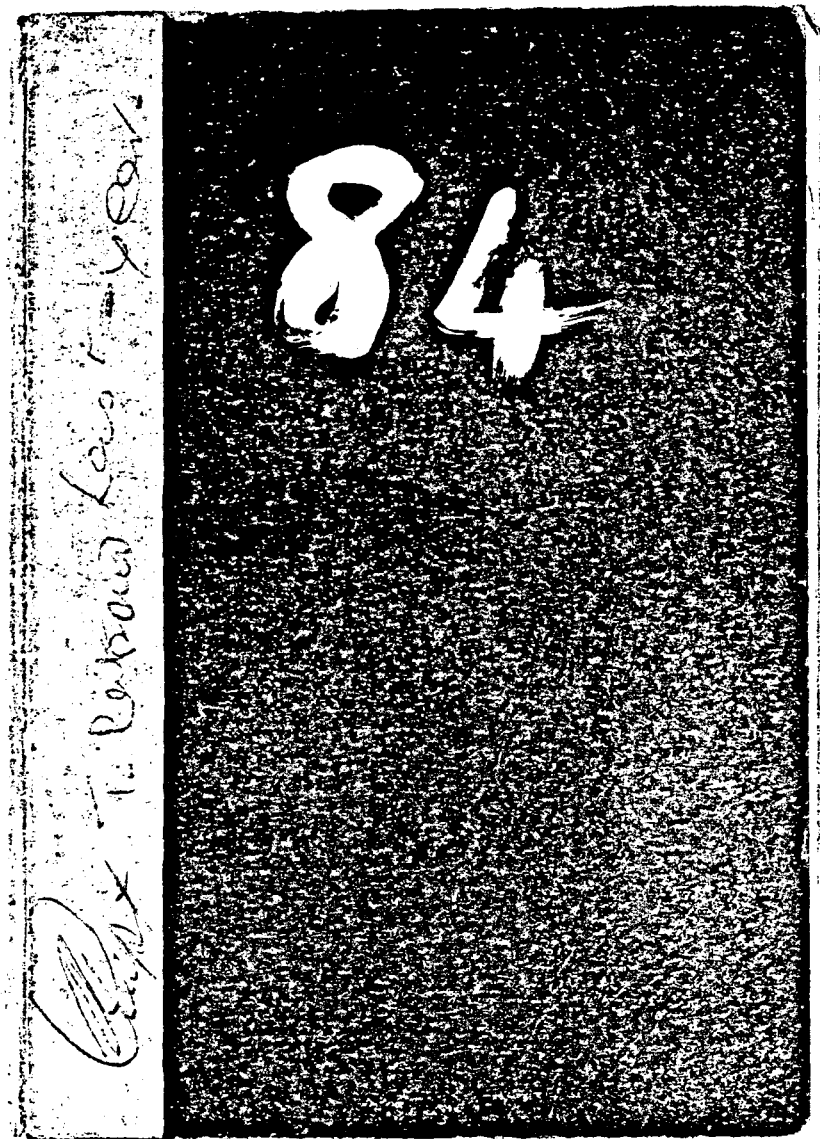
We find that the state is caught in a complex of contradictions. On the one hand, it must extend formal power to the oppressed if it is to gain their consent to be ruled. On the other hand, any move in such a direction brings ruptures with the people who have always benefited from the unequal distribution of power and those who refuse to relinquish their gain. The state is caught in a cross-fire of demands which are impossible to synthesize and hence cannot be resolved, but let it be clear that the distance between the NP and the white right-wing, and between the state and the oppressed people of the country, are two very different matters.

The contradictions the NP experiences with the right are derived primarily from the conflicts between the state and the dominated classes. The contradictions between the state and the dominated classes are contradictions in and of themselves, the product of irreconcilable antagonisms between those who own and those who do not, those who produce and those who reap, those with power and those who are subordinate (but not powerless).

The state will ever try to resolve this contradiction with proposals and strategies and more proposals and more strategies, but it can never succeed without negating itself. The contradiction will only be resolved when the people really do have the power — when all shall govern.

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- 4. How do we see our position? How...
- 5. More more discussion groups
- 6. How... social security will remain like we don't... it... we... it... is... about... the... support... subject.

- more preparation help reality
- 5. how do we make it possible for the WBF to have maximum participation in the WBF
- 9. how do we ensure working class participation in the front.

- 1
- (2) Edu
- (3) local
- (4) issue
- (5) 1984

Area Com Education

- Anti-Militarism
- Re-Organisation
- Finance
- Political
- Propaganda

T.Y. all the regions disseminated  
itself from the suggestions that  
the T.Y. would outline the plan  
to see UDF.

Recommendation to central all  
the regions.

NGC: delegation to the central  
office of the  
UDF session

NGC: T.J. W. Gye invited 100

E Cape + Border 50

N Cape 10

Orange 100

Trans 10

b. No. of persons and. otherwise call.

c. UDF + Home of UDF.

d. Unsettled arrangements appear to be UDF.

~~UDF~~ <sup>UDF</sup> Land / Org: No. suggestions received as  
information.

Removal of Victoria Cape. Crossroads + Kuyasa -  
Natalle Church

i. Imperial Forum

h. General: "Cape region unneeded"  
in fact no co-operation with trade unions

23/1/88: More than 100 people will be discussed  
including in 1988

Print approach "more doing."

7. Change of "release" concept.

Area Comm. Reports:

Plan: de Beers + UDF ECC

UDF's in Eden: Reg. Structure.

UDF

UDF





Commission on Education: - Report Cover

Executive  
Chairman: Minister of Education  
Vice: Mr. (Name) (Member for...)

Secy: Mr. Swartz

Rec. Secy: Mr. (Name)

Rec. Secy: Mr. (Name)

President: Mr. (Name)

Org: Mr. (Name)

17: Sociology continues to be a science of society of it ever?   
 would

M. A. ... the prof 5244  
A. ... Anti ... the ... 5245  
B. ... Social Theory

1. Foster in the past were always from political orgs.  
2. We must go beyond the conventional means of opinion to be open minded.

Dr. ... : Mr. ...  
... ..  
... ..

1. Herb Woke
2. South Africa
3. 1970s
4. 1970s
5. 1970s
6. 1970s
7. 1970s
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94. 1970s
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96. 1970s
97. 1970s
98. 1970s
99. 1970s
100. 1970s

Nile is a registered work-  
house orgs.

And the important of the  
community in an  
community.  
\* government political cause.  
if we don't need to take a  
political stand.  
if our pre-registered go and  
\* rays we don't to what the  
we're here is the  
\* we were the support  
that we have.

Syrs.

GARDNER 1300000.

\* educate people how to manage their life;

\* our organization refers to

100,000,000

\* based in USA - 13 IVS

community, self-supervised.

\* physical help education.

\* discipline of tomorrow

\* majority of SA live in education.

\* Real political cards;

\* prevention is better than cure →

\* how do you handle them how to pitch.

\* education

We can't condone our business.

Patsy: Condone handouts

Language in direct welfare

is a sign of benefit.

It's beyond any doubt that

it's a sign of

it's acceptable need for financial assistance

It's how many applications

from states' →

It's how we intend to have all the answers →

Ex 1.25

~~Question:~~ Question:  $\frac{5}{6.35}^2$

Objective of Rag: not to  
disrupt BSM

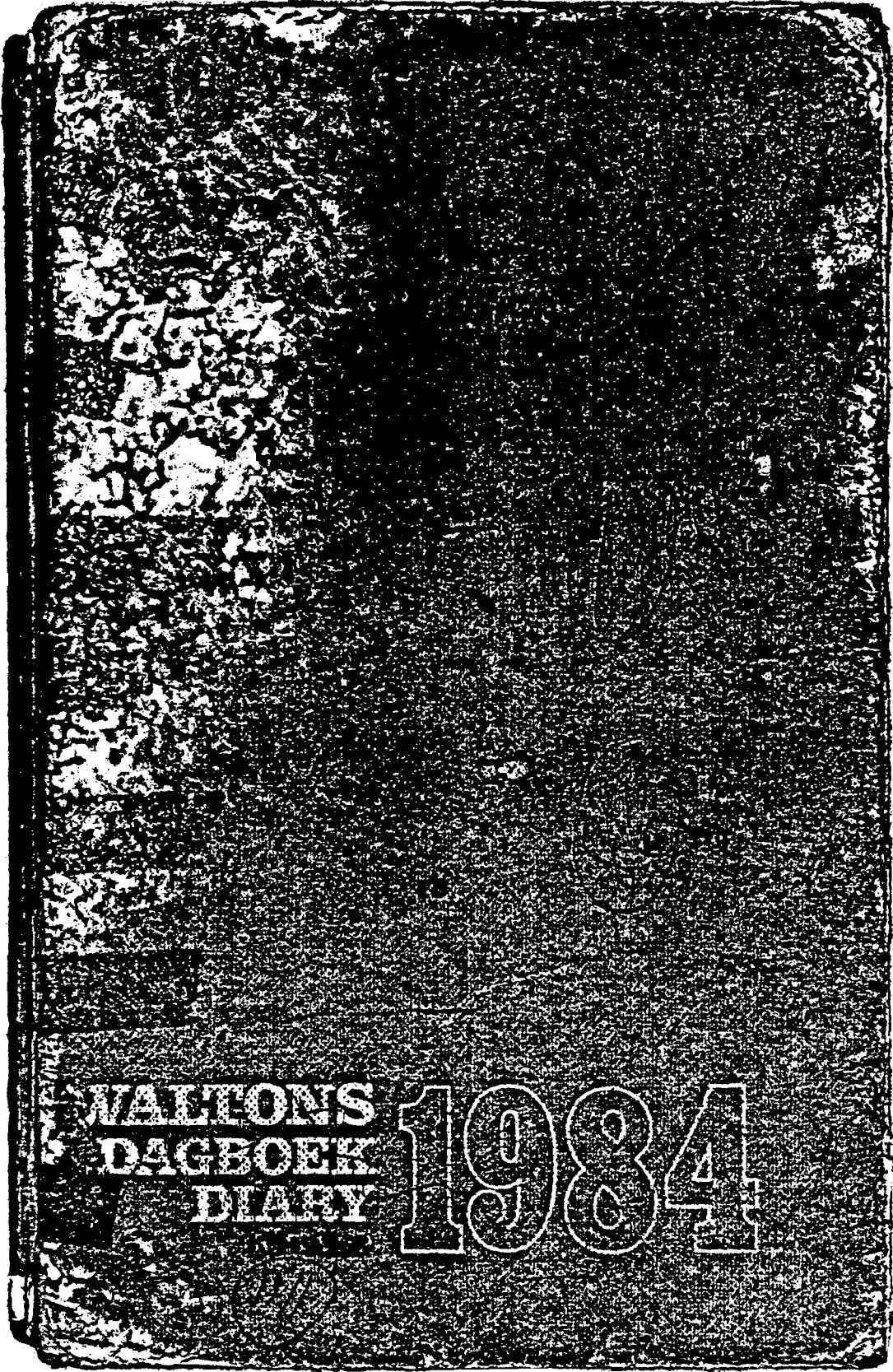
Business Aspect:  
Community  
Vitality.

— Owen: Funds— Donations:  
Public + Business.  
Functions → Rag is a business.

Corporate Social Responsibility—

Rag offers an opportunity  
for social firms— here

**AAC 61**



The hand sees not as man  
sees, for man looks on the out-  
-ward appearance, but the  
hand looks on the heart.

Admission to working for books,

~~301~~ 2221 600 116  
C.P.C.

12 22: hand, laboratory & App. App.

Admission No. Hillbrow Hospital.

315289

THABISO RATSONO  
S.A. INSTITUTE OF Race Rehabilitation  
(P.O. Box 97)  
68 de Korte Street.  
Johannesburg

THABISO " RATSONO  
1511 ZONE 13  
SEROKENG.

Room 68  
WILLEM BOWLES  
RHODES UNIVERSITY





NOTES

Recommended Book for Typing

With Typewriting - <sup>10</sup>th ed. Appendix  
 Spald Essex for Typewriting Student  
 - North African Services

AAT Typewriting book.  
 Winkler cover.

~~With the Biver~~ - Next - Michigan House.

The Republic; The Politics, The  
 Revolution, Second Treatise.  
 The Prince and The Discourses.

for  
Mede - Thomas and Respectives (see I.)

Sociology - I. Rosentson

Gregory Dawey - Graham Annex R1.

Please read Approaching Sociology  
 2315 (look on adjacent pages  
 women in different societies. page 8)

JANUARIE  
 JANUARY

Prophecy and Protest - Ed. S.D. Clark  
 J.P. Grayson  
 C.M. Grayson  
 (1975).

FEBRUARY  
 FEBRUARIE

Apple R30.  
 Socks R30.  
 539003 / 3

EVERYMAN IS AN UNKINDLETABLE  
 ENJOYMENT.

MAART  
 MARCH

THINK BEFORE YOU SPEAK OR WRITE,  
 NOT AFTERWARDS.

# 1985 FORWARD PLANNER VOORUITBEPLANNER

12th MONTH · 31 DAYS  
12de MAAND · 31 DAE

DECEMBER 1983

WEEK 31

APRIL  
APRIL

0700

The civil went do  
lunch after lunch

0800

0900  
1000

The school to go  
with a meet with their  
buses.

MEI  
MAY

1100

1200

1300

1400

JUNE  
JUNIE

First tutorial will be the first  
one in the tutorial tutorial booklet  
and students will be expected to  
have read it carefully before the  
tutorial commences. It is advised  
to make notes on the content  
and to think carefully about the  
answers to the questions assigned  
the end of each tutorial assignment.  
SUNDAY 1 SONDAG 1-385  
New Year's Day Nuwejaarsdag

1984 JANUARIE  
JANUARY

1ste MAAND · 31 DAE  
1st MONTH · 31 DAYS

JANUARY 1984

1st MONTH · 31 DAYS  
1ste MAAND · 31 DAE

DAE	WEDNESDAY	2	WEDNESDAY	WEEK 1	WEEK 1	THURSDAY	3	THURSDAY	5-900
0700	Openbare Vakensiedag		Public Holiday						
0800									
0900									
1000									
1100									
1200									
1300									
1400									
1500									
1600									
1700									
1800									
1900									

Next annual Meeting fact in meeting

education, information, meetings

Other: Social Services, etc.

Regiment (Mass)

UAF community for

university information

university

advertisements

affiliates (constituent)

i education

ii mobilisation

iii information

1984 JANUARIE

1ste MAAND · 31 DAE  
1ste MONTH · 31 DAYS

1ste MONTH · 31 DAE  
1ste MAAND · 31 DAE

JANUARY 1984

Dinsdag 4		Woensdag 5	
WEDNESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	THURSDAY
WEEK	WEEK	WEEK	WEEK
0700		0700	DECISIONS
0800	Proposed: General & Special Advisory	0800	Administrative
0900	General & Special Advisory	0900	1) Early worker committee to be formed - representative for various categories of workers etc to be formed
1000	Advisory Medical	1000	2) After meeting committee to be formed for industrial & local library
1100	Advisory in Medicine	1100	3) UDF industrial archive
1200	1) Investigative (preparatory) 2) Educational of exposure 3) Informative of exposure	1200	4) TUL Medical committee to send survey reports to regional
1300	A) Organize 1) study 2) also - study	1300	5) Index-regional: (specific: G. M. S., M. G. S.) Mass level & investigation
1400	B) also - study 7) water harvesting	1400	1) Maybe with emphasis on specific communication separating (some)
1500		1500	
1600		1600	
1700		1700	A. Possible EDUCATIONAL RIT FOR DECISIONS
1800		1800	PMI M.S.C. AT WPTL REGIONAL LEVEL PR NI INDUSTRIAL REGIONAL LEVEL
1900		1900	

1984 JANUARIE

1ste MAAND . 31 DAE  
1ste MONTH . 31 DAYS

1ste MONTH . 31 DAE  
1ste MAAND . 31 DAYS

JANUARY 1984

DATE	DAY	WEEK	DESCRIPTION	TIME
0700	S	6	Journal Membership	
0800			Rep: Information Role	
0900			Application procedure	
1000			Member's letter (M. van der Merwe)	
1100			National statements & responses	
1200			Structure of regional CDF	
1300			fund changed	
1400			letters also in regional assoc	
1500			communicated list countries (by region)	
1600			affiliates list and updates	
1700			ii) general action	
1800			iii) meetings	
1900			iv) seminars	
			v) publications	
			vi) campaigns & learning circles (in way)	
			vii) referees	
			viii) contact with non-affiliates	
			ix) articles and criticisms on CDF	
			x) suggestions (e.g. on financing) if any	
0700	TH	7	Message of support	
0800			affiliates' activities related to CDF	
0900			TITLE: CDF C/PART	
1000			Newsreading of the CDF	
1100			Programme and how claims are being made	
1200			list of specific applications (M. van der Merwe)	
1300			Review of Role	
1400			Role: inform, educate, organise, convince, recruit, persuade, etc.	
			Introductions/what is a friend	
			SUNDAY 8 SONDAAG 8-955	
			overalism, background how emerged	
			i) structure: diagrams	
			ii) letters, text, slogan	
			iii) list of affiliates' names, address	
			iv) application procedure	
			v) cooperation	
			vi) working principles	
			vii) resolutions	
			viii) addresses	

1984 JANUARIE  
JANUARY

1ste MAAND · 31 DAE  
1st MONTH · 31 DAYS

JANUARY 1984  
JANUARIE

WEDNESDAY 9 MONDAY WEEK 1 WEEK 2 TUESDAY 10 WEDNESDAY

Time	Monday 9	Tuesday 10
0700	Printing 'Aesthetics' for supply of more escape photos	16. Meeting tomorrow for meeting with 'Aesthetics' book club
0800	conditions showing medicine like a strong star.	17. Meeting tomorrow to prepare for 'Aesthetics' book club
0900		18. Meeting tomorrow to prepare for 'Aesthetics' book club
1000	1) Prepare to produce own booklets on 'Aesthetics'	19. Meeting tomorrow to prepare for 'Aesthetics' book club
1100	2) 'Aesthetics' Medicine: a) substitute 'Aesthetics' to 'MD' b) affiliate medicine to be encouraged	20. Meeting tomorrow to prepare for 'Aesthetics' book club
1200	a) medicine common to get medicine via IMF for central & regional offices	21. Meeting tomorrow to prepare for 'Aesthetics' book club
1300		22. Meeting tomorrow to prepare for 'Aesthetics' book club
1400		23. Meeting tomorrow to prepare for 'Aesthetics' book club
1500	ii) Medicine remains to work clearly with 'Aesthetics' press	24. Meeting tomorrow to prepare for 'Aesthetics' book club
1600		25. Meeting tomorrow to prepare for 'Aesthetics' book club
1700	iii) national effort on MSC. National standards on 'Aesthetics'	26. Meeting tomorrow to prepare for 'Aesthetics' book club
1800	iv) need of other strong medicinal products. media committee for success handling of medicine	27. Meeting tomorrow to prepare for 'Aesthetics' book club
1900	vi) preparing to submit booklets on 'Aesthetics'	28. Meeting tomorrow to prepare for 'Aesthetics' book club

1984 JANUARIE

1ste MAAND · 31 DAE  
1ste MONTH · 31 DAYS

1ste MONTH · 31 DAE  
1ste MAAND · 31 DAE

JANUARY 1984

Dinsdag 11 WEDNESDAY		Woensdag 12 THURSDAY	
0700	0800	0700	0800
22	his stuff with me... help... ... ..	Mr. ... .. 935 Klipspruit 700 Riviville 1808	Mr. ... .. Klipspruit Riviville 1808
0900		0900	
1000		1000	
1100		1100	
1200		1200	
1300		1300	
1400		1400	
1500		1500	
1600		1600	
1700		1700	
1800		1800	
1900		1900	



1984 JANUARIE  
JANUARY

1<sup>ste</sup> MAAND . 31 DAE  
1<sup>ste</sup> MONTH . 31 DAYS

1<sup>ste</sup> MONTH . 31 DAYS  
1<sup>ste</sup> MAAND . 31 DAE

JANUARY 1984  
JANUARIE

13 WEEKS 14 WEEKS  
15-35

0700	Rhena Serathu 8105 A Sharpsville 1933	0700	Play resumed up the details.
0800	Mina sea Nyubee 3331 Sharpsville 1953	0800	Winkler's maintenance
0900	University of the North 1: Bang 213 Pretoriusdijkba 9866.	0900	
1000		1000	
1100		1100	
1200		1200	
1300		1300	
1400	⊕ P XXV; PXXVI; PXXVII; P162, P162 P195; P197; P198.	1400	
1500	Nelle Noduloe Gethere 2 Kosue 634	SUNDAY 15 SONDAAG	
1600			⊕ NYC - 12/13/187
1700	Septima Mawwagei 3179 Jave 13		
1800			
1900			

1984 JANUARIE  
1984 JANUARY

1<sup>ste</sup> MAAND · 31 DAE  
1<sup>st</sup> MONTH · 31 DAYS

1<sup>ste</sup> MONTH · 31 DAE  
1<sup>st</sup> MONTH · 31 DAYS

JANUARY 1984  
JANUARIE 1984

MONDAY 16 MONDAY WEEK 1 WEDNESDAY 17 WEDNESDAY WEEK 2

0700			0700		
0800			0800		
0900			0900		
1000			1000		
1100			1100		Phone for Kees Relations Meeting
1200			1200		
1300			1300		Phone Anita Claarers. about Semafala Removals.
1400			1400		
1500			1500		
1600			1600		
1700			1700		Mitria Committee Meeting
1800			1800		
1900			1900		

1984 JANUARIE

1ste MAAND . 31 DAE  
1ste MONTH . 31 DAYS

1ste MAAND . 31 DAE  
1ste MONTH . 31 DAYS

JANUARY 1984

23 MONDAY WEEK 1 24 TUESDAY WEEK 1

0700	Due one for whom christmase was named after was born in our obscure vilage, the daughter of a peasant woman.	0700	Not a gust of wind nipped the high grass of an unexplored section of wet valley and went and another push their way toward the imprisonment of a small.
0800		0800	
0900	He never wrote a book, never went to college!	0900	
1000		1000	There is the <sup>reminiscent</sup> story of their first words. Two winds in a silent space of clouds, their first a well-remembered breeze on the seaward...
1100	He never travelled 2000 miles from the place he was born.	1100	
1200		1200	
1300	Fifteen centuries have come and gone since his birth. ..	1300	
1400	and yet all the armies that ever marched, all the navies that ever sailed; all the kings	1400	
1500	parliaments and all the kings of history but torator have not affected the life of man	1500	
1600	on earth as has that one solitary life	1600	
1700		1700	
1800		1800	
1900		1900	

1984 JANUARIE  
JANUARY

2168 D

1st MAAND . 31 DAE  
1st MONTH . 31 DAYS

1st MONTH . 31 DAYS  
1st MAAND . 31 DAE

JANUARY 1984  
JANUARIE 1984

25 WEDNESDAY WEEK 1 THURSDAY 26 THURSDAY WEEK 2

0700	7th. Newspaper -	0700	General to the thinking of what sense was the report of the 1984 African National Congress's emergence as the dominant force in the struggle against apartheid by the ANC, the S.A.P. and the U.D.A. and the role of the U.D.A. in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa.
0800	Report on progress to February	0800	Report on progress to February
0900	Follow-up on South Africa	0900	Follow-up on South Africa
1000	Report on progress to February	1000	Report on progress to February
1100		1100	
1200		1200	
1300	Night Association Meeting	1300	Night Association Meeting
1400	Report-back on meeting	1400	Report-back on meeting
1500	Discussion of the new business	1500	Discussion of the new business
1600		1600	
1700		1700	
1800	to the features of the new business	1800	to the features of the new business
1900	to the features of the new business	1900	to the features of the new business

1984 JANUARIE  
JANUARY

1ste MAAND : 31 DAE  
1ste MONTH : 31 DAYS

1ste MONTH : 31 DAE  
1ste MAAND : 31 DAE

JANUARY 1984  
JANUARIE

WEEK 27 FRIDAY WEEK 28 SATURDAY

0700	The nature of South African to...	0700	along...
0800	... will assume the...	0800	... of the...
0900	... white men's C.M. Tals; ...	0900	... of the...
1000	... commission conducted...	1000	... of the...
1100	... it was necessary to...	1100	... of the...
1200	... the concept of...	1200	... of the...
1300	... the journalistic of...	1300	... of the...
1400	... the line has...	1400	... of the...
1500	... the lands addressed...	1500	... of the...
1600	... the relations...	1600	... of the...
1700	... the need for...	1700	... of the...
1800	... the important...	1800	... of the...
1900	... the white...	1900	... of the...

