

**A SURVEY OF
RACE RELATIONS
IN SOUTH AFRICA
1967**

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**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE
RELATIONS**

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POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS

NATIONALIST PARTY

Trends in official policy

During the year under review, the Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, has clearly continued the process of decentralizing responsibility throughout the Cabinet.

Partly, for this reason, no doubt, a degree of flexibility has been introduced in some aspects of the political scene. Mr. Vorster has, apparently, aimed at the creation of a White front and a broad White South African nationalism. As described in the pages that follow, he has adopted an "out-going policy" towards other African states, and a less rigid attitude so far as apartheid in international sport is concerned.

He has made it clear, however, that South Africa will not change its policies to please the outside world. In a speech made in March⁽¹⁾ he said, "We want to co-operate with the peoples of the world, work with them, and do our share. But it is a condition that countries and peoples must accept us as we are". He believed that in time to come there would be such acceptance, Mr. Vorster added.

Apartheid within the country has been intensified. Accounts are given later of the more rigorous provisions introduced into the Population Registration Act; of the National Education Policy Act; of the Physical Planning Act which will empower the Government to direct labour-intensive industries away from metropolitan areas to the borders of the Bantustans; of the tightening of the control of the influx of Africans into "White" areas (especially the Western Cape); and of the threat of the withdrawal of urban residential rights from Africans who until now have qualified for these.

Greater administrative authority is being planned for the Bantu Authorities. At the opening of the Sixth Session of the Transkeian Legislative Assembly the Prime Minister said,⁽²⁾ "Ultimately each people can attain sovereignty in its own area and over its own interests". It has been pointed out that political independence is possible even if the small African states envisaged are in most cases not integral areas and are unlikely to be economically viable. Close economic co-operation on the basis of agreement between equals has been suggested. The Minister of

(1) *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 March.

(2) *Star*, 19 April.

Bantu Administration and Development said on 15 May⁽³⁾ that, in time, much of the existing legislation affecting the movement and employment of Africans in "White" areas would be replaced by "international agreements" between White South Africa and independent Bantu states.

The Nationalist Party continues to hold that Africans in the "White" areas are there only for the work they perform, and are to have no political or permanent residential rights. In these areas, residential, educational, and social separation must increasingly be promoted, and there will continue to be limitations on the economic progress of Africans. They must look to the homelands for opportunities of development, it is maintained.

Pending the report of the Parliamentary Commission on the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill, the questions of Coloured parliamentary representation and racially mixed political organizations have been taken no further.

"Verligtes" and "Verkrampes"

Mention was made on pages 7 and 35 of last year's *Survey* of the emergence of a right-wing group within the Nationalist Party, and of a speech at a Youth Congress convened by the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) which dealt with "enlightened" (*verligte*), "bigoted" (*verkrampte*), and "true" Afrikaners.

The *verkrampte* group has gained strength during the year. The *Nasionale Pers* group (the *Burger*, the *Beeld*, and other papers) has disclosed who some of these *verkrampes* are, and on 23 July the *Sunday Times* published a detailed article. According to the latter journal, the leader is Dr. Albert Hertzog, the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs. Other members of the "big seven" are Mr. Schalk Botha, who administers a number of Dr. Hertzog's financial and other interests, Dr. Piet Meyer, chairman of the South African Broadcasting Corporation and of the Broederbond, Mr. Jaap Marais, M.P., Professor P. F. D. Weiss, director of the Africa Institute, Dr. J. D. Vorster, scribe of the General Synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Church and chairman of the National Council to Combat Communism, and Mr. Gerit Beetge, secretary of this National Council and of the *Blanke Bouwerkersvabond* (White building workers' trade union).

These leaders were stated to operate through a society called the *Afrikaner Orde*, which was founded by Dr. Hertzog some twenty years ago with the aim of infiltrating other