1984 JANUARIE

1ste MAAND . 31 DAE  
1ste MONTH . 31 DAYS

1ste MONTH . 31 DAE  
1ste MAAND . 31 DAYS

JANUARIE 1984

30 MONDAY WEEK 31 TUESDAY

0700	It became possible to take stock of the Verwerdium during for the first time in 1957 after the publication of the massive report of the Landreem Commission. The commission was required to conduct an extensive survey with a view to report on a comprehensive scheme for the rehabilitation of the Native areas with a view to developing within them a social structure in keeping with the culture of the Natives, and based on effective socio-economic planning	0700	In reply to a question by the leader of the Opposition, Sir de Villiers Groen, I reviewed explicitly referred to the possibility of development of these areas to full independence. My belief is that the development of SA on the basis of this Bill will escape the usual pitfalls so much so that we may mutual where it will be no danger of hostile Border States, but that there will arise about a call as a commonwealth founded on common interest and linked to other by common interests in this regard
1000	During the 1957 <sup>see</sup> Parliament session the Government <sup>introduced</sup> a promotion of Rural self Government Bill, the negative feature of which was the nomination of Africans elected representation in Parliament, resulting of the policy first the elimination of African political influence in their with areas which had already led to the abolition of the NED	1000	part of Africa. In other words, I believe that the se dangers of foreign ideologies, of foreign values and so on will not materialize. p. 2 83
1100		1100	the possibility of the abolition of the NED
1200		1200	the possibility of the abolition of the NED
1300		1300	the possibility of the abolition of the NED
1400		1400	the possibility of the abolition of the NED
1500		1500	the possibility of the abolition of the NED
1600		1600	the possibility of the abolition of the NED
1700		1700	the possibility of the abolition of the NED
1800		1800	the possibility of the abolition of the NED
1900		1900	the possibility of the abolition of the NED

0700	the	decrease of life p 29 295.	0700	weekly women and children) who did not
0800	It	was in the period 1910 - 1934 that	0800	qualify for residential rights in the towns
0900	The first definite legislative steps were	taken which provided 'Segregation' -	0900	under the Urban Areas Act, secured
1000	practically unshrinkably and non-negotiable	principles on the <del>scope</del> of education largely	1000	samples of black settlement in which
1100	Political segregation remained after	reorganisation through general White Paper's	1100	the desire for geographical order, was
1200	from the education to a separate system?	White Paper 1961, 333	1200	not professional people who were thought
1300	The system of Apartheid replaced African	in Parliament by white (non-chiefs) in	1300	to be more or more case to their own
1400	in 1959, this was combined the	NP's Bantu Authorities system. It replaced	1400	apartheid system. Various steps - by settle-
1500	8 Bantu Authorities and offered them	independence. In 1963 the Bantustans	1500	to be of redemptory settlements in
1600	was given a dyarchical constitution, a	part of them. In 1974 the Transkei	1600	the wild almost entirely devoid of
1700	received an agreement with the	preference given to the white majority	1700	apartheid at the time of their
1800	with Parliament.	policy statement in December 1967	1800	land as at Sada and Elling in
1900	outlined 3 categories of Bantu who	could be Bantustan tenants. However,	1900	The Eastern Cape or Riverbush in Natal.
	first the elderly, the white and those			The establishment of settlements in the
				regions were necessary in the presence
				was necessary of the policy of territorial
				separation - was to have any meaning
				(p 338).

0700	The policy government regarding a reduction in the no. of Africans permanently residing in the urban areas has an increase in the no. of workers migrating from the townships and living as contract workers in hostels while temporarily working in white areas.
0800	
0900	
1000	The parallel policy of relocations in the border regions also resulted in the building of houses in the townships there in the existing urban townships (341)
1100	
1200	The book South Africa's advance in the 1960s and elsewhere in order to improve the social distress caused by the break-up of business regulatory systems. A. and enforcement of Section 10(1)(b)
1300	
1400	
1500	<u>PLAN.</u> <u>Explanation</u>
1600	<del>I. Introduction.</del>
1700	<del>II. Origins of the policy.</del>
1800	<del>III. Implementation of the policy by the NP.</del>
1900	<del>IV. A profile of Giskei,</del>
	<del>V. Conclusion.</del>

0700	History of S.A. C.W. de Kiewit, S. the Africa in the Sixties -
0800	
0900	Harvard. It really began in the context of separate development but 2 years before the development plan - proper name for the white base -
1000	of principles of economic opportunity in the townships.
1100	The first phase started with the establishment of further institutions in the future townships and in 1962 -
1200	ground. The proposed movement in with the PM's announcement of a white Township. P.T.S
1300	
1400	Race Relations Survey Bill
	If it were possible to return one show in <u>submodule 5</u> <u>PSNDAG</u> public 38-390
	which could contribute to the process.
	will be more visible. Dr. De Kiewit's second report would be preferred. But a consultation by the different communities will take place. The committee, in a multi-racial study, will examine the white townships and will be possible to South Africa. It will report by 2000. The committee will be established by 1985. The committee will be established by 1985. The committee will be established by 1985.
	prepared to commit to a study. The study must therefore identify the factors. The study must identify the factors.



1984 FEBRUARIE  
FEBRUARY

2de MAAND · 29 DAE  
2nd MONTH · 29 DAYS

2nd MONTH · 29 DAYS  
2de MAAND · 29 DAE



FEBRUARIE 1984  
FEBRUARY

WEEK 6 MONDAY

WEEK 8 WEDNESDAY

0700	The basic principle which explains the world in the realm of social and economic development is the relationship between the development of material objects and the improvement of the working conditions of those who are involved in the development process.	0700	
0800		0800	<u>Sociology</u> The size of the Needle - Richard Turner
0900		0900	Galileo and Copernicus.
1000		1000	A.D. Worsley + Cross - useful on Plato Cross - Plato's Republic p 164 Paper - p 167
1100		1100	
1200	Since the RM (Newman) was announced that the gov. can accept no policy of integration for the I.C.P.B. or the whites it is clear that a serious attempt is to be made to develop each racial group as a separate entity. <u>South Africa in the Sixties</u> p 142, South Africa Foundation 1962.	1200	
1300		1300	
1400		1400	
1500		1500	
1600		1600	
1700		1700	
1800	Financial Reports of the Civic Association.	1800	
1900		1900	

0700	1. <del>Sperry</del>	For Sociology - 118.
0800	2. <del>Polman</del>	
0900	3. <del>DAF</del>	
1000	4. <del>Factories</del>	
1100	5. <del>Non-Relationships</del>	
1200	6. <del>Prove Graham's theorem</del>	
1300	7. <del>Factories</del>	
1400	8. <del>Interlocking</del>	
1500	9. <del>sp ext</del>	
1600	10. <del>Wette a letter</del>	
1700	11. <del>Methoden</del>	
1800	12. <del>Interlocking</del>	
1900	13. <del>Any election</del>	
	14. <del>Four Methods</del>	
	15. <del>Prove Graham's theorem</del>	
	11	
	Sociology:	27.2.84
	Sociology is:	
	1) empirical	
	2) theoretical	
	3) open	
	4) critical	
	5) non-moralising	

0700	Non-individual aspects of life (Non-private)
0800	
0900	Scientific Method: Try to understand something logically and objectively.
1000	
1100	Positivist: People who thought that sociology was going to be done in the same way as physics in the natural biology and physics where experiments are carried out in the laboratory.
1200	
1300	In sociology insight works.
1400	
1500	The subject matter of sociology is man.
1600	
1700	Some people say sociology is a humanistic subject.
1800	→ Prof. Haggis: is a hybrid of both.
1900	

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10 FEBRUARY		11 FEBRUARY		12 FEBRUARY	
0700		0700			
0800	Sociology is a bidimensional subject; it combines the element of natural science and human behaviour.	0800			
0900		0900			
1000	Empiricism: Observations of reality Theoretical: Aimed at understanding social reality, getting underneath theory is a combination of interrelated propositions, the basis of sociology we use to reform the world.	1000			
1100		1100			
1200		1200			
1300	Open: sociology is not final. It is non-demonstrative; Reformulation is possible.	1300			
1400		1400			
1500	Critical: It means weighing things, analysing, taking up, looking for the meaning. The scientist is a critique of society.			SUNDAY 12	43-322
1600				SONDAG	
1700	Sociology asks one to look at group behaviour;				
1800	group behaviour;				
1900	even marketing is not prejudiced				

Justa world is like a mirror reflecting back to you, and if you forget it smiling, it will smile back to you, and do unto others as you would have them do.

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FEBRUARY 1984  
FEBRUARIE 1984

DAAT	MEKKEDE	MOEDERT	WESK	WENT	HOESKED	DEKED	WESK
0700							
0800	Rhodes - Don Pinnock (Journalism Lecter)						
0900	Prof. Avenport.						
1000	Coleman Marplemans (Faculty of Journalism)						
1100	Bertie Morris						
1200							
1300	Hudna Swisa (043242) OR Or M.J. Fuzie 28 (44)						
1400	Charles (0433) 4838 Pa. (043242) OR 180 (44)						
1500							
1600	Shanu (0431) 268199						
1700							
1800							
1900							
0700							
0800							
0900							
1000							
1100							
1200							
1300							
1400							
1500							
1600							
1700							
1800							
1900							

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15 WEDNESDAY WEEK 16 THURSDAY

0700	0800	0900	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700	1800	1900
	✓ Palosa Borotho OS											
	✓ Selimah Makhele OS											
	Bethany Beek / Lynstone											
	Deepak Jakkari / Tanshant	0900										
	Zuelibaru Nkosi / I. Smith	1000										
	<del>Augelwa Qinga JK</del>											
	<del>Abetse Moko JK</del>											
	Money Beape E.B. K.S.	1100										
	Shelone Craig / 17 Queen St											
	<del>JEFF MATTHEWS</del>	1200										
	<del>James Burns-Mcnamede Africa Street</del>	1300										
	DAVID GAYLOR MATTHEWS	1400										
	Edwin PETERS / CRAW DPHC											
	Konrad HERROLD (VRS DEPT.)											
	<del>Documane Kinnure</del>	1500										
	<del>Ruma Kumaas Kites</del>											
	<del>Worce Insaan</del>	1600										
	Dunide Mavidume Anuis	1700										
	Melanie Barker P.A.											
	Sigrid Cavels											
	Silje Mammood	1800										
		1900										

Patl' Women + Families  
Benton, M 1976 - '2ue Pritian  
E.D. in A Jagger + st-mh  
Families also via women  
and Families in SA (57-61)

0700	BSM - NUSAS meeting. (2/8/84)
0800	1. Assessment of past activities.
0900	2. Programme of Action
	3. SRC + BSM elections.
1000	4.
1100	① a. Criticism of the way SRC / DE MSC was organised.
1200	b. Contact between the 2 orgs.
	i. Problem faced by NUSAS eg. organis.
1300	ii. MSC - gains + goals not organised
	iii. Education charter
	iv. Hall visits.
1400	v. Seminar - 20.8.84.
	vi. National Women's Day
1500	vii. Leadership Workshop - 18.8.84.
	viii. Fun Run
1600	ix. Seminar - Constitution 28.8.84
	x. BSM elections = Aug - Sept.
1700	xi. SRC 23 Aug
	xii. Constitution = 24.7.80 GLT.
1800	= 17th National Enquiry
	= 12 Miltonbank
	= 19 CDs
	= 24 National

	Media Skills Seminar	
	Newsletters (inc.)	
	28-30 - News Week	
	Namibia	
	Cultural Evening.	
	Anti - Constitution Plan	
	Poetry Reading; Dance;	
	Newsletter.	
	" " " "	
	Education Charter - 21/7/84	
	BSM - NUSAS.	
	① BSM'S. (agreed to give up)	
	② BSM'S	
	③ BSM'S. (after the launch meet	
	than before).	
	SUNDAY 19 SONDAAG	50-316
	④ Posters (Education Charter).	
	⑤ Pre - launch meeting.	
	⑥ Forewell Party.	
	⑦ Posters	
	⑧ Launch Meeting 10-11pm Thurs	

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DATE	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
0700					
0800					
8.40	Politics I meeting, Room 39 Arts Minor.				
0900					
1000	2 prizes for orgs.				
1100	A. I. of awards & losses.				
1200	B. Problems within organisation and within U.F.				
1300	12.20-1.50 (Gn. lecture) General Economics' Lecture Theatre B.				
1400	a. Reports from organisations.				
1500	b. Reports from group meetings.				
1600	B. i. Organisation's priorities, responsibilities.				
1700					
1800					
1900					

DATE	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
0700							
0800							
8.40							
0900							
1000							
1100							
1200							
1300							
1400							
1500							
1600							
1700							
1800							
1900							

1. What important issues?  
 (i) What kind of issues?  
 (ii) What structures?  
 Sociology, General Lecture Theatre  
 Soc. Dept.

\* We must utilise our education for our benefit.

\* Captures of oppression was stifled our creativity.

\* Needs another world in which the realities of our people hardly exist.

Medical care, health is what we want, health care, health is what we want.

There is no government which can remain in power for ever because one day for us will not be safe for us. Therefore, they in our souls & in our form for we are the same.

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WEEK 24	WEEK 25
0700	0700
* One hardly need emergency vest to fight for one's own rights.	* All we want is a decent life.
0800	0800
People are unjustly and miserably treated.	* All this was done in the name of democracy.
0900	0900
Thomson Gate - 4 files	* A whole propaganda campaign to distort the policy, make it explanation of our people.
1000	1000
Nigerian: A humorous example - A film	* The US has used <sup>our</sup> liberalisation to line pockets of the country
1100	1100
No woman was to guest in Nicaragua 19.7.1919 - to Managua 85000.	* Our first priority is to satisfy the need of the majority of our people
1200	1200
* The most difficult is the building of a new society.	We are committed to a mixed economy and socialism.
1300	1300
* We are trying to build a society based on all sectors or society where everybody will participate.	We cannot afford luxuries.
1400	1400
1500	SUNDAY 26 SONDAG 57-309
* Carry the banner of traffic and road reconstruction.	Fundamental to the idea of ML is that the people themselves must participate in making and the way of change.
1600	
1700	
* If we work together in this we will change things.	Is the working class also separable or change?
1800	
1900	



MONDAY 27 WEDNESDAY 28

0700	Prof: Beard	0700	
0800	Exam invented Bert: H.D.F. Kltts The Greeks.	0800	
0900	Might be interesting to read the entire book	0900	
1000	But need: chapter 5 you need to read 'formal' the problems of Philosophy - T. Russell (See index of lecture notes) chapter 4-11?	1000	
1100		1100	
1200	John's lecture on the meaning of Homer's <i>Nekle</i> (part of the <i>Stromata</i> ) (12:30-3:30)	1200	
1300	Plato's <i>Republic</i> on Plato?	1300	
1400	read " " " paper " " "	1400	
1500	Hypocrite: Brown P71	1500	
1600	* This morning class was the most important one to play. In the struggle it must strive to have as many others as possible.	1600	<del>from the subject of the</del>
1700		1700	
1800		1800	
1900	responsibility of leading people. There are not many high ones can to have great brains only.	1900	

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MOENSDAG 29 WEDNESDAY WEEK 8

0700	Die omvang van die doekening van die oorsake van Nyanca's pakkies vir 71 mense (Vol 172 p. 178)	
0800		
8:40-	Politics	
0900-930	The Social Bond (L. A. N. N. N.)	
9:30-10:30	Sociology	
10:30-11:30	Library - Dr. Kuper - A History	
11:30-12:00	Town and back.	
12:00	Economics.	
1300	Lunch and Relax.	
1400-2:15	Typing class.	
1500	3.10 Davida - Academic Support Programme	
1600		
16:00-17:00	Library - M.A. Coulson + C. Riddell - 5342	
1700	Approaching Sociology. Class 12. p. 16	
17:00-17:30	Relax - Relax	
1800	Lead Sociology Handbook No. 3	
1800	Rules of Sociological Method -	
1900	Invitation to Sociology Chapter I	

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FRYSDAG 1 DONNERSDAG WEEK 9

0700	Read Handbook - No. 3 on communication	
0800	Read communication case study	
0900	Report for your seminar on Tuesday	
1000	Case, A - 447 (F)	
1100	Case, A - Study + Struggle	
1200	P178.	
1300	Communication - to Space Age (Journal section, SocSci Library.)	
1400	Journal section, Library.	
1500	Communication + Media.	
1600	A taxonomy of concepts in communication.	
1700	Tom Paine - The rights of man.	
1800		
1900		

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0700 0800 0900 1000 1100 1200 1300 1400 1500 1600 1700 1800 1900

2 FRIDAY WEEK 3 SATURDAY WEEK 4 SUNDAY

P. Berger (P17) → Note.

\* Amersfoortse English Stage-Capitol  
+ Denny.

1000 \* G. Leek - English in Adverts.

SECRETARY

~~Wassend... 1984~~

UNF  
Parker's Festival at  
Parker Valley.  
SA. P. 11/11/84

W. Johnston - artist  
Rural art - Report of the  
Dermis...  
See May 9.

SUNDAY 4 SONDAG

64-302

0700	Tue 1930 Labour Act.	0700	The child of the universe.
0800	Sociology.	0800	<del>The</del> clever child.
0900	<del>Journalism:</del> The Best of Owen - T447	* 0900	The Problem with the word 'freedom' is that it was the word used for showing the available resources of our country.
1000	Religion in Britain - Hymns	1000	
1100	Newspapers and Approaching Soc.	1100	
1200		1200	* The church is a witness & witness-claims in society. The will and the power; the powerful and the weak.
1300		1300	
1400		1400	
1500	Stic Amelia - VASP.	1500	* Some think of 'personalist' attitude towards the power is enough; without <del>dealing with</del> <del>dealing with</del> <del>dealing with</del> dealing with a new society for the future.
1600		1600	
1700		1700	* You cannot <sup>talk</sup> about peace with a word-stored language in your hand - T. George; Minisile & Tinkler
1800		1800	
1900		1900	

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0700		AZASO - GSSC. 6.12.84.			
0800	RA	First Murevorlo's strike Nunor - Baden Post - United Front			
0900		7.12.84			
1000	(1)	Chater - not turned by am - production group but a programme of text preparation, the SA.			
1100	(2)	Lead to adopt in 1982, although it was at the helm of the alliance.			
1200	(3)	The Charter is a maximum demand for Azaso. It could be a minimum demand if we had adopted something beyond it.			
1300	(4)	The present situation with class alliance. EC to want to build class democracy.			
1400	(5)	The bond between endocrine.			
1500	(6)	Communal ownership.			
1600	(7)	State owned			
1700	(8)	Co-operatives			
1800	(9)	Labour needed in the wars. The Charter guides the struggle. It can't improve many of the people to make sacrifices.			
1900	(10)	The strength of the EC in the ability to unite all the classes.			
0700		NEC: Report.			
0800	1.	Nunor meeting.			
0900	2.	World University Service			
	3.	Carra.			
	4.	SARC - TV turned down.			
1000		TVL: Recommendations Democratic			
1100		Self constitution, RM campaign; leadership workshop in Esker; orientation needs newsletters; anti-censorship campaign.			
1200	WC	I Y Y committee formed: Azaso, AZASO, CAPCO + NUNOR.			
1300					
1400		TVL: Probalance with E.C.C.			
1500	WC				
1600		The EC continues the basic principles of unity democracy and non-violence.			
1700		Third plan we wrap and is not relevant in system. We have to have a strategy. We have to have a strategy. We have to have a strategy.			
1800		Strategy + tactics are vital. They are determined by conditions and objectives and each one is a part of the other.			
1900		The reality in which we work determines the type of strategy we have adopted.			

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31st DAAG  
9th MONTH  
31st DAYS

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### Organising

A: Do take issues that are relevant to the students.

1. Focus on specific issues.

3. Media: workshops, seminars.

4. Sports issues.

5. Contact and association with lecturers who are sympathetic to the students.

6. Intra- to peer contact.

B. Men and women have always organized themselves to promote certain interests (Ward 1200)

we do to advance living process.

and the specific form that we are involved in is to organise people to be an actual force for change.

2. In a general sense the process of organizing involves the process of changing the balance of forces to our favour.

1400

1500

1600

1700

1800

1900

7. Do organization matter in achieving performance within groups?

8. Involvement in organizing, motivation and commitment are all related in the process of strategy.

9. Political organization motivation for political action of people.

10. The manner in which we organize, implement, or struggle is not pre-determined by any sort of blueprint but by the people and the actual conditions present.

11. An understanding of the theory of change, the concept of democracy etc. are necessary but are not sufficient to ensure the success for the development of individualism. A question about a certain fact that right is always right.

**SUNDAY 11th MARCH** 71-285

A. Building an organization means that we understand issues and organizations, phenomena, people, institutions and practices of the principles that you stand for. Do strive for the winning of word and work people to our side.

There are subjective and objective levels of strategic and dissemination of education. Institutions + attempts of people can influence the objective conditions. Objective conditions are beyond our control.

4. Organization is a permanent feature in the development of mankind.

5. Work: organization, mobilisation, consciousness and struggle.

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WEDNESDAY 13

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THURSDAY 14

0700	The broke of organizing within part into	0700	level of consciousness → In SA there
0800	whereat women had demands and organizations	0800	includes national oppression consciousness -
0900	We must also distinguish between spontaneity and organized action.	0900	→ Trade union consciousness → the two
1000	Capital is organic within capitalism.	1000	are low-level consciousness
1100	Education is - limited space to operate in.	1100	(B) Class consciousness (or political conscious-
1200	Education is - reflection of the society, we live in.	1200	ness) → is the most important. There
1300	For SA it is a racist education. The	1300	type of consciousness involves intelle-
1400	roots of oppression that are seen in that	1400	lectuals who are capable of understanding
1500	education space like outside the education	1500	and grasping the intricacies of class
1600	system. The roots are at the level of nation-	1600	complexities of society.
1700	al oppression. That is why it is important to	1700	the change Remembrance → a response to
1800	fight those who are fighting oppression in their	1800	the apparent effect that teacher education was
1900	view should align themselves with those who	1900	not working; it was also necessitated by the
	are fighting against national oppression.	1900	development of capitalism which in the era
	1970 → 250 000 students boycotted schools.	1900	of monopoly needed skilled and more sophis-
	1984 → 780 000	1900	ticated labour. Monopoly capitalism also created
	In time or another 1.5 million students stayed	1900	a sophisticated labour process which needed
	out of school in one time or another.	1900	more skilled labour.
	It is important for everybody to organize	1900	
	fresh via our own appeal	1900	

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DATE	DAY	WEEK 1	WEEK 2	WEEK 3	WEEK 4	REMARKS
0700	0700					
0800	0800					
0900	0900					
1000	1000					
1100	1100					
1200	1200					
1300	1300					
1400	1400					
1500	1500					
1600	1600					
1700	1700					
1800	1800					
1900	1900					

WEDNESDAY 14 WEDNESDAY 15 THURSDAY 16

Education Charter Campaign 700  
 A2 ASD Brochures + collection space  
 Site Insultations in schools

1. Successes and failures of regional assemblies  
 A2 ASD case exercise

Freedom Clerks  
 13 ASD W/L 13  
 15 ASD Brochures 15

Group discussions, etc.  
 News brochures 5  
 33

Education Charter Campaign  
 100

1. Collection of documents: leave to leave  
 Government - created central committee

2. Meetings should be used.  
 TTY

3. Press  
 100 youth visits at Whylpop

4. Letters to the editors.  
 100 youth organisations all

5. Minister's campaigning rounds  
 over the country.

6. Broad based within the regional & provincial  
 National youth formation b.p. 84. → TTY.

activities.  
 Interim Regional Committee in the TTY.

① Brochures  
 The role of the WDF in the campaign.

② Assessment of the campaign.  
 TTY:0 Inter-divisional - contacts committees

③ The charter should be used as a  
 rallying point.

④ Local.  
 Youth Festival.





0700			
0800	1. <del>order</del> to popularise the IIT		Another Opening speakers
	2. to popularise the NYO.		Swag Budekwe Terms taken 12/2/84, Guleken
	3. to popularise the FC.		7. Over million students boycotted.
0900	4. Anti-conscription - emphasis on peace		(5) There is now hope for change.
	5. Festival - Participation.		(3) You feel threatened but you growing
1000			serious sense of people to export, rural
	The Freedom Charter Campaign:		(4) Post-race looking view in terms of the
1100	1. Beginning of the FC.		history of this country.
	2. coherence of the interpretation.		(5) 1936 - removal of the limited franchise
1200	3. Mass-education - leaders.		(6) The new dispensation is already an all
	- Savinors.		compendium.
1300	- Advisors.		(7) Resistance directed against? extreme, driving
	- Striking Tempers.		(8) 1976: Students' movement Africanism, African
1400	- King Kings.		as a language basis in SA. It belongs here.
	4. The historical significance of the FC.		SUNDAY 18 SONDAg 78-200
1500	5. The content of the FC.		
	AGEM <del>AGEM</del> Annual Meeting		(1) Why are our demands not recognised?
1600	1. What does it mean to belong to it.		The structures that are created by the
	2. Associate membership.		government are unacceptable and
1700			unpredictable.
			(2) Decisions are not tangible.
1800			(3) UDF: Problems of SA are certain patterns
			AZAPO: Problems of SA are certain people.
1900	Meeting of International Africanists.		(4) The present rules is denying, because of
			current structures to the terms and are →

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NO	DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	REMARKS
0700	19	Number written to the court & the newspaper.	0	
0800		1. Refusal of venues: a. Cosas.	0	
0900		b. UDF → BSM hosting the event. 2. Mark Horis' allegations & admission. 3. BSM on Trial	0	
1000		a. BSM activities will be carried b. More repressive.	0	
1100		4. <del>Attitude</del> attitude.	0	
1200		5. Freedom of expression.	0	
1300		Manifesto.	0	
1400			0	
1500		1. Damage to halls.	0	
1600		2. Public meetings. ✓	0	
1700		3. Other campaigns. ✓	0	
1800		4. Mark Horis' letters. ✓	0	
1900		5. Public activities. ✓	0	

I would like account of his  
views on my general assessment  
of the situation, WVC.

relation between the  
universality and the state.

Accounting procedure to a region  
area

Relation with the UN signifies the birth  
of social civility.

4758  
6607

0700			
0800	1. Sunday: Refusal of venue: a. BSM applied to SRC. b. BSM worked the meeting.		
0900			
1000	2. Granting of Meeting Venues: RCC → 200 people. PFP →		
1100	Other occasion → e.g. The Role of University in the developing world.		
1200	Public meetings.		
1300	Dr. Henderson's wedding → university facilities.		
1400	3. Education Charter found conditions surprised us → heard in the newspapers about the collusion between vice-chancellors and the college. hint.		
1500	Discrimination against us. Diminution of delegation.		
1600			
1700			
1800			
1900			
2000			
2100			
2200			
2300			
2400			
2500			
2600			
2700			
2800			
2900			
3000			
3100			
3200			

4. Mark Harris Letter.

1. University taking it serious

2. No story from our side.

3. Mark Horn:

Education Manifesto prospective enough

Didn't attend the meeting, but came later. ∴ not true.

Attitude towards BSM.

→ Monde terrorist.

→ Monde advised to open a case Mark Horn.

Mark Horn activist.

5. Contents. → Distortion + lies.

Link between Reagan Starling and Ed. Charter Campaign.

Another English Road storming today.

6. BSM affiliates of AZASO + UDF.

7. It seems it will be a tough-year for us on this campus, open-air gatherings.

Use the log. in MAART, 1984

23 FEBRUARY 24 MARCH

TIME	ACTIVITY	LOCATION	DATE
0700			
0800	Meeting with vice		
0800	vice. Principal about the		
0900	Legislation, legal Government		
0900	by Williamson.		
1000	Scale.		26/10/84
1100			
1200			
1300			
1400			
1500			
1600			
1700			
1800			
1900			

1. Public meetings.
2. K.A. with the SRC room.
3. RCC a church service.
4. AIESEC not a meeting.
5. Invitation of public members.
6. Sensitive of mothers.
7. Students and pupils.
8. R.A. bypass the Council.
9. University policy.
10. The role of the university.
11. Exemptions: Hypothetical question?
  - a. Would not grant the way of facilitated unless
  - b. Not made available unless

Approved conference - e.g. July Festival.

12. Break also mediation in future.

13. Students (non-students) making meeting facilities.

14. Provision: chapel can be used to members of the staff; student members; (not necessarily had student members of the club).

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WEDNESDAY

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WEDNESDAY  
27 WEEKDAYS  
WEDNESDAY

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15 No collusion between the, Univ. and the Min. of Pave.

16. First complaint / yrs.

17. 2/3 people.

18. Application for venue / emergency. cited the 7 days website / emergency.

letter to Bolton + SPc

forward

plu we: Re CSC

~~broader context of the~~  
3.11.85.

① 2 doctors if possible.  
See 32: death injured.  
Cover.

\* Conversation is a game which requires at least two players, and no game is fun if one player is half-hearted about it.

\* Only a few people can swim the English Channel, but most of that many can learn to swim expertly.

\* Perception is a Mode of mind, not a reality. So the worst we can ask of ourselves is to do the best we can. We can always do better next time.

0700  
0800  
0900  
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1700  
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1984 MAART  
MARCH

3de MAAND · 31 DAE  
3de MONTH · 31 DAYS

3de MONTH · 31 DAE  
3de MAAND · 31 DAE

MARCH 1984  
MAART

Dinsdag 28 WEDNESDAY		Woensdag 29 THURSDAY	
0700	How to write a research paper.	0700	ii. Does the author present only one point of view?
0800	⑥ Collect facts and interpret them.	0800	vii. Is the background material clear and logical?
0800	⑦ Synthesize your work.	0900	viii. Does the author give a new perspective?
0900	⑧ Take notes - accurate, relevant, clear.		ix. Are the author give all the facts?
	⑨ Write your sources.		x. Does the author distinguish clearly between the facts and his interpretation of the facts?
1000	Precis, book reports and project reports.	1000	
	① Understand what you have read.	1100	
1100	② Consider the essential thoughts.	1200	
	③ A precis contains no comment or opinions of your own.	1300	
1200	④ The language is short & unadorned.		
1300	⑤ A book report should reveal your own feelings and opinions.		
1400	⑥ Explain your first reactions by writing down random notes.	1400	① The title - convey information.
1500	⑦ What is the theme of the book.	1500	② Motives of the report - A brief explanation of the report should follow the title.
1600	⑧ Does the plot make sense?	1600	③ Background info -
1700	⑨ Do the characters seem like real people?	1700	④ The problem.
1800	⑩ Does the dialogue sound real?	1800	⑤ Hypothesis to be tested -
1900	⑪ Does the setting - the time + place - seem to life to you?	1900	⑥ conclusion.
	⑫ Does the style suit the plot and the theme?		

1

30 FEBRUARY 31 MARCH 31

0700	Exams. + Essays.	0700	shake, names, examples and exceptions
0800	to Use your time wisely.	0800	v. Make your answer clear by leading
0800	Get the most points in the shortest possible time.	0900	line reader neatly through long and "directional" words. Leave nothing to chance.
0900	Stay in the exam room for the full time allotted	1000	
1000	If time permits check, all your answers.	1100	
1100	Make a sincere attempt at every question you have chosen	1200	
1200	Think through the questions.	1300	
1300	Be aggressive in your attempt to answer questions.	1400	
1400	Remember material in a question to a different form.		
1500	Evaluate your answer		
1600	Re-read some facts and formulas you have memorized.		
1600	Organize your answers before writing.		
1700	Write to the point		
1800	Are the facts relevant or irrelevant?		
1800	Support, amplify and modify every point.		
1900	Explicitly state relationships, causes, and effects, giving where appropriate		
<b>SUNDAY 1 SONDAAG</b>			

DATE	MEMBER	2	NOBODY	MEMBER	MEMBER	3	REMEMBER	MEMBER
0700		Seven ways to good things.		0700		Public speaking.		
0800		in a conversation.						
0800	1	Be interested		0800		1. I wish to be there - Remember that your speech must be tailored to the interest of your audience.		
0900	2.	Be friendly		0900		2. Stage fright - The circumstances and pressures that surround the speaking situation become a challenge to the ego. We are nervous about possible failure; we are nervous about being nervous. Or worst reaction to all fear is either flight or panic. When we are giving a talk we can do either.		
1000	3.	Be cheerful, good humored						
1000	4.	Be animated and yet relaxed.						
1000	5.	Be flexible.		1000				
1100	6.	Be helpful.		1100				
1100	7.	Be courteous.						
1200	8.	Be polite.		1200				
1300	1	Do not be dogmatic - avoid sweeping statements e.g. all politics involve corruption.		1300				
1400	2	Do not overestimate - An attitude of being superior to everything and everybody will soon leave you in splendid isolation. There are better arrangements than sitting alone lecturing down and's us.		1400				
1500	3	Do not be argumentative		1500				
1600	4	Do not be lifeless.		1600				
1700	5	Do not be vain.		1700				
1800	6	Do not be egocentric.		1800				
1900	7	Do not aim to be the life of the party.		1900				
1900	8	Do not exaggerate.		1900				



NO.	QUESTION	ANSWER	MARKS
0700	Why do we need prepared temp. sp.	to have when a speaker has on a more general statement of opinions that they will in some period or frequency in form.	0700
0800	1. breathe in rhythm - slowly, deep	you may prefer aphorisms - sentence which bring out universal truth.	0800
0800	2. breathe and voice without pause.	"The voice of free people is the voice of God."	0800
0900	3. Relax your throat, jaw, shoulders		0900
0900	4. Relax your arms.		0900
1000	5. Don't be perfect, just be good -		1000
1100	Special of public speaking		1100
1100	1. To interest or amuse the audience.		1100
1200	2. To inform or lead the audience.		1200
1200	3. To stimulate or impress.		1200
1300	4. To convince or persuade.		1300
1400	1. Choose a subject that suits you	The climax: The most popular climax is the strong conclusion. Arrange your ideas in a series that climaxes to a crescendo.	1400
1400	2. Choose a subject that suits your audience.		1400
1500	3. Choose a subject that suits the occasion.		1500
1600	4. Choose a subject that suits your own allowance.		1600
1700			1700
1800	spell out your purpose.		1800
1800	analyse your audience.		1800
1900	N.B.: Questions have a good answer for speaker - people are pleased for	an appeal, especially of fortune from things to the disadvantage or disfigure	1900

0700	Saterdag	Founders' Day	0700	0700	0700
0800	ending, e.g. "I saw him leave the harbor of a volcanic deserting. I saw him in the distance. I saw him wounded"		0800		Fellows newspapers and fellow citizens: You and I have a critical decision to make.
0900	bleeding, dying. For you... and for me."		0900		It is critical to each of us, because it affects the future we shall pay for several years to come. It is critical to each of us, also, because it may have an important influence in determining whether Bankville will continue to be a fine place to live, to work, and to raise children.
1000	leaving the audience unsharply divided.		1000		
1100	Selling your voters:		1100		
1200	① Live don't be a wallflower.		1200		
1300	② Avoid head-on clashes - improve posture and carefully handle your objective.		1300		
1400	③ Every good speaker should be bracketed.		1400		
1500	④ point - proving stories that can be pulled out and used to make his audience open up and hang his ears up.		1500		
1600					
1700					
1800					
1900					

SUNDAY 8 SONDAG

99-267

- ① Prepares yourself for the talk.
- ② Read your speech to yourself or to your friends.
- ③ Don't overstate.
- ④ Wear nothing that will distract your audience from what you say.
- ⑤ Don't shout!

1984 APRIL 23 / 24

4th MAAND . 30 DAE  
4th MONTH . 30 DAYS

4th MONTH . 30 DAYS  
4th MAAND . 30 DAE

APRIL 1984

1984 APRIL 23 / 24 MONDAY WEEK 10

TIME	DATE	EVENTS	REMARKS
0700	1984		facilities (not start or very poor)
0800	21/2/84	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1. Mechanisms around the championships EC	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 2. Meeting 21/2/84. -> 11 a.m.
0900	23/4/84	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 3. 'm people participated in the rally of the WOF	
1000		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 4. Gunningham, Tomlinson etc. Setting up the apparatus with people in mind. Strategy in the lobby. Strategy: our strategy is this	
1100		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 5. Strategy for peace. (Noble Peace Prize?)	
1200		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 6. Emphasis on the future.	
1300		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 7. Removals in 1936 (Kannal Net should be interpreted to give meaning to the '13	
1400		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 8. Meeting with the various nationally	
1500		15/2/84 Governor Education Crisis.	
1600		1. Rankin Ed, the basis of the crisis in education, but to bring back the opportunities	
1700		3. Problems: no process begins	
1800		: over everything	
1800		: food.	
1800		: lack of study means.	
1900		* for capital RIBCO works: P191.	
1900			

99 1984 APRIL

4th MAAND . 30 DAE  
4th MONTH . 30 DAYS

4th MONTH . 30 DAE  
4th MAAND . 30 DAE

APRIL 1984

SUN MON TUE WED THUR FRI SAT  
11 WEDNESDAY WEEK 11  
12 THURSDAY WEEK 12

0700	* Missionaries paved the way for <del>people</del> <sup>people</sup> immediately followed the colonists.	0700		
0800	* The a symbol of civilization	0800		
0900	* acceptance of authority. * Education chapter is an urban first some people	0900		
1000	Priny.	1000		
1100	(18) * Dr Phillip la missionery "also needs of the whole education would be that they (white people) would be more productive."	1100		
1200	* 1936 Commission: "Education prepares the whole child for manual labour."	1200		
1300	* RE: Dr V: What is the role of giving a better to natives if they are going to be employed in various forms of labor only.	1300		
1400	* Made education and white education are two sides of the same coin.	1400		
1500	* Education was universal,	1500		
1600	* white have a part in increased mission	1600		
1700	* white with in our society increased * that responsibility is to know but let with the broader struggle of people striving for peace =	1700		
1800	* please see the challenges facing us	1800		
1900		1900		

1984 APRIL  
APRIL

4de MAAND · 30 DAE  
4th MONTH · 30 DAYS

5th MONTH · 31 DAYS  
5de MAAND · 31 DAE

MAY 1984  
MEI

30 WEEK 10

0700	0800	0900	1000	1100	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700	1800	1900
Benjamin Pogreund - Johnsen's book - alternative Press.	ISDS/alders Stigand Freund (P106)	Wilmt + M/berg P 3401.	P 19-42, p 44-62, p 74-105, p 111-124	P 61: The <sup>force</sup> study of institutions in the study of politics.	P 14: How easy will S.A. survive.	Comparative Legislatures, Almond	Legislatures in Comparative...; Kuznetsov	Comparative Legislatures ... Kuznetsov	Rodgers S.C.; The emergency in Africa	Langy... World Politics VII 21 1978	Member 3.	World Legislatures, Part 1 in
0700 - 800	0800 - 830	0900	1000	1100	1200 - 12.10	1300	1400	1500	1600	1700 - 17.30	1800	1900
	Read Politics Notes on Plate	Breakfast. Lectures.			Read EOS.					Economics.		

1984 MEI MAY

5th MAAND . 31 DAE  
5th MONTH . 31 DAYS

5th MAAND . 31 DAE  
5th MONTH . 31 DAYS

MAY 1984  
MEI

IN 281    IN 282    IN 283    IN 284    IN 285    IN 286    IN 287    IN 288    IN 289    IN 290

FRIDAY

WEEK 18

WEEK 18

SATURDAY

5

SATURDAY

IN 290

0700				0700			
0800	A ①	Sigmund Freud. (Divert the self into two id, ego + superego)		0800			
0900	②	before mechanism when eyes are throated.		0900			
1000				1000			
1100	B	Willing + blind class 11.		1100			
1200				1200			
1300		Previous experience of the The record already known about that scene.		1300			
1400		The knowledge of how others receive that scene.		1400			
1500		④ The immediate stimuli that leads to communication between of individuals;					
1600							
1700	⑤	⑥					
1800							
1900							

SUNDAY 6 SONDAG

127-238

1984 MEI  
MAY

5th MAAND . 31 DAE  
5th MONTH . 31 DAYS

5th MONTH . 31 DAE  
5th MAAND . 31 DAYS

MAY 1984  
MEI

MONDAY 7 TUESDAY 8

Time	Activity	Reference	Notes
0700		0700	1. The Role of Segregation Policies.
0800	Lorentman - Introduction by Oakes with.	0800	2. C.W. de Kromel - A History in S.A.
0900		0900	3. The South African Economy: Its Growth and Change.
1000	10-10.30	1000	4. The Industrial Color Bar in S.A. Dreyer ✓
1100	10.30-11.5 Joann Turbale. (The Personal Communication Process, Chapter 11; Wendert-Wilms)	1100	5. Working for Borders - Lenz ✓
1200	LUNCH. P171-190 [52161]	1200	6. Teds - Students and substance.
1300	BREAST / PENS. 81-91 (Jan) Schneider (South)	1300	7. The Super Rifkeners of Wilkins
1400		1400	8. Lipsy Ec b.
1500	C.W. de Kromel.	1500	9. No moral D - Agri-Science Medicinal
1600	1) Reithread Theory (on Netherlands)	1600	10. The Rise ... - Adam & Gillmore ✓
1700	W.T. James Masters & Peirce	1700	11. Samuelson
1800	2) A.E. Taylor - The General Philosophy (The Taylor Treatise) (1938)	1800	12. Atkinson.
1900	3) Abbe's Studies - ed. Keith Brown.	1900	13. Kellogg's Advent's Book.
	4. T.N. Agel - Philosophy (1959)		14. S.A. Constitution L.I. Bould. / SA + the constitutional options.
	5. Womansel - 1958-1959		

5

1984 MEI  
MAY

5de MAAND . 31 DAE  
5th MONTH . 31 DAYS

5th MONTH . 31 DAE  
5de MAAND . 31 DAE

MAY 1984  
MEI

1984		MAY		1984	
1984	MAY	1984	MAY	1984	MAY
9 WEDNESDAY		10 THURSDAY			
0700	R. Deane & Du Zyl Smith	0700			
0800	Constitutional change in S.A.	0800			
0900	N.S. Quiser: The Republic of S.A. Constitution Bill of 1783.	0900			
1000	<del>Redden</del> G. Lord & Swartville - A common cative Grammar of English.	1000			
1100		1100			
1200		1200			
1300		1300			
1400		1400			
1500		1500			
1600		1600			
1700		1700			
1800		1800			
1900		1900			

B.15  
Abstracts - BSM meeting

Finance Comm. Meeting.



1984 MEI  
MAY

5de MAAND · 31 DAE  
5th MONTH · 31 DAYS

5th MONTH · 31 DAYS  
5de MAAND · 31 DAE

MAY 1984  
MEI

1984-2011 MAANDAG 14 WOENSDAG 15 DONSDAG 16 VRYDAG 17 Saterdag 18 Sondag

0700			0700		
0800			0800		
0900			0900		
1000			1000		
1100			1100		
1200			1200		
1300			1300		
1400			1400		
1500			1500		
1600			1600		
1700			1700		
1800			1800		
1900			1900		

16:30 Rob Anlovisse Room.

11:30-12:15 = Lipsy Etc.

Second-hand Bookshop

17:45 Lipsy Etc.

17:15 Finance cum. Meeting

Workshop

1984 MEI  
MAY

5de MAAND . 31 DAE  
5th MONTH . 31 DAYS

5th MONTH . 31 DAYS  
5de MAAND . 31 DAE

MAY 1984  
MEI

TIME	WEDNESDAY 16	WEDNESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY 17	THURSDAY	THURSDAY
0700						
0800						
0900						
1000						
1100	10:30 W/Mind The Supt's Notice			1100-25 to Samuelson 25		
1200				1200-1:30 lunch.		
1300	W/Mind			13:15 BSM - NUSRS Meeting		
1400						
1500	Tennis					
1600	Samuelson chapter 25 X			Samuelson chapter 25 ✓		
1700	to -30 Take the whole evening if possible			to -30		
1800						
1900	Meal Birds			BSM - NUSRS Local conv.		

1984 MEI  
MAY

5th MAAND · 31 DAE  
5th MONTH · 31 DAYS

5th MAAND · 31 DAE  
5th MONTH · 31 DAYS

MAY 1984  
MEI

23 WEDNESDAY WENCHEN 24 DONDERSDAG 15-21

0700				0700			
0800				0800			
0900				0900			
1000				1000			
1100				1100			
1200				1200			
1300				1300			
1400				1400			
1500		A.S.P = Sociology.		1500			
1600				1600			
1700				1700			
1800				1800	1715	Two we can do for justice +	
1900				1900	1830	Forward Dinner.	

1984 JUNIE

6de MAAND . 30 DAE  
6th MONTH . 30 DAYS

6th MONTH . 30 DAYS  
6de MAAND . 30 DAE

JUNE 1984

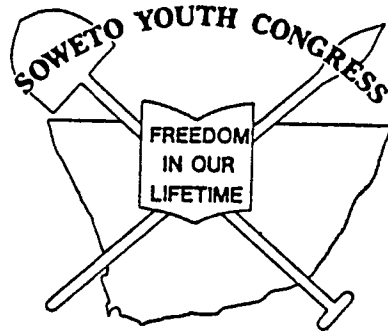
1984 JUNIE		13 WEDNESDAY		14 DONNERSDAG	
6de MAAND . 30 DAE		6th MONTH . 30 DAYS		6th MONTH . 30 DAYS	
0700		0700		0700	
0800		0800		0800	
0900	8.30 to Breakfast.	0900		0900	
1000	JOURN. - S.A.M.	1000		1000	
1100	JOURN. - S.A.M.	1100		1100	
1200	REST LUNCH.	1200		1200	
1300		1300		1300	
1400	E COS	1400		1400	
1500	E COS	1500		1500	
1600		1600		1600	
1700	COMPO - S.E. FINER LA P.	1700	P34 P285	1700	
1800		1800		1800	
1900	Bookings P63 + P93	1900		1900	LN 193 + J13

55

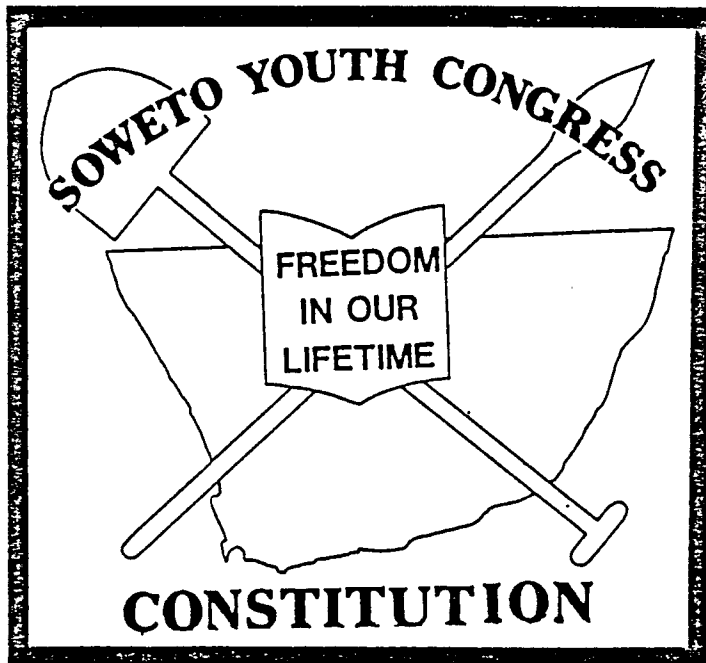
HOUR OF DAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
12.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
1.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
2.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
3.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
4.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
5.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
6.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
7.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
8.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
9.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
10.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
11.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
12.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
1.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
2.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
3.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
4.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
5.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
6.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
7.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
8.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
9.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
10.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
11.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP
12.00	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP	REP

15/6/18

2. Unless inconsistent with the context, the Executive Committee shall mean the Executive Committee of SOYCO.
3. Unless inconsistent with the context, the President shall mean the President of SOYCO.
4. Unless inconsistent with the context, branch shall mean any organised fifteen members of SOYCO with their own committee of six.
5. Unless inconsistent with the context, all words denoting the masculine gender shall denote the female gender.
6. Unless inconsistent with the context, Congress shall mean the congress of the Soweto Youth Congress.



BE W. AFK 63.



THE CONSTITUTION OF THE SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS.

• ARTICLE ONE/CLAUSE ONE

PREAMBLE

1. Whereas the youth in Soweto is disorganised;
  2. Whereas the growing number of the working class youth who had been active in students organisations whilst at school and universities have no permanent organisation outside these areas;
  3. Whereas the growing political consciousness of the youth and the daily crises in our community become phenomenal;
  4. Whereas there are special problems affecting the youth in their day to day lives;
  5. Whereas community organisations need self-motivated, energetic and disciplined youth to support them actively; and
  6. Whereas there is a need to develop and deepen the social, political and cultural outlook of the youth;
- We, the youth of Soweto gathered here today, therefore resolve to form a broad democratic youth organisation to cater for a wide section of the youth in Soweto.

1. In the event of the dissolution of the organisation the executive committee of SOYCO may distribute all the assets of the organisation amongst those organisations that share the same or similar aims with SOYCO or give them (assets) to welfare organisations. In the event of SOYCO having any liabilities, property may be sold to pay debts.

• ARTICLE ELEVEN

VOTE

1. Voting in any meeting and/or Congress of SOYCO shall be by a show of hands. Only approved delegates attending the Congress may vote on decisive matters such as election of new Executive Committee and major resolutions. Each delegate shall be allowed one vote per nomination.

• ARTICLE TWELVE

DEFINITION

1. Unless inconsistent with the context, organisation shall mean Soweto Youth Congress.

④ ARTICLE FOUR  
MEMBERSHIP

There shall be three categories of membership of SOYCO:

- (a) Individual membership;
- (b) Affiliate membership; and
- (c) Associate membership.

A. INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP

1. Membership of SOYCO shall be open to every Sowetan who accepts the aims and objectives as set out in ARTICLE 3 and who, in addition, is of any age up to 38 years.
2. On admission to membership, a person may be required to pay membership fees and periodical subscription of an amount that will be determined by the congress.
3. Membership may be lost through expulsion or resignation.
4. If any subscriptions or membership fees are paid, they shall not be refundable in the event of expulsion or resignation.

3. It shall be the highest authority at local level.

4. It shall competently consider all matters of local interest and make recommendations to the Executive Committee of SOYCO.

B. BRANCH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. For each branch formed there shall be a branch executive committee.
2. Its composition shall be as follows:
  - a. Chairperson and vice-chairperson
  - b. Secretary
  - c. Co-ordinator and
  - d. Two additional committee members
3. Its term of office shall be a year.
4. It shall organise SOYCO members & recruit new ones.
5. It may appoint such sub-committees as may be necessary for the carrying out of functions and activities of the organisation in the branch.
6. It shall generally supervise and co-ordinate activities of the organisation within the branch and shall report thereon to the Annual General Meeting.
7. It shall meet once a week and as often as may be necessary.
8. The quorum of the committee shall be a simple majority.



ARTICLE EIGHT

LEGAL PERSONA

1. SOYCO shall assume a legal personality. It shall sue or be sued in its name.
2. No member shall be liable for debts incurred in the cause of performance of duties for the organisation.

ARTICLE NINE

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

1. SOYCO may acquire property anywhere in its own name and dispose of same at will.
2. The organisation may acquire/buy land, immovable property such as building and movable property such as office equipment etc.
3. Should the need arise the organisation may sell such property as may be directed by the SOYCO Executive Committee.
4. SOYCO may open up an office anywhere in Soweto or Johannesburg.

ARTICLE TEN

DISSOLUTION OF THE ORGANISATION

ARTICLE TWO

NAME

The name of the youth organisation is the SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS (Soyco) hereinafter referred to as SOYCO or interchangeably the SOWETO YOUTH ORGANISATION.

ARTICLE THREE

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To organise and unite the youth of Soweto irrespective of sex or religion into a cohesive, representative and effective vehicle.
2. To take up special problems affecting the youth.
3. To promote social and cultural activities among the youth.
4. To mobilise and conscientise the youth for involvement in the struggles of their communities.
5. To mould the social and political outlook of the youth in accordance with the non-racial Democratic Principles.

SOYCO and other organisations as may be directed by the Executive Committee.

5. Shall be responsible for the strengthening and deepening of relations between the organisation and the masses.
6. Shall be responsible for explaining to the masses the policy, programme and aims and objectives of the organisation.
7. Shall be responsible for leadership training skills and other such skills.

## ARTICLE SEVEN

### BRANCH ORGANS

There shall be the following organs of SOYCO at local level:

- a. Branch Annual General Meeting
- b. Branch Executive Committee

#### A. BRANCH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

1. The Branch Annual General Meeting shall meet once a year to elect the branch executive committee.
2. Its composition shall be the entire membership of the branch and the branch executive committee.

#### B. AFFILIATE MEMBERSHIP

1. Affiliate membership shall be open to all youth groups and/or organisations (cultural clubs student organisations, church youth groups etc.) which subscribe to the aims, objectives and programmes of the Soyco.
2. On acceptance of membership an affiliate organisation may be required to pay such admission fee as may be determined by the congress of Soyco from time to time.
3. Affiliate membership may be lost through withdrawal or expulsion in the event of misconduct or violation of policies of the Soyco.
4. In the event of expulsion or withdrawal no fee shall be refunded.

#### C. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP

1. Associate membership shall be extended to all persons who accept the aims and objectives of Soyco yet do not fall within the accepted definition of youth, and are willing to make such contribution as may be directed by the Executive Committee of Soyco.
2. On admission to membership an associate member may be required to pay such membership fee as may be determined from time to time by the congress of Soyco.
3. Associate membership may be lost as a result of misconduct or policies of Soyco.

#### D. RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERSHIP

1. To attend all meetings called by the organisation except those of committees in which he may not be serving.
2. To participate freely in discussions, debates, planning and adoption of decisions of the congress, council, etc.
3. To observe and comply with decisions and resolutions of the majority regardless of whether he was initially for or against same.
4. To vote a meetings and congresses.
5. To elect and be elected to positions of authority in the organisation.
6. To strive constantly to explain and popularise the policy and implement the programme of the organisation.
7. To oppose factionalism and to defend the organisation at all times of need.
8. To promote the interest of the organisation at all centres of its activity.
9. To demand the fulfilment of what is contained in the constitution and all resolutions, decisions and agreements of the organisation.

5. Shall be responsible for fund raising projects.

6. Shall be one of the signatories in the event of withdrawal of funds or opening up of new banking accounts for the organisation.

#### F. SECRETARY FOR PUBLICITY AND INFORMATION

1. Shall be responsible for gathering, analysing, publishing and disseminating all information about the situation in Soweto and beyond.
2. Shall be responsible for the preparing, editing and issuing of SOYCO press statements, publications and for arranging conferences as may be directed by the Executive Committee.
3. Shall be responsible for propagating and defence of the policy and programme of SOYCO through the press of the organisation or any other approved media.
4. Shall be head of the SOYCO publications Committee.

#### G. CO-ORDINATOR

1. Shall be responsible for the establishment and re-organisation of branches
2. Shall ensure the implementation of the resolutions, decisions and directives of the organisation.
3. Shall co-ordinate activities of the organisation.
3. Shall establish contact with individuals and set up meetings between

*Journal of  
Grahamstown  
writing  
Katsomo*

# FASCIST RULE: A REALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

**AAC 63**  
*fascist*

On Friday the minister of "Law and Order" banned meetings of 29 organisations in the Eastern Cape and the Transvaal. In Grahamstown alone the following organisations: the Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO), Black Students Movement (BSM), Grahamstown Youth Movement (GYM), Grahamstown Civic Association (GRACA), Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the United Democratic Front are not allowed to hold meetings until the 30 June.

This repressive action by the state against organisations involved in legitimate resistance is not new in the history of our country. In 1950, after a period of mass struggles against unjust apartheid laws, low wages and high rentals, the state banned ANC and PAC. In 1977 the same situation occurred when 18 organisations were banned.

However, the 1980's saw a resurgence of struggles by workers, students and community organisations. The government tried to undermine this resistance by introducing the New Deal. All these were attempts to divide and co-opt our people. The formation of the UDF in 1983 to oppose the new constitution was a massive setback for the state.

The failure of the new constitution as indicated by the low polls in the Coloured and Indian elections, the rejection of the Black Local Authorities, the continued widespread school boycotts for a relevant education contrasted P.W. Botha's pompous parading and propaganda associated with the new deal. Once again it became clear that apartheid solutions were bound to fail.

The policies of the new constitution led to increased rents, increase in GST, an inflated defense budget, and failure to deal with workers demands. As a result entire communities took to the streets in protest, workers downed tools, massive stayaways took place and community councillors resigned in many areas.

The government is aware of its inability to govern this country and is thus turning more and more to repressive measures which have culminated in the Vaal, Uitenhage, Cradock and Crossroads massacres and of course the banning of our organisations' meetings. This violence under the present new constitution is a symptom of the ruler's failure and complete inability to solve the growing economic and social crisis inside the country.

No amount of violence can ever wipe from the minds of the oppressed the lessons driven home in the past few months - no handout or constitution mending by the rulers will solve our problems of oppression and voicelessness. Only a movement of the organisations of the oppressed, serving the interests of the mass of the workers in the

country can bring about a new and democratic non-racial South Africa.

The state's attempt to silence us by banning our meetings must not deter us from working for the total destruction of apartheid. BSM therefore calls on all students to stand united and to continue to work for the liberation of our people.

AMANDLA!

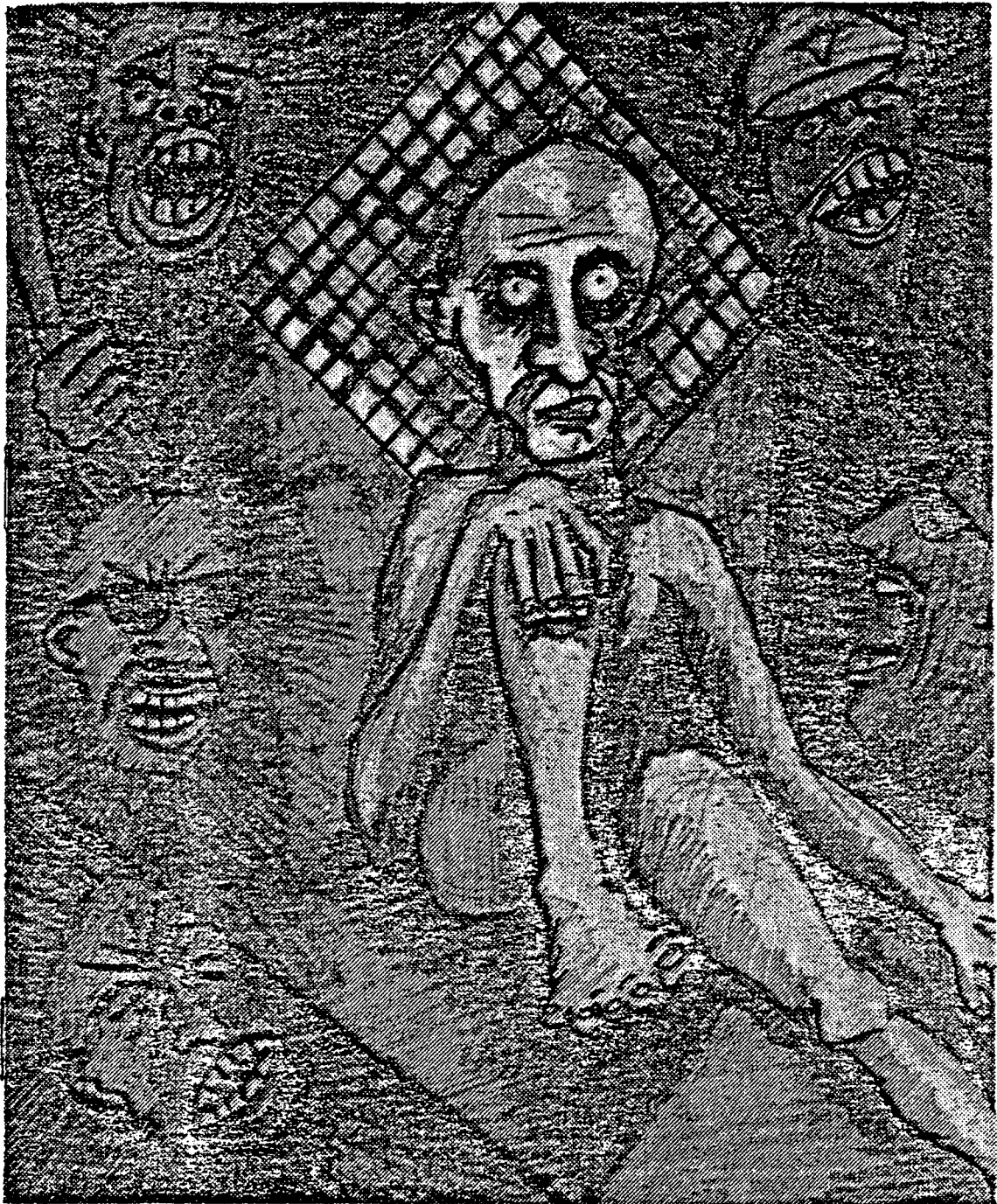
MAYIBUYE!

BSM says

"NOTHING WILL STOP

OUR MARCH TO

FREEDOM"



# UNZIMA LOMTHWALO

BEW "AHLGA"

A Handbook on  
detentions



DPSC/DESCOM

Geord in 10 Kabinets en 11  
af. 850320 om 02h15.

*[Handwritten signature]*  
K. M. M. M.  
K. M. M. M.

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# Introduction

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Faced by an upsurge in popular resistance to its policies, the South African authorities in 1981 reacted with a massive crackdown. Hundreds of people were detained. These included community leaders, trade unionists, students. All of these people, whatever their origin, were united in a desire for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

In response to this major crackdown further rumblings of discontent emerged. Parents, friends and colleagues of those detained, angered by the forced removal from society of their leaders and friends, rallied together to form support committees for the detainees. One of the more prominent support groups to emerge from the period was the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC). Since their formation this group has maintained a steady watch over detentions. They have also supported those detained, their organisations, families and dependents and publicised detentions.

While resisting the evil of this arbitrary imprisonment of democrats in South Africa, the DPSC became aware that many of those who were detained, or those close to them, were unaware of the horrors of detention. Despite numerous court cases where it was found that the Security Police had tortured detainees and many more allegations of torture by the Security Police, thousands of South Africans did not know that this had occurred.

In an attempt to assist those involved in the democratic struggle, the Johannesburg branch of DPSC was mandated to prepare a simple guide to the security legislation in South Africa.

Long in preparation, this book is as necessary now when the 1981 crackdown took place. While a new constitution may today be on the statute books, South African police still have exceptional powers of detention; the majority of the population is still restricted to little more than 13% of the land; every black still has to carry an identity document or face arrest; migrant labour is even more strictly controlled as people wanting to work are limited by both the excesses of homeland governments such as seen in 1983 in the Ciskei and by the new proposals which are commonly called 'the Koomhof package'. In terms of that package access for the majority of South Africans to the urban industrial areas where work is available becomes far more difficult.

The new package does allow a limited form of local government to those allowed urban rights, but at the same time the full financial burden of running those townships will fall on the people who live in them. In this way, people are allocated and distributed according to the needs of the minority who control the state; in this way communities are divided by resettlement and demolitions;

in this way political anger is deflected from central government to homeland and local government personnel who have decided to use the limited power offered.

The people affected by these laws cannot stand idly by as this oppression continues. In response to the exploitation and oppression, organisation has become the key to resistance. Since the early 1970's, South Africa has witnessed a re-emergence of trade unions and community organisations as resistance spreads throughout the country.

The state's reaction to the 1976 uprising and the subsequent deaths of many in detention, and in particular the death of Steve Biko, unleashed an enormous international and internal backlash. The Security Police and the legislation under which they operate were the major focus of this backlash. The governing National Party attempted to placate this opposition by the appointment of the Rabie Commission to investigate the security legislation. The Commission led only to a tightening up of security legislation and not much more.

Simply put, the undemocratic South African state cannot and will not, either under old or new security legislation or old or new constitutions, permit the majority of South Africans to elect their own leadership. To survive and maintain power it therefore must resort to detentions, and banning of meetings, people and organisations. Thus union organisers, church officials, community workers, students, black and white, are still being detained. Most of these people are released, some are put on trial, and even fewer are ever convicted, and tragically some do not survive that detention.

However, before examining those powers to detain, it is of the utmost importance to understand why the South African state uses those powers which to thousands of this country's citizens has meant a knock on the door at four in the morning followed by months of isolation in a police cell.

These detentions are but one example of the wide range of threats facing those in South Africa who find themselves opposed to the present Government. It is that Government's policies which necessitate detentions and imprisonment of political activists for its own survival.

The reasons for this can be explained simply. The South African Government has divided its people along racial lines — white, coloured, Indian and African. It has further divided the African community into ethnic groups. However, its major division has always been on a black/white basis. Thus whites have the vote to decide who shall rule the land — while blacks have been excluded from this process. This white elected government has then decided where blacks



may live — either in homelands or in specially designated areas outside the homelands. This white elected government has decided what education shall be taught and how many schools will be available to each ethnic group. Thus we have Christian National Education for whites and 'Bantu Education' for Africans. Verwoerd, later to become Prime Minister, speaking on 'Bantu Education' said, 'Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life ... the opportunities (for blacks) are manual labour'.

This racial division and discrimination in South African society is not a simple, senseless and racist policy.

It has grown into a complicated and clever policy in terms of which the Government can decide:

1. where people may live
2. where people can look for work.

In effect, this policy has enabled a small section of the population to become very wealthy and powerful.

It has meant that every African has to carry a pass, and if the pass does not allow them to be in an area, they can be arrested for being there. It has meant that a black worker wanting work has to go to a labour bureau to apply for work, and cannot go straight to the factory and get work.

The majority of South Africans cannot live happily with their exploitation and oppression. As a result of a desire to live in a country where all the people can decide on how they should live, people have organised to resist the Apartheid system with all its exploitation and oppression.

Workers in factories have organised in trade unions to get better working conditions. People in townships have organised community organisations to improve living conditions. Students have rebelled against inferior education to improve the schooling they receive. Throughout the country those resisting the conditions that are forced upon them have come together to resist the Government on a national level. Trade union federations have been formed and political parties have been formed to struggle against exploitation and oppression. In this struggle many have lost their lives — at Sharpeville more than 60 people were killed while thousands in South Africa were burning their passes. In 1976 the student uprising started in Soweto and spread through the entire land with thousands being locked up and hundreds losing their lives or being seriously injured.

These struggles have made certain gains. The Government has been forced to recognise the right of unions to negotiate better working conditions for all

workers. It has been forced to improve the education system and living conditions in townships.

But still all the people of South Africa do not have the right to decide their future. The Government is now making certain changes in response to the struggle. It is calling this change 'reform'.

'Reform' has meant a new constitution which allows coloureds and Indians to elect members of parliament. However, whites remain in the majority in this parliament. 'Reform' is allowing Community Councils in townships to become Town and City Councils without adequate finance, so that Councils, like Soweto, will have to raise money for electricity, water and other services by increasing rents.

These 'reforms' however, do not really change the lives of most South Africans.

The Government thinks its reform programme is its answer to South African's problems. It uses it to impress other nations; it uses it to offer parliamentary seats to coloured and Indian people who are willing to participate in this system of sham reform.

In 1981, following 'reform' in labour legislation, the Security Police detained union organisers and members throughout the country.

Now in 1984 they are showing the same reactions towards those organisations opposing reform. Publications arguing against the new constitution have been banned; meetings of organisations like the United Democratic Front to oppose the constitution and Koomhof Bills have been banned. People have been detained and questioned about these activities by the Security Police. The homeland Governments put in power by Pretoria have also been very active against opponents of the system. In the Ciskei the Sebe Government has banned Saawu, the largest union in the area. It has detained union and community leaders; it has allowed its followers and police to herd hundreds of people into the football stadium at Mdantsane and methodically beat up people because they participated in a bus boycott.

Political activists (who the Government continually calls communists or terrorists), union organisers and members, black and white democrats, community leaders and members all active in a wide range of activities are thus subjected to harassment, imprisonment or detention.

For these reasons those opposed to apartheid also organise against detentions. They do this because apartheid and reform cannot succeed without detentions — so in struggling against detentions they are fighting apartheid.

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The organisation against detentions has short-term goals and long-term goals. The short-term goals accept that while apartheid rules South Africa, those detained must be supported — their detentions must be publicised, their rent must be paid, their organisations must continue, there must be proper medical and legal assistance to them whenever it is needed. The long-term goal is achieving a non-racial, free and democratic South Africa where there is no oppression and exploitation.

Until that day, many will face detention. It is to them, their families and organisations that this book is dedicated: may it aid a better understanding of the law that allows the police to act as they do.

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# **Detainee Support Groups**

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Detainee Support Groups exist to help people at times when people are detained or imprisoned under security laws: e.g. in the 1950's there was organised support for people on trial for Treason.

At the moment there are also Detainee Support Groups. These Support Groups started in September 1981. In September people working in communities, trade unions, and other democratic organisations were detained. The first detentions happened in Johannesburg. But soon detentions happened in other places like Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London.

As a result of these September detentions Detainee Support Committees were formed. Friends, family, workmates, and people from other sympathetic organisations joined detainee support committees. People started to see the importance of working together on detentions, the importance of collective action. Detainee support committees give personal support to parents and friends of detainees, and help these people to share information and to show united action in the face of detention.

## Aims and Objectives

Detainee Support Committees have long term and short term plans or aims.

### *Long Term Aims*

The long term aim is for people to form democratic, non-racial organisations. These are democratic organisations working towards a just and equal South Africa. An important long term demand is the ending of all present security laws.

### *Short Term Aims*

The short term aims are:

- a. to give personal support to families of detainees.
- b. to take care of the everyday physical needs of detainees e.g. getting food parcels to detainees and taking care of detainees' business outside of prison.
- c. to educate individual people and organisations on detentions e.g. on why detentions happen; on what 'rights' detainees have; on how to organise around detentions.
- d. to make contact with other democratic organisations, and to get these organisations to take up the detention issue.

- e. to do research and investigation on the physical, psychological and legal aspects of detention.
- f. to educate the general public on detentions.
- g. to keep careful watch on the authorities responsible for the detainees e.g. the security police, doctors and district surgeons.

## Forming a Detainees Support Committee

The forming of detainees support committees differs from area to area. In some areas where people have problems of transport, meeting places and face greater harassment from security police it has taken longer to form committees. In areas where people do not face these problems committees have been formed quite soon after detentions occurred.

At the beginning committees may start with two or three parents, relatives, friends or sympathisers. This may be a small beginning, but it is a start to taking up problems collectively. Group action creates unity among parents, allows them to give moral support to each other, and share their ideas and skills.

This section that follows is on the function of detainees support committees. It is a set of guidelines on what committees can do; activities will obviously depend on the level of organisation in your area.

### *Forms of Committees*

Detainees support committees mainly take two forms.

1. A group of parents, friends and relatives.
2. Committees of organisational representatives e.g. community, student, church and trade union groups, and parents, friends, relatives and other concerned individuals.

Another type of support group that exists either as a sub-group of one of the above groups or independently is the care group. Care groups look after the needs of an individual detainee and ensure his/her general well-being.

## Structure of Committees

It is important for a group to have some structure. The structure of the

detainees support committee must suit the needs of the local area. In some areas committees have office bearers e.g. chairperson and secretary. In other areas committees are organised in a more informal way with members sharing responsibilities. Most areas have regular meetings (at least once a week) with proper minutes being kept of discussions.

## Functions of Detainees Support Committees

### 1. *Material needs of Detainee*

- The detainee's many needs must be looked after. This includes
- Providing food parcels, clothing, reading material and games.
  - Ensuring that work of the detainee (e.g. organisational responsibilities) is continued.
  - Assisting the family if detainee is the breadwinner.
  - Checking to see if the employer is prepared to continue paying the wages of the detainee to the family.

### 2 *Rights of the Detainee*

The detainees support group must know clearly what the detainee's rights are, and must make sure that these rights are enforced.

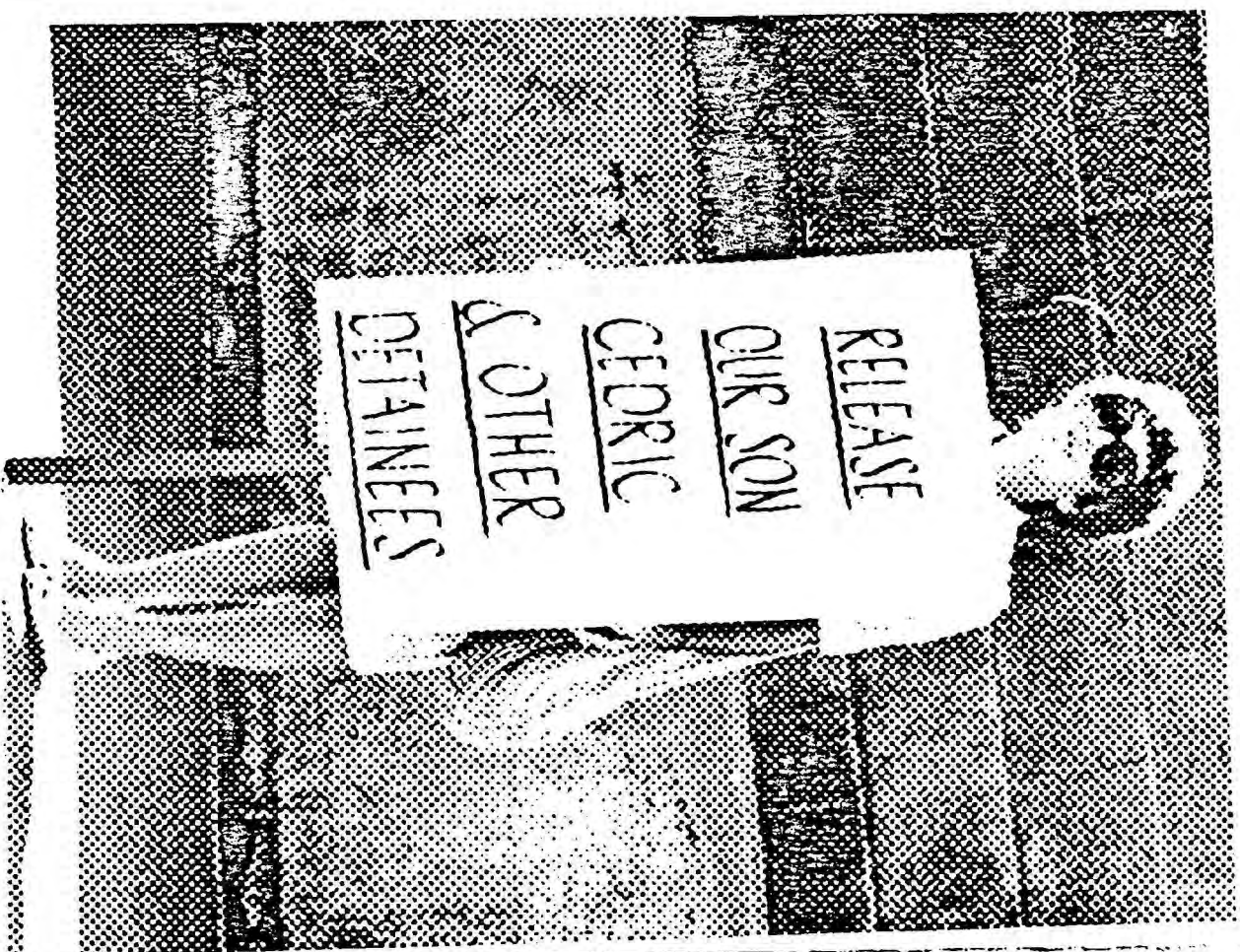
There are two major forms of detainees' rights.

1. Legal Rights
2. Rights or 'concessions' that have been won by the struggle of detainee support committees e.g. visits to detainees. Legal rights provide very basic safeguards for the detainee. But even these very basic rights are not properly met. Because of this constant pressure must be put on the authorities by the detainee and the detainee support committee to make sure that:
  1. Basic requirements are met.
  2. More concessions are won.

It is also important for people who might be detained to know what their rights are.

Some of the legal rights are:

1. Detainee must call a district surgeon if he/she is sick. Detainee must press for parents/relatives to be told of his/her health.



2. Detainee's personal needs e.g. toiletries, bible must be catered for.
  3. A detainee is entitled to a balanced diet and he/she must monitor the food to make sure the food keeps him/her strong and healthy.
  4. A detainee has a right to exercise and must make sure he/she exercises regularly.
  5. A detainee's cell should be kept clean. If this does not happen detainees should apply pressure on the security police for this condition to be met. Detainees should make hygiene part of their daily routine. This keeps the detainee occupied and helps him/her feel happier within him/herself. There are also other 'rights'. (See legal section for a full discussion of legal rights.)
- 3. Legal and Medical Assistance*
- The detainee support committee must ensure that
- Each detainee has a lawyer.
  - They build up contacts with lawyers and doctors in the area who can be contacted in the event of detentions.
  - They have a good understanding of the legal position of detainees.
- 4. Education*
- Education is needed in the following forms
- a. Education of committee members through talks, workshops and discussion groups. Subjects for discussion could include security legislation and detainees' rights, health care of detainees, the psychological effects of solitary confinement, and more general subjects like trends of political trials. Committee members should always be aware of ongoing developments around detentions and political trials, and each meeting should have a discussion on this.
  - b. Education programmes are needed for the many organisations which are affected by detentions. Detainees committees should make contact with these organisations to make them aware of the resources available.
  - c. Education of the general public is also important. One way of achieving this is through the media, i.e. newspapers, radio, magazines. (See section on publicity.) Other forms can be through public meetings (which can highlight particular detainee issues e.g. deaths in detention), detainees' newsletters, slickers, posters, pamphlets, cultural events e.g. plays, poetry readings. These can be used to highlight the plight of the detainees.

### *5. Publicity*

One of the ways of raising the awareness of the public is to ensure that detentions issues are covered in the newspapers. Publicity is an important way of putting pressure on the government by showing up their undemocratic practices.

Detainees support committees should keep in mind the following points when thinking of ways to publicise the detentions issue.

1. Good contact must be kept with journalists in the commercial press e.g. Sowetan, Rand Daily Mail, Star, and the alternative press e.g. Saspu National, the Eye, Grassroots.
2. Committees should attempt to get a regular feature article or a column in the press. The DPSC has a regular two weekly column called 'Our View' in the Star.
3. Contact must be kept with international press to make sure that people overseas are aware of detentions in SA. Overseas organisations can be useful in applying pressure on the SA government on the detentions issue.
4. Publicity does not have to happen only through the commercial press. Other ways of informing people are
  - producing pamphlets, posters or a newsletter regularly
  - having mass meetings
  - using Church, trade unions, student and community groups to raise the issue of detentions in their regular meetings.

### *6. Setting up of Specialist Sub-Committees*

Specialist sub-committees can be established to research and investigate particular problems e.g. the legal aspects of detentions, health care and psychological effects of detention. This information is very useful when detainees support committees are building campaigns to focus on particular issues e.g. health care of detainees.

### *7. Material Care of Family*

It is important to remember that detainees support committees are not charity organisations. They do not have funds to ensure that all detainees and their families are completely materially looked after.

There are some organisations e.g. Dependents Conference of the South African Council of Churches which give some help to the detainee's family. You can contact their branch in your area to find out what assistance they can

offer. Employers of detainees must also be contacted to find out whether they are prepared to continue paying the detainee's salary.

If detainee support committees want to fund raise they must study the Fund Raising Act. This law lays down certain conditions on how funds can be raised. Detainees support committees must make sure that they do not go against the Fund Raising Act. Any lawyer who helps the detainee support committee will be able to inform the committee on what is in the law.

#### *8. Security Police and Monitoring Their Activities*

A major problem encountered with security police is that their treatment of parents differs from area to area, and in different communities. In some areas they didn't accept food parcels, and were not forthcoming with information on the detainee. Yet in other areas they accepted food parcels, clean clothes, and gave allowed visits to detainees. This unequal treatment leads to the intimidation of the parents, which in turn can lead to division among them. Thus it is very important for detainees support committees to take up problems collectively. Group action is an important way of handling the situation. It creates unity among parents, allows them to give moral support to each other, and emphasises the need for equal rights for all detainees, whatever their race.

Another aspect of monitoring the activities of the security police is for parents to share experiences on the treatment of detainees. When parents do this they find that detainees have common experiences. These experiences might show that security police do not always act within the law.

#### *9. Visiting of Detainees*

During visits to detainees by parents, relatives and friends should show strength and be able to assure the detainee that his/her interests are being looked after. Those people who make the visits must be strong in front of the detainee. A visitors timetable sometimes helps to organise visits so that many different people get to visit the detainee.

#### *10. Release of Detainee*

On release of a detainee, detainee support committees should

1. Help the detainee get back into 'normal life'.
2. See that he/she has a medical check up.
3. Follow through any legal action the detainee might want to take if he/she felt that any of the security laws were broken while he/she was in detention.



4. Be informed of events that occurred during detention. The committee or friends should keep a diary of major news and community events for the detainee.
5. Suggest the detainee has a holiday (if possible).

#### *11. Awaiting Trial Prisoners*

If a detainee is charged under security legislation he/she becomes an awaiting trial prisoner.

When a prisoner is awaiting trial, the detainees support committee should ensure

- that the prisoner has a lawyer representing his/her interests
  - that a visitors' timetable is arranged since the prisoner is allowed more visitors
  - that food is taken regularly
  - that the prisoner is given study material, books and anything else he/she is allowed.
- (See Legal Section for more detail)

## **'Don't's' for Detainees Support Committees**

Members of detainees support committees should not

- speculate and spread rumours about why a person has been detained.
  - take individual action. Always consult with your committee and friends.
  - be afraid to confront the authorities.
  - ever lose hope. Discuss your fears, problems with your committee and learn to rely on and trust people.
  - complain to people outside the committee if you are unhappy with the workings of the committee. Constructive criticism of the committee will help to build your organisation.
  - be intimidated by criticism of the committee. As long as you are clear of the aims and objectives of the committee, of your long term and short term goals and that you are working in a legal way, you should be able to answer any criticism of your committee.
- Detentions and repression will continue for a long time. This will be as long as we have the present security laws. It will also continue for as long as we have a government which neither represents the people, nor has democratic practices.

Detainees support committees bring together many different types of people, all of whom believe in a democratic non-racial South Africa. Thus detainees support committees are a small way of working towards this society.

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# Legal rights of detainees

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

It is Wednesday night. 500 people are packed into the community hall to talk about the latest rent and bus fare increases. Most of them are members of the community in that area. There are also some people from outside the area. They have come to show solidarity with the people protesting against these new increases. There are also people from a neighbouring community who have come to talk about their own experiences and to tell how they protested against bus fare increases announced in their township four weeks ago.

The meeting is noisy and the people angry, but everyone who wants to speak gets a chance. By ten o'clock it has been decided to send a delegation to the authorities to protest the increases. The meeting also decides that the delegation must report back within ten days and that, if the authorities have not agreed to listen to the people's demands further action will be discussed.

These peaceful plans get disturbed during the next twenty-four hours as the members of the elected delegation find themselves confronted by various forms of police action.

We will now see what type of action is taken against each individual and list his/her legal rights that arise in each situation.

## 2 ROADBLOCK

After the meeting, Zodwa and Sipho get into their car and drive home. On the way they are stopped at a police road-block. They are ordered by the police

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to get out of the car and go to the tents so that the police can search them and the car.

*What you can do about:*

*a. The police stopping you*

- (i) When you are ordered to stop you must stop.
- (ii) You can demand the name and I.D. cards of the police if they are not in uniform.
- (iii) If they are in uniform, you can ask for their name and number.

*b. Search*

The police are allowed to search your car and anything in it on any public road whenever they want to. But they are not allowed to search you personally unless

- (i) you agree to allow them to do so.
- (ii) the police have a search warrant which names you as the person they want to search, or
- (iii) they can only search you personally if the rules outlined on (page 25) apply.

The following rules apply for a search:

**1. Body Search**

All searches must be made with a strict regard for decency, e.g. A woman may only be searched by a woman. If there is no woman police official available, the police must choose any woman to do the search.

**2. Car Search**

- a. Must be carried out decently with no damage done to the car.
  - b. You should try to be present at the car at the time of the search.
3. If anything is taken from you or the car you must ask for a receipt.

After the car search, the police tell them they can go home. They go home, light the fire, make some coffee and go to bed.

## 3 ORDINARY ARREST

Early in the morning, there is a loud knock on the door. Sipho goes to the door and asks who is there. A voice replies 'police'.

*What can you do?*

1. You can demand identification, e.g. the names and numbers of the policemen should be taken down.
2. You can demand the reason for their visit.

The police tell Sipho that he is being arrested on a charge of public violence and that he must come with them to the police station.

This is known as an arrest under the Criminal Procedure Act and must not be confused with detention.

*What can you do when the police arrest you under the Criminal Procedure Act?*

1. You can ask to see the warrant of arrest.

a. A warrant of arrest looks like the form shown on the next page.

b. The following things must appear on the warrant of arrest:

- (i) The name of the person who is to be arrested.
- (ii) The alleged offence. The crime that the police are arresting you for.
- (iii) It must be signed by an authorised official.

If the warrant is in order then you must go with the police.

However, there are times when the police can arrest a person without a warrant.

*For example:*

1. If the police see the crime taking place.
  2. If the police suspect you of murder, armed robbery or other serious crimes, including some political offences.
  3. If you do not give your name and address to the police.
  4. If the police suspect you of a crime involving liquor, drugs or arms.
- Remember if you are arrested with or without a warrant, the police must always tell you why you are being arrested. Once you are arrested you must be taken to a police station as soon as possible.

So Sipho was arrested and taken to the police station.

Early the next morning Zodwa tells the neighbours what happened and money is collected so that she can go and see a lawyer.

Meanwhile Sipho arrives at the police station and the police ask him his name, address and if he wants to make a statement. His fingerprints and

photograph are taken.

*What can you do as an arrested person at the police station?*

1. You must give your name and address.
2. You do not have to make a statement. You should ask to see your lawyer before making a statement.
3. You do have to give your fingerprints, and allow a photograph of yourself to be taken.
4. You can ask to contact your lawyer — this cannot be refused. This can be done either directly by phone or through family or friends or the Legal Aid officer. (See section on Legal Aid on page 61 )
5. You must appear in court within 48 hours of your arrest. (Weekends and public holidays must not be counted in the 48 hours)
6. You must be given a receipt for all things taken from you by the police, such as money, watch, belt.
7. In certain circumstances you can ask the police for bail. (see page 60 )

## Your Rights on First Court Appearance

Sipho comes to court within 36 hours of his arrest.

*What are your rights at court?*

1. You do not have to make any statement or plead guilty or not guilty. Tell the magistrate you want to see a lawyer.
2. You are entitled to have your lawyer represent you. (If you need Legal Aid, see Page 61 )
3. You can apply for bail. (See section on bail on page 60 ).  
The magistrate gives Sipho bail of R500.00 and warns him to be in court on a certain date for his trial.  
Bail is paid to the clerk of the court Sipho goes home.  
We will see later what happens to Sipho at his trial.

To \*The Magistrate Justice of the Peace, District of.....

### APPLICATION UNDER SECTION 43 OF ACT 51 OF 1977 FOR WARRANT OF ARREST

Application is hereby made for the issue of a warrant for the arrest of:

on a charge of.....  
 there being from information taken upon oath a reasonable suspicion that he/she committed the alleged offence on or about the..... day of..... 19.....  
 in the District of.....  
 The said..... is at present known or suspected on reasonable grounds to be within the District of.....

\* Honourable General Public Prosecutor, Police Officer

### WARRANT OF ARREST

(To all police officers authorised to execute warrants of arrest)

Whereas from written application by.....  
 there is a reasonable suspicion that.....  
 on the..... day of..... 19.....  
 committed the crime of.....  
 You are hereby directed to arrest him/her and to bring him/her before a lower court in accordance with the provisions of section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act 51 of 1977).  
 Given under my hand at..... this..... day  
 of..... 19.....

Description of accused:..... \*Magistrate Justice of the Peace

*\*Delete whatever is not applicable*

# 4 DETENTION

## Section 28 Detention

Dan and Jill leave the meeting, walk to the station, take the train home, put on the kettle, have tea, listen to the news and go to bed.

Later that evening the doorbell rings. Jill goes to the door and opens it. She sees 3 men in plain clothes.

'I'm Captain Straw of the security police. Are you Jill Dobbys?' he asks.

'Yes, I am,' she says.

'Is Dan here?'

'Yes.'

'Can we come in?'

'I suppose so.'

They walk in and Captain Straw says, 'Jill Dobbys, I have a notice for your detention in terms of Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.'

*What can you do when told that you are being detained under Section 28?*

1. You can ask to see the policeman's identification.
2. You can ask to see the notice authorizing the detention.
3. The notice must be signed by the Minister of Law and Order. The notice must include a statement written by the Minister setting out the reasons for the detention.
4. It is also possible for a person to be detained under Section 28 without a notice of detention. In this case you can only be arrested by a police officer. The officer must then within seven days present you with a copy of the necessary notice.
5. You can ask to go and pack a bag with toiletries and clean clothing to take with you. (The police don't have to allow this).
6. You must then go with the police to a prison.

Section 28 allows for Jill to be detained because the Minister thinks that she is a danger to the security of the South African state.

The security police then take Jill to prison.

## Section 50 Detention

Captain Straw then turns to Dan and says, 'I am detaining you under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act.'

*What can you do when faced with a Section 50 detention?*

1. You can ask for the police officer's identification.
2. You can ask if you can pack a bag of toiletries and clothing to take with you.

Dan must then go with Captain Straw. He will find out that Section 50 allows a warrant officer or a more senior policeman to arrest a person without a warrant if s/he thinks that that person may be a danger to peace and security.

The police take him to the local police cells.

We will leave Jill in prison under Section 28 and Dan in the police cells under Section 50. We will come back to both of them later to see what their rights are and what is going to happen to them.

## Search and Seizure

Dan and Jill have just been detained. Early the next morning the security police call at another house.

They knock at the door of a house in which 12 people live. Three of the 12 had earlier returned from the same meeting.

Ishmael opens the door and five security police enter. One identifies himself as Major Brakpan, and he shouts for Klaas, Ishmael and Thandi.

Major Brakpan says, 'We are going to search the house.'

*What can you do about a search?*

1. You can ask to see the search warrant.
2. If the police do not have a valid warrant then you must ask why they wish to search.

The reason for this is that the law states that for police to search they generally require a search warrant. A search warrant is like the document shown on the opposite page. It must be properly filled in and contain:

- 1) The address of the place to be searched.
- 2) What the police are looking for, and
- 3) Must be signed by a magistrate.

If you have been shown a search warrant which has been correctly filled in

then you must let the police search your home.

The police however, do not always need a search warrant.

The police can search without a warrant if:

1. You agree to the search.
2. If the police believe that a crime has been or may be committed and that (a) A Magistrate would have given them a search warrant (b) but that the delay in getting the search warrant would defeat the aim of the search.
3. If they believe that illegal arms, ammunition or drugs may be found on the property.
4. The police may search anybody they have arrested.

Major Brakpan says that they have no search warrant. They do believe that a crime has been committed.

He sends men to search the rooms. They search the house from top to bottom.

What can you do?

1. NOTHING — except:
    - (i) try to watch what is taking place;
    - (ii) try to watch what things are being taken and — that the search is being carried out in a proper manner;
    - (iii) take note of any damage caused.
- The police collect books, newspapers and pamphlets. They take them to Major Brakpan in the lounge. He says that he is going to take all of these documents to the police station.

What can you do about the things the police have taken?

1. You can ask that the documents be listed on a receipt and that you be given a copy of that receipt.
- The law allows the police to take:
1. Anything listed in the search warrant.
  2. Anything that they think is connected to any crime or possible crime.
- They write out the receipt and give it to Ishmael. The police take the documents to their car.

### Section 29 Detention

Major Brakpan then tells Klaas and Thandi that they must come with him.

### SEARCH WARRANT.

(Section forty-two, Act No. 56 of 1953.)

TO ALL POLICEMEN,

WHEREAS it appears to me on complaint made on oath that there are reasonable grounds for suspecting that there is "upon any person/in a receptacle, to wit/upon/for at the premises situated at \_\_\_\_\_

- (a) stolen property,
- (b) something in respect of which an offence has been committed,
- (c) something in respect of which an offence is suspected or reasonable grounds to have been committed,
- (d) something in respect of which there are reasonable grounds for believing that it will afford evidence as to the commission of an offence,
- (e) something in respect of which there are reasonable grounds for believing that it was used for the purpose of or in connection with the commission of an offence,
- (f) something in respect of which there are reasonable grounds for believing that it is intended to be used for the purpose of committing an offence.

to wit \_\_\_\_\_

THESE ARE THEREFORE to direct you to search during the daytime the said "person/ receptacle/premises and any person found in or upon such premises and to seize the said \_\_\_\_\_ if found, and to take it before a

magistrate to be dealt with according to law.

Given under my hand at \_\_\_\_\_ this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ 19\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Duty Station \_\_\_\_\_

\*These words not applicable. I Declare (a), (b) (c), (d), (e) or (f) as the case may be. I insert name of person.

They ask why. He tells them they are being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

*What can you do when faced with Section 29 detention?*

1. You should ask who has ordered the detention.
2. A Section 29 detention must be ordered by a policeman of or above the rank of lieutenant-colonel.
3. Once you are told that you are being detained in terms of Section 29, you have no choice but to go with the police.
4. As soon as possible after your detention you should be told the reasons for your detention.
5. As soon as possible after your detention the police must make arrangements for you to see a District Surgeon. If the police do not arrange for you to see the District Surgeon, you must ask to see the District Surgeon.

Ishmael overhears Major Brakpan telling Klaas and Thandi he is detaining them. Ishmael goes to the kitchen and makes some coffee. He takes it into Klaas and Thandi. Major Brakpan allows them to pack a case with toiletries and some clothes. Security Police watch them closely. Thandi manages to tell Ishmael that he must contact her parents and a lawyer. Klaas also tells him to see that some money is put into his bank account.

Thandi and Klaas know that messages are very important because they know that:

Section 29 means that any policeman on orders from a senior police officer of or above the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel can detain you without a warrant so that you can be interrogated. This detention has no time-limit to it and people can be detained for any length of time. The law states that the police can detain you for interrogation under Section 29 if they believe you are involved in, or know about, crimes relating to state security (e.g. sabotage, terrorism, subversion). Your release will depend entirely on a decision by the Security Police, the Minister of Law and Order, or the Commissioner of Police. You will not be allowed to see anyone except persons approved of by the law and the Security Police, for example Magistrates, the Inspector of Detainees, the District Surgeon, and police officials.

The police put handcuffs and leg-irons on Klaas and Thandi. The police take them to the policecar and drive away.

*What can you do when handcuffed?*

1. You can complain about the handcuffs and leg-irons and tell the police it is unnecessary, because you will not run away.
  2. But the police can leave the leg-irons and handcuffs on, if they want.
- Klaas' parents are terribly shocked and cannot believe that their son has been detained. They phone the police station to ask about Klaas' detention. The Security Police tell them that if they want information about their son they must use the proper channels.

*What must parents do to find out about a detention?*

1. They can contact a lawyer to get more information about the detention; or
2. They can contact the Security Police Headquarters in Pretoria themselves.
3. The Security Police Headquarters will only give them information if they have the following details:
  - (a) the detainee's full name; and
  - (b) date of birth; and
  - (c) address.

It is now only 48 hours since the meeting. Siphos is back at home, released on bail and waiting for his trial. Jill has been taken to a prison and is being held under Section 28. Dan is being held in a police cell under Section 50. Klaas and Thandi have not been seen since their detention. They are being held somewhere under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. Their friends have gathered and formed support groups. The support groups pay the detainee's rent. They send them that clean clothing and food. They tell the press about the detentions. These friends know they can form support groups. It is not against the law. These groups help people in detention by making sure that their friends and the public do not forget them.

## **Imprisonment**

The detainees are now being held in different places under different sections of the Internal Security Act. Each of the detainees has different rights depending on which section they are being held under. We will investigate each of them separately.

## **Rights of Section 50 Detainees**

Dan was detained under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act and taken to

the local prison where he was locked up in a cell. (Dan must be treated in the same way as an awaiting trial prisoner.)

*What are your rights under Section 50?*

1. You can demand to see your lawyer and must be allowed to see him/her.
2. You can receive visitors, reading material and food from friends. You can also buy these things. The prison or police officials will decide the time when you can receive or buy goods. The prison or police officials may not refuse you these things. If they do, speak to your lawyer.
3. The police must release you within 48 hours of your detention. The police can get a warrant from a magistrate if they want to keep you for longer than 48 hours.
4. If the police do not release you within 48 hours, you can demand to see the warrant for your further detention. This warrant is only valid if it is signed by a magistrate.
5. If this Section 50 warrant is signed by a magistrate, you can be held for 14 days counted from the first day of your detention.
6. You can write letters and receive letters.
7. You must be allowed time to exercise every day.
8. You may demand to see a doctor or dentist whenever you want to.
9. You can be held alone.

Anyone detained in terms of Section 50 of the Internal Security Act cannot be held for more than 14 days from the time of his/her detention. The law allows the police to carry out this detention when a policeman of warrant officer rank or above thinks that the detention of that person will help the state in preventing unrest, public disorder, riot or violence.

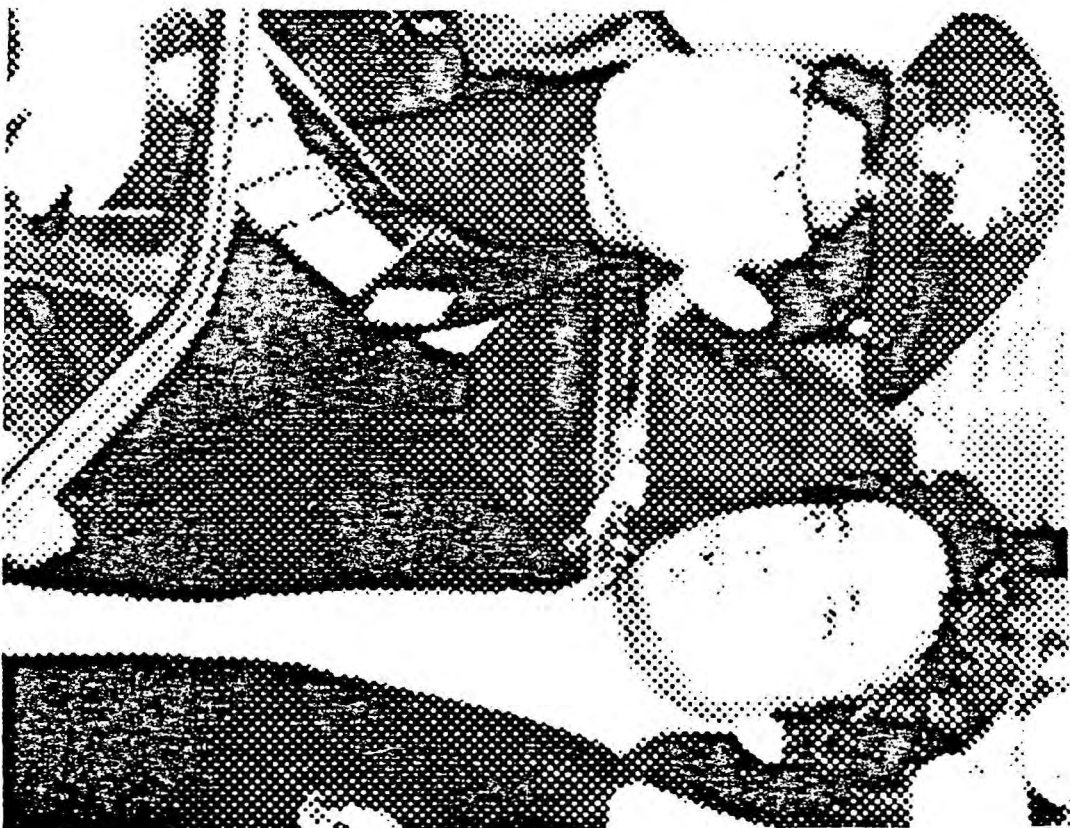
After 48 hours Dan is shown a warrant from a magistrate. The magistrate states he is satisfied that Dan's detention is necessary to prevent unrest. Dan is held for another 10 days. In this time his friends visit him, he receives letters of support. After 12 days in the police cells he is told he can go home.

## **Rights of a Section 28 Detainee**

Jill was taken to a prison 150 kilometres from her home. There she is again told that she is being held in terms of Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

*What are your rights under Section 28?*

1. If you have not been served with a notice for your detention, you can de-



mand to see it. It must be shown to you within 7 days from the day on which you were detained.

2. Within 14 days of receiving the notice you should demand to see your lawyer. You are allowed to see your lawyer **ONLY** to discuss writing to the Minister about your detention and the reasons which he gave for your detention. You can only make this demand during the first 14 days of your detention.
3. You are entitled to books, newspapers, food and clothing at all times during your detention. You can request that these things be brought for you with your own money. You can also ask for games, cards and study materials.
4. Except for the visit from your lawyer (as described in (2) above,) you are only allowed to see:-
  - (i) the police and police officials;
  - (ii) the Minister or Director of Law and Order;
  - (iii) a Supreme Court judge;
  - (iv) the Chairman of the Review Board;
  - (v) and people allowed by the Minister or Commissioner of Police to see you.
 Other people may apply for permission to see you.
5. No-one other than those mentioned in (4) above is allowed to information about your detention.
6. You can ask to receive money from the Minister while you are being detained.
7. It is difficult to state what other rights you still have because most of these will depend on the Minister's rules, but you can:-
  - (i) demand a Bible and other reading matter;
  - (ii) demand medical and dental treatment;
  - (iii) request to see the prison minister of religion;
  - (iv) receive or buy reading and writing material and food.
8. You do not have to answer any questions put to you while under Section 28.
9. You do not have to sign any documents which you do not want to.
10. You will be held separate from other prisoners.
11. You can be searched on arrival at the prison and any time while being held.
12. You can be moved from prison to prison whenever the Minister decides to do so.

## The Board of Review

After the Minister of Law and Order has ordered your detention he sends details of your detention to a special Board of Review. He also sends any written representations you make within the first fourteen days of your detention.

The Board of Review is set up by the Minister of Justice. It has three

members.

This Board will investigate your case, and then send a report to the Minister of Law and Order. It can ask for your release or a change in your order.

The Minister must then tell you what the Board's findings and recommendations are.

But the Minister does not have to accept the recommendations of the Board.

*What can the Board of Review do?*

- (i) It can call for information from any person. You or anyone can ask the Board to listen to anyone who might have information.
- (ii) The Board can hold its meetings anywhere it wants to.
- (iii) The Board can ORDER people to give evidence in front of it. These people cannot be represented by a lawyer. If they refuse to give evidence or answer questions they can be sentenced up to a fine of R500 and/or 6 months in prison. If you refuse to give evidence at the review, you are then entitled to a lawyer from the minute you refuse.
- (iv) The Board meets in secret.
- (v) The Board does not have to show you the information it has about you.

*What can you or your lawyer do?*

- (i) You can also ask the Board (in writing) if you can speak to them yourself.
- (ii) Only persons given permission by the Board can see any of the records of the Board.

*What can you do about the Board of Review?*

- (i) You do not have to use the Board of Review.
- (ii) If you decide to use it, you should work with your lawyer.
- (iii) Whether or not you want to appear in front of the Board you should
  - a. Ask to see the statements and evidence against you
  - b. Ask for your lawyer to be present
  - c. Ask to be present whenever anyone gives evidence to the Board
  - d. Ask the Board to allow your lawyer to question the people who have given evidence against you.

**The Board may refuse you permission to do any of these things.**

- e. If 6 months after the outcome of the Review Board's decision you are still in detention, you can demand another Board of Review by writing to the Minister

of Law and Order.

Jill saw her lawyer six days after the warrant was served on her. Together they wrote to the Minister demanding her release and pointed out that the Minister's reasons for her detention were all wrong. In the letter she asked to attend the Board of Review and to give evidence herself. Five weeks later she received a letter from the Minister's office in which she was told that:—  
 a. the Chairman of the Board of Review had decided it was not 'in the public interest' to listen to her; and  
 b. the Board of Review saw no reason to question the decision of the Minister to detain her.

One day the Security Police came to Jill and asked her to answer some questions. She told them that she was not willing to answer any questions from them, and did not have to. After that the Security Police left her alone for 5 months. During this time she only saw her lawyer at the beginning of her detention, and prison and police officials and a minister of religion.

Suddenly after 165 days in the prison, she was told one morning that she could pack her bags and go home. By lunchtime she was back at home. That same afternoon she went to see her lawyer. She also had a medical checkup.

## Rights of a Section 29 Detainee

Klaas and Thandi were driven to the local security branch headquarters. They were immediately taken to separate rooms.

Both of them were nervous, but they also knew that with courage they would survive this detention.

Klaas was told that he would remain under Section 29 until he answered all questions to their satisfaction.

*What are your rights under Section 29?*

1. A person held under Section 29 sees no-one except the police or officials of the state.
2. The police in terms of law must allow a detainee the following:—
  - (i) to write to the Minister of Law and Order about their detention.
  - (ii) to see the District Surgeon in private at least once every two weeks. If you are sick or injured you must demand to see the District Surgeon immediately.
  - (iii) to see a magistrate in private at least once every two weeks.
3. Therefore a Section 29 detainee may see no-one except:—
  - (i) the police;

(ii) the Minister of Law and Order;

(iii) the District Surgeon at least every two weeks;

(iv) the Magistrate at least every two weeks;

(v) the Inspector of Detainees;

(vi) a minister of religion.

4. Other people can only see the detainee if the Minister of Law and Order or the Commissioner of Police allows them to. This is the only way a Section 29 detainee can be visited by his/her lawyer or family.

5. The police must keep a written record of:

(i) Any visits to you

(ii) Any requests or complaints made by you

(iii) What they have done about your requests or complaints.

6. Whenever you are ill or injured you can demand to see the District Surgeon. If you are told that the District Surgeon is busy you must demand to see another doctor.

7. You can demand to see a minister of religion. The police will choose the minister, but they must allow you to see one.

8. Whether you receive anything else (e.g. food, books, visitors or your release) will depend entirely on the police.

Klaas and Thandi are kept in solitary confinement in their cells. They are often interrogated for long periods.

## Section 29 Visitors

Klaas and Thandi would like to see other people but are not certain who they can or must see.

*Who must visit detainees?*

1. A magistrate must visit a Section 29 detainee in private at least once every two weeks.
  2. A district surgeon must visit a Section 29 detainee in private at least once every two weeks.
  3. The Inspector of Detainees must visit every detainee in private as often as possible. He must bring an interpreter if needed.
- Seven weeks go by. Klaas has made a statement. He is told that it has been sent to the Attorney General for a decision if Klaas will be charged. Thandi has made no statement. She decides to complain about her treatment she received during interrogation.



Four days later Major Brakpan tells her she is being moved to a prison on the orders of the Attorney-General. He tells her she is now a Section 31 detainee under the Internal Security Act.

## Rights of Section 31 Detainee

Thandi is moved to a police station cell. She is kept in solitary confinement.

*What are your rights under Section 31?*

1. You can demand to see the Attorney-General's warrant of detention.
2. If a proper warrant of detention is shown to you, you have to be taken as soon as possible to the place named in the warrant.
3. You can see no person other than officials of the State, unless the Attorney-General allows them to see you.
4. You must be visited by:-
  - (i) a magistrate once every two weeks in private;
  - (ii) a district surgeon once every two weeks in private.
5. You can be held until the Attorney-General orders your release but not for longer than:-
  - (i) the end of the trial in which you are supposed to give evidence; or
  - (iii) six months, if no charge sheet for that trial is issued.

Section 31 means that anyone can be detained at a place named by the Attorney-General if the Attorney-General thinks that the person may give evidence for the state and that his/her detention is in the interests of justice.

6. You must be allowed daily exercise.
7. You must be allowed to see the District Surgeon, and receive dental treatment when necessary.
8. The Attorney General will decide if you can receive anything else.
 

Thandi is moved to the prison, and put into a cell on her own. For the next five days sees no-one except for the warder who brings her food.

On the sixth day a man comes to Thandi and says that he is from the Attorney-General's office. He says, 'I know you made no statement under Section 29. Will you now make a statement?' Thandi is a bit confused now and asks to see her lawyer.

*What visitors can a Section 31 detainee get?*

1. You may only see your lawyer if the Attorney-General lets you. A Security

Policeman will be present during the meeting with the lawyer.

2. You may see your family and friends if the Attorney-General allows them to visit.
3. The other people you will see are
  - (i) prison and police officials;
  - (ii) people from the Attorney-General's office;
  - (iii) the district surgeon at least once every two weeks in private;
  - (iv) a magistrate at least once every two weeks in private.

Thandi is given permission by the Attorney-General to see her lawyer.

The lawyer explains her rights to her. She then decides not to make a statement. Thandi is then told that the Attorney-General has decided to call her as a witness in the trial against Klaas. She is also told she will be held in detention until the trial.

## How to make a complaint while in detention

1. All complaints made by detainees should be written down in the Complaints Book and investigated. This written record may be very important after you are released, because it can be used in court.
2. If you feel you are not being properly treated you should complain to every person who visits you, including the Inspector of Detainees, the doctor or minister. You should ask for and remember the names of all these people.
3. You should ask to see where the complaint is written down and ask for a pen and paper so you can keep a record of your complaint. The police do not have to let you keep your own record.
4. All complaints made by detainees must be investigated. You should ask the people you have complained to how the investigation is going. If you feel that nothing is being done, you must make another complaint and try to make sure it is also recorded.

# 5 STATEMENTS AND CONFESSIONS

## Statements to people other than the police

- i) Anything you say or write or do can be used in evidence against yourself. However, you can still state afterwards that what you said or are alleged to have said or written is not true.
- ii) Anything you say or write cannot be used against other persons unless you yourself give evidence as to what you said or wrote. Only you are allowed to tell the court what you yourself said unless you are the accused person (see (i) above).

## Statements to the police

No-one is ever obliged to make a statement to the police or to a magistrate unless s/he is subpoenaed.

In order to stop people being easily found guilty only on their verbal confessions to people like the police who have authority and control over them, the Law sets out conditions that must be met before statements made to such people can be 'admissible' (used as evidence).

## Statements made to the police which are to be used against other people

A statement made by yourself cannot be used against another person in a trial unless you give evidence.

Even if the statement has been signed and sworn to by yourself it can not be

handed in as any kind of evidence against another person. You have to give evidence at the trial by speaking from the witness box.

However should you tell a story different from that contained in a statement which you have sworn to, you may be called a liar by the prosecutor. You may also be convicted of perjury either for swearing to a false statement, or for telling lies under oath in the court. But still the statement cannot be used on its own as evidence against the accused. It can only be used to show that you may not have told the truth when you have changed your evidence. This is why prosecutors like to have a sworn statement before they call a witness. It is up to you then to explain why there is a difference between the statement and your evidence, ie fear or pressure etc.

## Unsworn Statement

If you do not sign on oath to the truth of your statement then if you change it in court you cannot be convicted of perjury.

## Statements made to the police which are to be used against the person making the statement

1. The Law draws a small difference between those statements that are full confessions (admits to the crime) and those that are damaging admissions (admits some parts of the crime charged). In both cases the statement must be made freely and voluntarily without any undue pressure, threats or promises. It is important to remember that in the case of a confession to the police, it is not admissible unless it is put in writing and sworn to by the maker in front of a commissioner of oaths.

Here we will concentrate on confessions. There are two separate questions that a court will decide. The first is whether the confession is admissible (if it may be read out in court as evidence). The second is whether what it contains is true. It is also possible for a confession to be admissible and untrue.

2. A confession can only be used in evidence against you if it was made freely and voluntarily. If a confession is made because of fear, or because of a promise of better treatment, or because of any kind of assault including shouting and being forced to stand to answer questions for long periods of time - then the confession is inadmissible and nothing contained in it can be used against you or even put in the court record. This is the case even if the confes-

sion is quite clearly a truthful confession.

3. In order to help ensure that a confession is voluntarily made the law states that a confession must be in writing and sworn to in private in front of a magistrate or a police officer above the rank of sergeant. The magistrate or the police officer must be independent from the investigating officers. The courts will not accept a confession if there is even a trace of a link between the interrogating team and the person who takes your oath, e.g. the use of a tape recorder by the magistrate so that he can hand the tape back to the police has been rejected by the courts. Oral confessions to the police will also not be admissible.

4. The magistrate or police officer should and must, before you make a confession to them:

- (i) ask if you have been assaulted or have suffered any injuries;
- (ii) ask if you have been forced to make the confession by promises or threats or any other reason;
- (iii) ask if you wish to make the confession of your own free will. If you say that you do want to make a confession then they must ask you why you want to make it.
- (iv) write down only what you say;
- (v) only ask questions to clear up any misunderstanding about your confession;
- (vi) not draw any conclusion from what you tell him/her;
- (vii) not record or threaten to report what you say to the police in charge of your case;
- (viii) when you make the confession, only the person who is writing it down and you may be present. An interpreter can however also be present.

5. Who proves the statement is admissible?

You will remember that you make a confession to either a police officer or a magistrate. If you make your confession to a magistrate, the court will presume that it was made freely and voluntarily. You may still prove that you made it out of pressure, fear, etc, but this is difficult particularly where you have told the magistrate that you are making the confession freely.

If on the other hand you sign and swear to the confession in front of a police officer the court will not presume it was made freely. The state will have to prove this unless you are prepared to admit that it was made voluntarily.

#### *Effect of the Confession*

1. Once you have made a confession it may be used against you whether you

give evidence at your trial or not.

2. The confession can only be used against yourself and not against anyone else.

3. Once the confession is handed in as evidence you may challenge its admissibility, e.g. by showing that it was made as a result of pressure of some kind. This question of 'admissibility' is called a 'trial within a trial', when the conditions under which the confession was made, will be investigated. It is not a test of the truthfulness of the confession.

4. Once the confession has been accepted as admissible you may still prove that it is untrue, e.g. by giving evidence to show that you could not have done what you have confessed to have done.

5. A confession by itself is not enough to convict a person. There must be at least further evidence about the crime e.g. that a march actually took place or that damage was actually done.

#### *Pointing out*

1. The exception to the above rules relating to confessions occurs when an accused person points out something. In such a case - ie where an accused points out where pamphlets are buried in the ground - the evidence that the accused took the police to the place is admissible against the accused even if he does this after pressure, assault or intimidation.

2. Only the 'pointing out' is admissible, anything the accused said at the time is not necessarily admissible. Evidence that you pointed something out can be stated by any witness. It need not be reduced to writing.

# 6 THE TRIALS

## Rights on first court appearance

Klaas' statement is sent to the Attorney-General's office. Once he made his statement he was left alone by the Security Police. The Security Police brought him books to read which he recognised as books sent by his friends. After 10 weeks under Section 29 detention the police, at 7.00 am one morning, told him he was going to court.

He was taken to court and brought before a magistrate. The prosecutor read him the charge and asked him, 'Do you plead guilty or not guilty?'

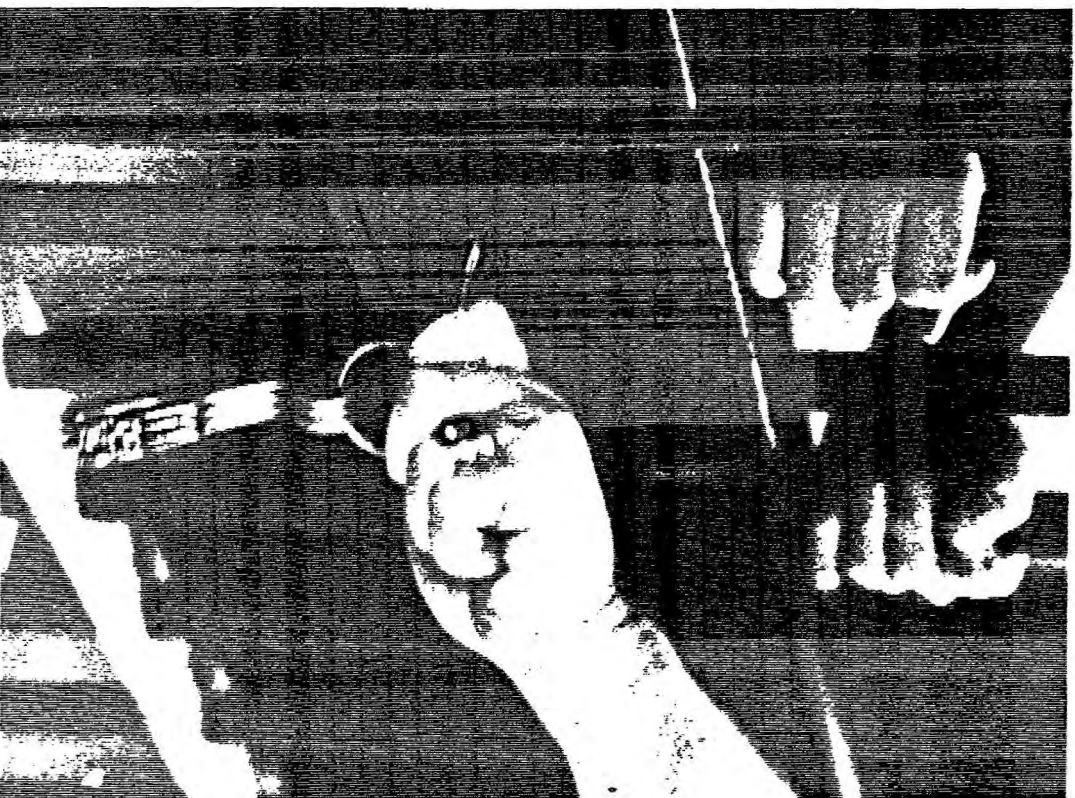
### *What can you do now?*

1. The magistrate should ask you whether you have a lawyer or whether you want a lawyer.
2. You should always tell the magistrate you want to see your lawyer to prepare your defence even if the magistrate does not ask you.
3. Once you are brought to court you do not have to say you are guilty or not guilty. You also do not have to make a statement.
4. When the magistrate allows you to contact your lawyer, you must do so immediately.

The magistrate orders that Klaas be allowed to contact his lawyer. The lawyer arrives at the court. The lawyer has told Klaas' family that he is in court and for the first time in several months Klaus is re-united with his friends.

### *What happens at the first court hearing?*

1. The first court hearing for people who have been in detention is often very confusing.
2. It is the first time they may see their friends, lawyers and people other than police in a long time.
3. Several things can happen at the first court appearance, but before it starts you must always demand to see your lawyer.
4. The State might have a charge-sheet at the first hearing.
5. You may be asked to plead 'guilty or not guilty' at this first appearance.



Before you do so demand to see your lawyer. This is your right.

6. If you do plead not guilty then the magistrate can ask you if you wish to say anything about your defence. Remember to make no statements or comments on the charges without having seen your lawyer. Remember that anything you say may be used against you.
7. The other important matter that is often discussed at the first hearing is bail.
8. How you get bail is discussed in the section at the end of this book. (See page 60).
9. Often in security trials the Attorney-General produces a certificate in which he says the accused cannot get bail. If the prosecutor produces one of these certificates or says the Attorney-General has issued one, then you cannot get bail.
10. If the prosecutor does not have a certificate, you can apply for bail.
11. Remember that once you are brought to court no one can stop you from contacting, seeing and speaking to a lawyer. This is an absolute right and you must demand it from the magistrate.

## How to instruct a Lawyer

1. Everyone charged in court may get a lawyer to defend him/her.
  2. This is not as easy as it sounds but when you want a lawyer to defend you, you must first choose which lawyer you want. If you decide not to get a lawyer, you can defend yourself.
  3. If you can, you should go to the lawyer's offices. However, if you are in gaol, you can ask your family or friends to go to the lawyer. Otherwise you can ask the prison authorities to phone the lawyer, and to ask him/her to come see you.
  4. The lawyer will ask you about the events which are in your charge-sheet.
  5. The lawyer should tell you what choices the law allows for your defence and your chances. You must then tell the lawyer what you want done.
  6. Sometimes the lawyer has to get an advocate for you. You always have to have an advocate for trials in the Supreme Court, and sometimes one uses an advocate in trials in the Magistrates' Court.
  7. Some lawyers may ask you to give them a deposit before they will help you.
  8. You should discuss with your lawyer how much the whole case will cost. (See Legal Aid Section at (page 60)).
  9. It is important to be open and honest with your attorney.
- Klaas is refused bail. He is taken to the nearby prison. He is now an awaiting-trial prisoner.

*What are your rights as an awaiting-trial prisoner?*

1. You can be held together with or separated from other prisoners.
2. You may receive or buy stationary and reading material with your own money.
3. You can ask to see a doctor or dentist.
4. You can demand to see your lawyer.
5. You are allowed to receive visitors. The prison authorities will decide when and for how long.
6. You must be allowed to write and receive letters, but prison authorities may censor them.
7. You are allowed to receive food and clothing.
8. You are allowed regular exercise for an hour every day.

*These are your rights and can only be taken away as a punishment for breaking prison regulations.*

## Rights when called in to see Police

Meanwhile all has not been quiet at Klaas and Thandi's home. Two weeks after the night when Klaas and Thandi were detained, Ishmael arrived home to find a note waiting for him. The note said he must come see Major Brakpan at Security Police offices at 10 o'clock the next morning. Ishmael was not certain what he should do. When he got to work the next morning, he was called to the phone. A security policeman said, 'I am phoning to remind you that Major Brakpan is expecting you at 10 o'clock today.'

*There is no law which states that you must go to the police station when called in this way.*

*What can you do when the police call you to the police station?*

1. If you are phoned:
  - a. Try to find out from the person calling you:-
    - (i) His/her name, rank, force number;
    - (ii) Where s/he is phoning from and the section of the police s/he is working for;
    - (iii) The reason why they want you to come in and see them. Ask why it cannot be discussed over the phone;
    - (iv) Anything else you think you need to know.

2. If you receive a note:

- a. You can decide to ignore it.
- b. You can telephone the police and try to get more information from them. If you do this then try to get the same information mentioned above. (Once you have got as much information as possible you can discuss it with your family, friends and lawyer.

If you decide to go to the police station

- 1. You should ask a lawyer or a friend to go with you.
- 2. Take a small bag of toiletries and whatever you think you might need if they decide not to let you leave.
- 3. Ask them what they want you for.
- 4. a. If they say they are arresting you then see page 21 for rights under arrest.
- b. If they say they are detaining you:-
  - (i) Ask under what section and then see:-
    - Section 28 rights on page 24
    - Section 29 rights on page 34
    - Section 31 rights on page 36
    - Section 50 rights on page 25
  - c. If they say they just want to ask you questions then:-
    - (i) You do not have to stay as they have to either arrest or detain you if they want you to stay. So you do not have to answer any questions or make a statement.

The policeman will not tell Ishmael why Major Brakpan wants to see him and Ishmael decides not to go to the police station.

Section 205 Subpoena

The following day Ishmael's wife, Carol, is visited at home and is given a subpoena. This is a form which looks like the one on the opposite page. It orders Carol to present herself at court on Thursday morning to answer questions. (Certain questions are listed on the form. This is called a Section 205 subpoena.

A Section 205 Subpoena is another method used by the police to collect information. The Subpoena will order you to go to court on a certain day to answer questions or bring documents. These documents must be described on the Subpoena. It will state that instead of going to court you can write a statement and

SUBPOENA IN TERMS OF SECTION 205 OF ACT 51 OF 1977

I do hereby request that the Magistrate at RANDBURG require the attendance of \_\_\_\_\_ (or his/her lawful deputy) of \_\_\_\_\_ a person who is likely to give material or relevant information as to the alleged offence of \_\_\_\_\_

alleged to have been committed by \_\_\_\_\_ for examination by the Public Prosecutors

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

SENIOR PUBLIC PROSECUTOR  
RANDBURG

MAGISTRATE'S COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF RANDBURG  
TO THE MESSENGER OF THE COURT

You are hereby required in the name of the State to summon \_\_\_\_\_

(or his/her lawful deputy) that he/she appear personally before the

Magistrate at RANDBURG on \_\_\_\_\_

at \_\_\_\_\_ for examination by the Public Prosecutor concerning the alleged offence of \_\_\_\_\_

alleged to have been committed by \_\_\_\_\_

Serve on him/her a copy of this subpoena and return to this court what you have done therein.

DATED AT RANDBURG this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ 19\_\_\_\_

MAGISTRATE : RANDBURG

H.B. The attendance of the said person will not be required if he furnishes an affidavit embodying the information to \_\_\_\_\_ before the above date.

send it to the police. It also warns you that if you fail to come to court you can be sent to gaol.

A Subpoena will normally be delivered to you personally, however if you are not there, anyone over sixteen at your house or work can receive it; or it can be attached to the door of your house.

The Subpoena must give reasonable time to appear in court.

*What can you do when you receive a Section 205 Subpoena?*

1. You should check if the subpoena is correctly filled in.
  2. You should go and see a lawyer about it.
  3. After discussing it with the lawyer you can decide whether you will send a statement or go to court.
  4. If you decide to send a statement, be certain it gets to the police in good time before the court date.
  5. Once you have sent the statement the police will decide if you must still come to court or not.
  6. Even if you have written the statement asked for in the subpoena, the police may still tell you that you must come to court. If this happens then you will have to go to court.
  7. If you disobey the subpoena, then you can be arrested and found guilty (convicted).
  8. Once you have received a subpoena you must keep the court informed of any change of your address or telephone number.
- Carol reads through the subpoena. She then goes to her lawyer for advice. After discussion they decide that they will send the prosecutor a statement, rather than attend court. They draw up the statement and Carol signs it. The lawyer then sends it to the prosecutor.
- The attorney waits two days and then phones the prosecutor. After the phone call her attorney tells Carol that she no longer has to attend the Section 205 hearing.
- What happens at a Section 205 Hearing?*
1. You should take your attorney to the hearing, but he may not be allowed to attend.
  2. You will be asked to take the oath to tell the truth.
  3. The prosecutor can ask you the questions listed on the subpoena or any questions that relate to the issues raised in the subpoena.

**DAGVAARDING IN STRAFSAK OM TEENVOORDDIG TE WEES EN GETUENIS AF TE LE  
SUBPOENA IN CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS TO ATTEND AND GIVE EVIDENCE**

*in die Hooggeregshof van Suid-Afrika/in die Lower Court,  
in the Supreme Court of South Africa/in the Lower Court.*

\*Afdeling / Division ..... \*District / District

\*Streekstadsdeel / Regional Division

Plek van verhoor/Place of trial	Hof/Court	Verhoordatum/dates of trial

Aan enige polisiebeampte of ander persoon gemagtig om prosesstukke te dien.

U word hierby in die naam van die Staat gelyk om die persoon persone van wie besonderhede hieronder verstaan te daggelyk om persoonlik voor hierdie Hof te verskyn om antwoord van die verhoordatum om te gee en te verklaar die inhoud van die betroubare verskeie aanklagte wat ingebring sal word teen

To any police officer or other person authorized to serve process.

You are hereby commanded in the name of the State to summon the persons of whom particulars appear hereunder, to appear in person before this Court at 0900 on the date of trial to testify and declare all the facts they know concerning certain charges preferred against

beskuldiging van die misdryf (omskryf) van ..... charged with the offence of

Naam, (en, getal, outdooier, em.) Name, race, sex, age, etc.	Adres/Address	No. van spoorboek No. of rail warrant

Besken aan elkeen van hulle in afskaf van hierdie dagvaarding en oorskryf hierdie Hof verslag van wat u daartoe doen.

Datumstempel van kassier van uitreiking  
Date stamp of issuing office

\*Skrap die woorde wat nie van toepassing is nie. \*Strike out words not applicable.

Waarskuwing: Indien u 'n verandering in u adres of in u telefoonnommer maak, moet u die polisiebeampte of ander persoon gemagtig om prosesstukke te dien daarvan in kennis gestel word. Indien u nie hierdie Hof verslag van wat u daartoe doen, kan u gevangene word. Waarskuwing: Indien u 'n verandering in u adres of in u telefoonnommer maak, moet u die polisiebeampte of ander persoon gemagtig om prosesstukke te dien daarvan in kennis gestel word. Indien u nie hierdie Hof verslag van wat u daartoe doen, kan u gevangene word.

Warning: If you make any change of the above-mentioned address or of your telephone number, you must advise the police officer or other person authorized to serve process of this Court what you have done thereon. If you do not do this, you may be liable to arrest and a sentence, not exceeding 12 months' imprisonment.

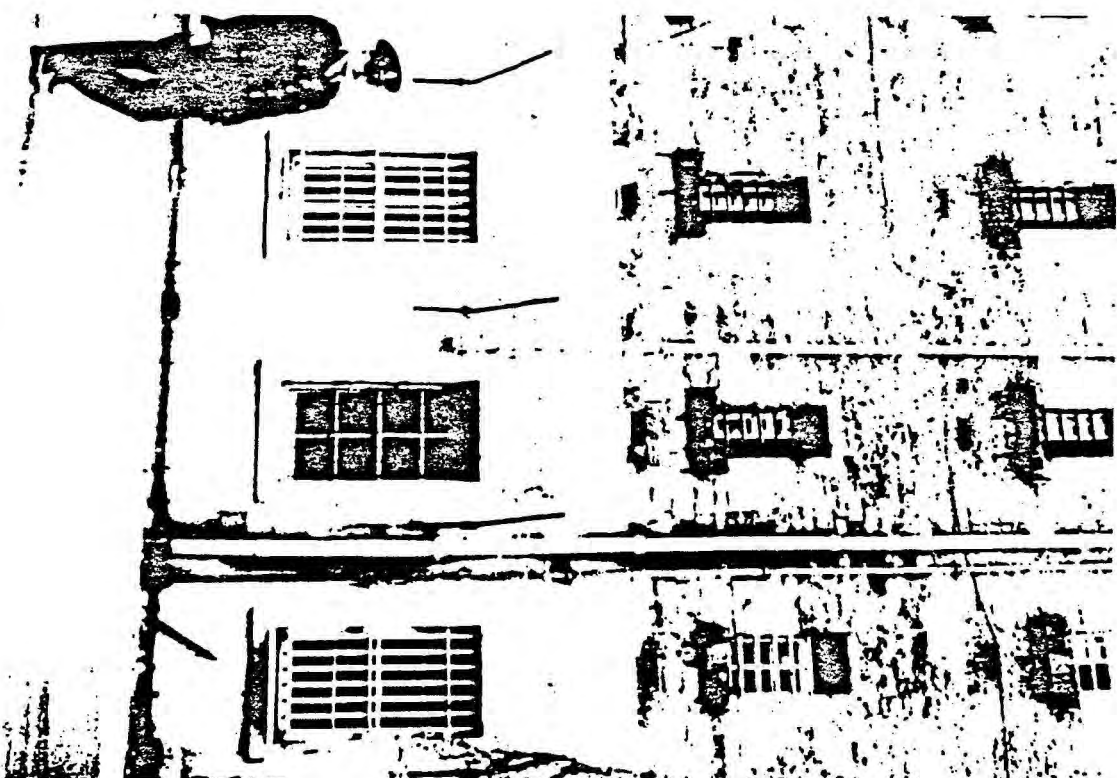
4. If you do not answer all the questions, or refuse to answer any question or refuse to take the oath you can be sent to gaol.
  5. You can only refuse to answer the questions under certain conditions:—
    - (i) If the evidence you are being asked to give is to be against your husband or wife you can refuse to answer.
    - (ii) If the evidence could result in your being convicted of a crime you can refuse to answer. When this happens the prosecutor must warn you that your answers could involve you in a crime. Once the prosecutor has done this, then the magistrate will tell you that if you answer the questions 'honestly and fairly' you will not be charged. This is known as an 'indemnity against prosecution'. If the magistrate offers you this indemnity you cannot refuse to answer the questions.
    - (6) If you do refuse to do any of the things mentioned in no. 4 above, and if your lawyer is not present, you must demand to see your lawyer before the magistrate or prosecutor continues the hearing. Once you have refused to answer anything, they cannot refuse you your right to have your lawyer represent you.
- Another three days pass and Carol is again visited by the Security Police. They serve a new subpoena on her like the one on the opposite page. In it she is ordered to be at the Supreme Court for Klaas's trial to appear as a witness.

## Remands

Klaas appears in the magistrates' court for two remands. At the second appearance he is given the charge sheet and is told that the trial is to be held in the Supreme Court the following month.

*What does all this mean?*

1. You can appear in court several times for a remand appearance.
2. This is merely an appearance in court for the purpose of postponing the case.
3. There may be several reasons for all those remands. Some of them are:—
  - (i) the State may not yet have prepared its case;
  - (ii) the Defence may not have had time to prepare;
  - (iii) the police are still busy with investigations;
  - (iv) the court is waiting to transfer you to another court.
4. At one of the remand appearances you should be given a charge-sheet.
5. In the charge sheet the State must describe what you are being charged with. The charge sheet must give you enough details to enable you to prepare your





defence. It may also name the persons who will give evidence against you, but it does not have to name all the possible witnesses.

6. Once the accused has received the charge-sheet, a trial date will be set.
7. The trial can take place in one of three different types of courts. The court in which it will take place will depend on the type of charges.
8. The three types of courts are:
  - (i) Supreme Court where a judge decides the case;
  - (ii) Regional Court where a magistrate decides the case;
  - (iii) Magistrates' Court where a magistrate decides the case.
9. It is important to realise that political trials can take place at any place chosen by the State.

The next morning Klaas and his lawyer meet at the prison to discuss his defence.

### **Sipho's Trial (Public Violence)**

Meanwhile, Sipho's trial is being heard in the Magistrates' Court.

Two weeks after he had received bail, Sipho and his lawyer met to discuss his case. The lawyer had received the charge-sheet from the Magistrates' Court and they see that many of Sipho's close friends have been subpoenaed to give evidence. Sipho and his lawyer spend many hours discussing the charge of public violence against him. They discuss the fact that his friends have been subpoenaed. After the discussion they plan how they will approach the trial.

The trial starts at the Magistrates' Court and Sipho is asked if he pleads guilty or not guilty. Sipho tells the magistrate that he pleads guilty. He has decided to do this because he knows that he was involved in the march against increased rents, and because he has discussed all the other issues with his lawyer. The magistrate then asks Sipho some questions. The magistrate says he is satisfied that Sipho is guilty as charged, and finds him guilty.

The people who have been subpoenaed will now not be called to give evidence.

There is then argument on sentence and after this the magistrate announces that he is going to fine Sipho R200 and give him a six-month suspended sentence. Within one hour the money has been paid to the clerk of the court and Sipho is free to go home.

It is possible to ask the magistrate or the clerk of the court or the prisoners'

friend to pay the money in instalments.

(For information on how a trial works, follow Klaas' trial over the next few pages).

### **Klaas' Trial**

Two weeks later Klaas' trial begins (at the Supreme Court at 10 o'clock). In the court room his lawyers wait with Klaas' friends.

The trial starts and Klaas is put into the box reserved for the accused. Thandi and Carol as potential witnesses are not allowed into the court.

*How does a trial work?*

1. Not all trials work the same way, but the most common procedure is like the one described here.
  1. The State Prosecutor must first describe the charges against the accused.
  2. If the accused has not pleaded at a remand appearance, he/she must do so now.
  3. If he/she pleads guilty the judge or magistrate may ask some questions to satisfy himself that the accused is really guilty, and then pass judgement.
  4. If the accused pleads not guilty, then the court must hear all the evidence, except for the facts that the accused admits.
  5. Sometimes, at this point, the accused will hand in a statement to the court in which his/her defence is outlined. The judge may ask questions to clear up points in the statement.
  6. The State then has to prove its case by calling state witnesses to give evidence. The Defence may cross-examine the state witnesses.
  7. During this part of the trial (the State's case) the Defence lawyers sometimes question whether statements obtained from people in detention should be admitted as evidence. This is often called a 'trial within a trial'.
  8. When the State has called all its witnesses and they have given evidence, then the State's case is closed.
  9. The Defence then has its turn and with his/her lawyer the accused must decide who should give evidence and how his/her defence must be organised. The State may cross-examine the defence witnesses.
- What are the accused's rights?*
1. You are always entitled to have a lawyer defend you.

2. You do not have to give evidence in your own trial.
3. You do not have to answer any questions put to you at your trial unless you have decided to give evidence.
4. At the beginning of your trial, you will be asked if you want to make any statement outlining your defence. You do not have to make any statement at this time; whether or not you make such a statement should only be decided after discussion with your lawyer.

Several Security Police give evidence against Klaas. Carol is called as a witness and goes into the witness box. She gives evidence that Klaas did attend a meeting on the night before the detention, but says she cannot remember him saying anything at the meeting.

*What are the witnesses' rights?*

1. You are entitled to your own lawyer. You cannot have the same lawyer as the accused.
2. When you as a witness consult with your lawyer in court, this discussion must be in private.

## Recalcitrant Witnesses

Ihandi is then brought into the witness box. She tells the court that she is not willing to give evidence for the State against Klaas.

*What can you do if you refuse to be a state witness?*

1. You are entitled to a lawyer. You cannot have the same lawyer as the accused.
2. At this point you must consider what your options are.
3. You can still refuse to give evidence, and the judge can send you to gaol.
4. You can still decide to give evidence at any time during the trial.
5. In security related trials you can get up to 5 years in gaol for refusing to give evidence.

Ihandi is warned by the judge that if she refuses to give evidence, he will sentence her to prison. She says she understands that. Thandi's lawyer gets up and tells the judge that he is her lawyer. He says that Thandi has a 'just reason' for refusing to give evidence. He says, 'The 'just reason' is because Thandi and Klaas are loyal friends and she therefore cannot give evidence against him.' The judge says this is not a 'just excuse' and finds Thandi guilty of refusing to give evidence. This is called a 'recalcitrant witness'. The prosecutor argues that

she should be sent to gaol for a long time as people should not refuse to give evidence for the State.

Ihandi's lawyer then argues that she should not be sent to gaol for refusing to give evidence, because she has already been in gaol for a long time and has suffered a lot. This is called 'argument in mitigation'. The judge says that people cannot refuse to give evidence for the State and sentences Thandi to 18 months in gaol.

## Judgement

Klaas' trial goes on for another three days. Each evening he is taken back to the prison. Each day his friends bring him the newspapers and food.

When all the witnesses have given evidence, the lawyers for the State and Defence argue the case and the judge then says he will give judgement in three days' time.

*What happens at judgement?*

1. When the judge/magistrate gives judgement s/he must look at each charge on the charge sheet and for each one must state if s/he finds the person guilty on that charge, or not guilty on that charge.
2. When a person is found guilty on a particular charge then s/he has been convicted on that charge.
3. When a person is found not guilty on a particular charge then s/he has been acquitted on that charge.
4. It is possible to be convicted on some charges, and acquitted on others in the same trial.

The judge finds Klaas guilty, and asks for evidence and argument on sentence. The prosecutor argues that Klaas should be locked up for a long time as he is a convicted criminal who is trying to bring about the downfall of the State. Klaas' lawyer then presents Klaas' side of the story (argument in mitigation). He explains Klaas' difficult life, his low wages, his high rent, and the fact that he has been deprived of political rights and how, as a result of this, he had become politically active.

The next stage is known as sentence.

*What can happen at sentence?*

1. Different types of sentence can be given.
2. One possibility is a prison sentence.

3. Another possibility is a fine which means that the person has to pay that amount of money into the court and then can go home. If s/he cannot pay the money, then s/he will have to go to gaol. If a person is given a money fine and cannot pay it at court, but his/her friends get the money later, then they can go pay it at the gaol and get the person released. The fine can also be paid in instalments if the magistrate or Prisoner's Friend agrees.
  4. Sometimes a sentence is suspended. This means that the sentence does not come into effect immediately (i.e. the person does not go to gaol or have ' ' pay the fine then). However that if that person is found guilty in the future of the same kind of charge or a similar charge, then the suspended sentence may be carried out.
  5. Another possibility is that a person may be sentenced to be whipped with a cane.
  6. Sometimes one sentence may be combined with another type of sentence.
  7. The magistrate may also postpone sentence, and release you on certain conditions.
- Kias is sent to gaol for five years. Like most political prisoners he spends time in isolation at a local prison.

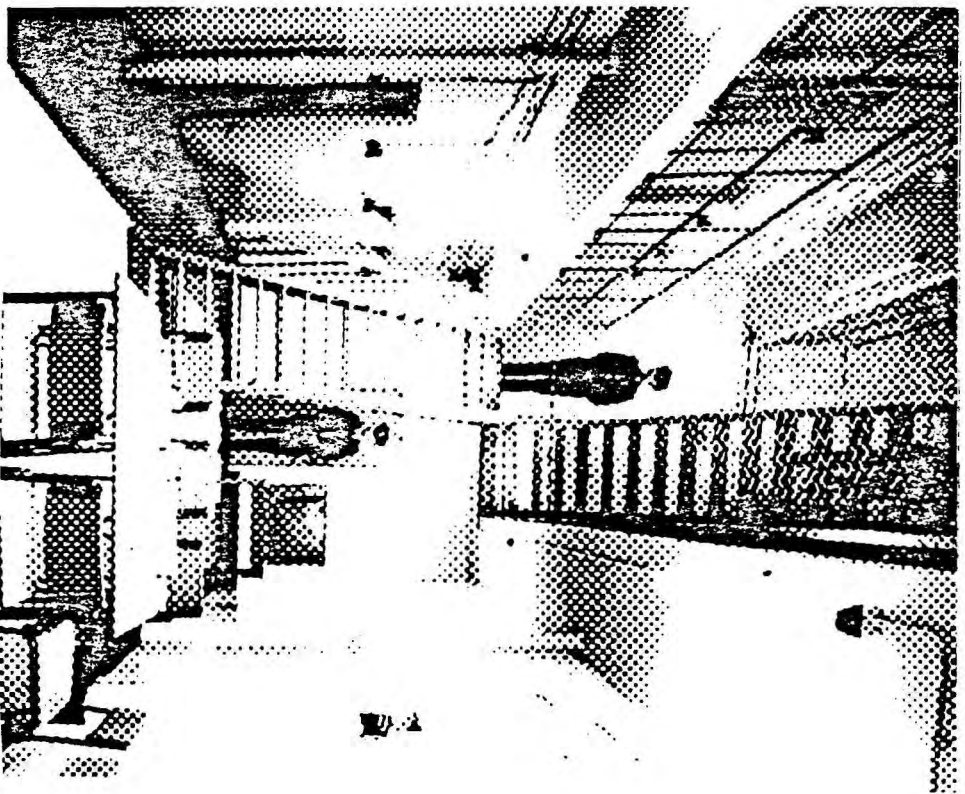
## Appeal

While waiting to go to Robben Island his lawyer visits him to discuss an appeal.

### *How can you appeal?*

1. A person convicted and sentenced at a trial can appeal against the conviction or the sentence or both.
2. An appeal can be made against the conviction:—
  - (i) if it is believed the judgment is wrong;
  - (ii) if evidence, which is important, was not considered at the trial.
3. An appeal can be made against the sentence when it is believed that it is too harsh for the crime.
4. You have only 14 week days to appeal after your sentence has been given.
5. You should discuss an appeal with your lawyer.
6. If it was a magistrates' or regional court trial you may always appeal — and the appeal will be heard at the Supreme Court.
7. If it was a Supreme Court trial, then you have to ask that Supreme Court for permission to appeal.

8. You must be aware that appeals can often take a very long time before the case comes to court. It is probable that you will not be released on bail during this time and will have to wait in prison for the result of the appeal.



# 7 IMPRISONMENT

Klaas is moved to Robben Island.

*What are your rights as a political prisoner?*

1. You must ask for a copy of the prison regulations when you arrive at the prison.
2. You will be given prison clothes, which you cannot refuse to wear.
3. You will be classified as an A, B, C, or D prisoner. 'A' category prisoners have the most and 'D' category the least number of privileges.
4. You will find that convicted, and especially political, prisoners have very few rights.
5. You have a right to prison clothing which must protect you against the weather.
6. You have a right to medical and dental care. This must be provided by the prison authorities.
7. You have a right to ask to see your lawyer. This is a very limited right and works as follows. If you want to see your lawyer while in prison, you must ask the Commissioner of Prisons to call your lawyer. But it is up to the Commissioner to decide if you should see your lawyer. Therefore, each time you want to see your lawyer, you must ask the prison officials — and you have to give the reason as to why you want to see your lawyer. The prison officials will then decide if you can see your lawyer — and if they decide that you may, they are allowed to listen in to any conversation you have with your lawyer. You are also not allowed to pass any written documents to your lawyer, unless the prison officials allow you to give them to your lawyer.
8. You have a right to food and water which the prison officials must provide.
9. You must be allowed visitors and letters, but how often and when will depend on the prison officials.
10. All other matters will depend on the prison officials - they will decide what books, newspapers, magazines, radios you may receive. They can censor any of these or can stop your receiving them altogether.

11. You can only study if the prison officials give you permission to do so. Ask your lawyer to apply for the necessary permission on your behalf.
  12. You can always lay complaints in the complaints register which must be available in every prison.
  13. You must be allowed time to exercise, but for how long and when will depend on the prison authorities.
  14. One of the best ways of finding out what you can do — and cannot do — is by discussing these matters with fellow prisoners.
- While in prison, Klaas receives his letters, some books, and studies by correspondence. After one year, his lawyer informs him that his appeal has failed.

## Parole

After three years he hears that another prisoner is to go on parole. He asks how this works.

*What can you do about parole?*

1. Parole means that the prisoner is released from prison before s/he has completed his/her sentence on certain conditions.
2. Parole for political prisoners is very rare.
3. If you want to get parole, you have to apply to the parole officer in the prison where you are being held.
4. The parole officer will take the following factors into account:
  - a. Your offence
  - b. The sentence that the court passed
  - c. The time that you have spent in prison at the time of the application
  - d. Your behaviour in prison
  - e. Your family background e.g.
    - (i) if you are married
    - (ii) if you are children
    - (iii) if you are the family breadwinner
    - (iv) if you will have a job when released from prison
5. All parole applications by political prisoners have to be referred to the Cabinet Minister for his approval. It seems he will take all factors into account. He will also consider your possible future political involvement.
6. As a result of all these conditions, it is very difficult for a political prisoner to get parole.

## 8 BAIL

To stop people who have not been found guilty from being kept in gaol a system called 'bail' exists.

This means that the accused pays in a certain amount of money, decided on by the court. In return for this payment the accused is allowed to go free until the next court appearance.

If you are arrested by the police, you can ask the police to set bail. In minor offences the police themselves are allowed to set bail. You then pay the police that amount of money - and they must give you a receipt for the money (called a bail bond) and tell you when to appear in court. If you do not appear in court on that day you will lose the money you paid in as bail. A warrant of arrest will be issued against you.

If the police will not set bail, then you must ask the magistrate for bail the first time you appear in court. You ask him if you can be let out on bail. He must listen to your request. He will also listen to the prosecutor and then decide if you can get bail.

Often in security trials the prosecutor will say he has a certificate from the Attorney-General which says you should not get bail. If he does this, you cannot apply for bail.

When you apply for bail (or your lawyer applies for you) you must tell the court:-

1. That you will come to court for your next appearance.
2. That you do not intend running away, and there is no reason for the court to believe that you will not come back to court.
3. You must give the court your address.

4. You must tell the court that you will not interfere with state witnesses. The prosecutor may or may not agree to your getting bail. If he does not agree to your getting bail, then he must argue why you cannot get bail. Both you and the prosecutor can suggest how much the bail should be.

The court will then decide if you can get bail and on what conditions.

Sometimes the court sets a small amount of money as bail, or sometimes a large amount. Sometimes they attach conditions to your bail - they can tell you to hand in your passport or to report to a police station once a week, or even once a day.

Once the court has set bail, then you or your friends, or your lawyer can pay the amount in to the clerk of the court or the prisoners' friend. Tell the court orderly to show you where to pay bail. You must get a receipt (bail bond) and then you are free to go home.

If there are bail conditions you must keep to them. If you do not for example report to the police station when you have to, then the police can arrest you, and you may lose your bail money.

Finally you must remember that you can only get your bail money back if you come to court when you have to.

If you cannot pay the Clerk of the Court at the court when bail is set, the bail money can be paid at the prison where you are transferred to. Always remember to get a receipt for any bail money paid in and remember to keep the receipt.

If bail is refused, or the amount of bail money is too high, you can appeal against the decision of the court. If you are in this position, demand from the prison officials that you want to see a lawyer.

## 9 LEGAL AID

1. If you or your family cannot afford to pay for a lawyer, you may be able to get Legal Aid. This means that the Legal Aid Board will pay a lawyer for you. If you or your family or friends do not know a lawyer, the Legal Aid Board will find someone to act for you. Otherwise your own lawyer can apply for Legal Aid.

2. All police stations, prisons and courts should put you in touch with a legal aid officer. Because you should have a lawyer as soon as possible. You should make an application to the Legal Aid officer as soon as possible.

3. Not all people can get legal aid. You have to qualify in terms of certain income levels. The Legal Aid Board will not assist you in all criminal cases. But you should still apply if you think you can't afford a lawyer. Sometimes you have to pay a small fee. If you are refused legal aid you can appeal to the head

office of the Legal Aid Board in Pretoria.

4. If the police or prison officials do not help you to get in touch with the local legal aid officer, you should ask the magistrate to help you the first time you appear in court. There is nothing to say that you may not get legal aid in 'political matters'.
5. When you make your application for legal aid to the legal aid officer, you must remember that whatever you tell him is not privileged information. In other words, he can be asked to report what you have said to him in court.

## 10 CONCLUSION

This is not an unusual story for a South African, and many have experienced it. It is necessary that persons faced with state action also know the following.

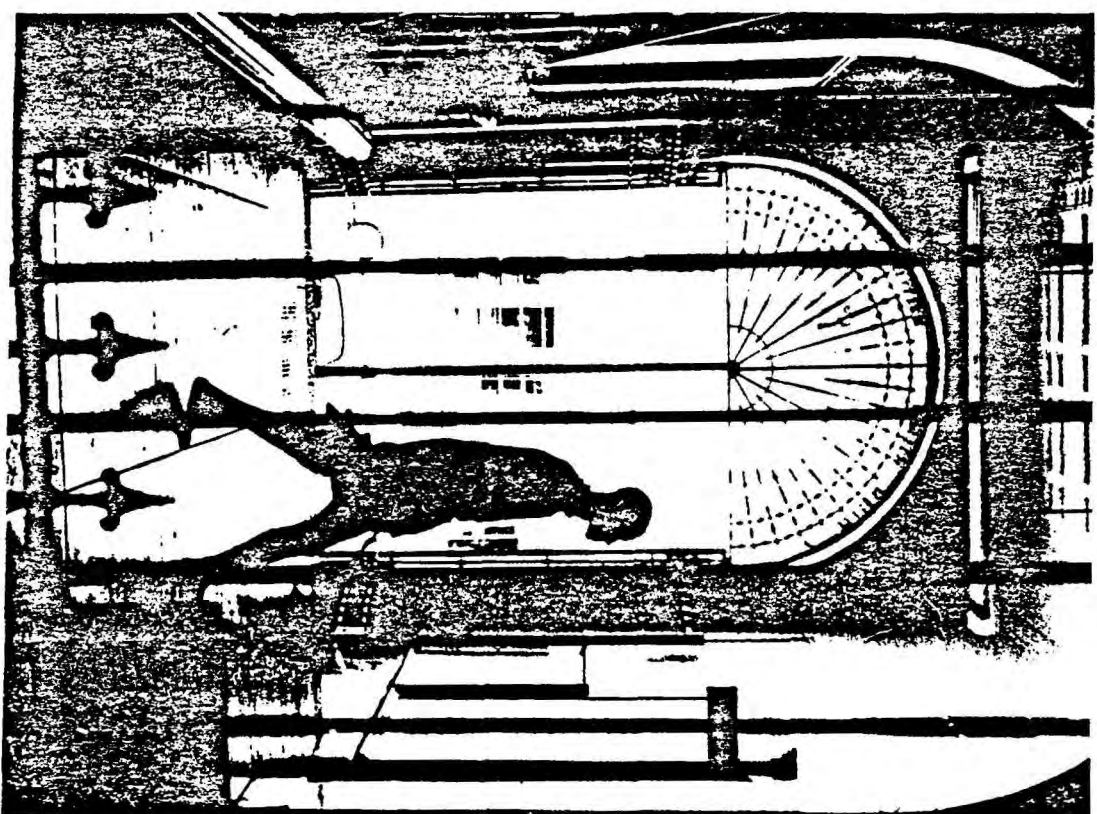
No matter who is holding you, be it the police or prisons departments, you have certain rights throughout any period of detention, arrest or imprisonment. No-one may assault or threaten to assault you. If anybody does, you can charge them and they can be convicted of a criminal offence.

You are entitled to be provided with a Bible throughout your stay in any police cells or prison. This may not be taken from you at any time.

The prison or police officials are responsible for your medical and dental care. You have the right to see the District Surgeon or be taken to the dentist on your request.

If these rights are broken then you have the choices which are outlined for complaints for awaiting trial prisoners, detainees and convicted prisoners in the rest of this book.

If you are not granted any of the four rights or are at any stage assaulted, you can ask to consult your lawyer — whom you can ask to lay charges or claim damages on your behalf. Where you are unable to see your lawyer (because of the detention provisions) you can complain.



Published by DPSC 1 Jan Smuts Avenue, Johannesburg.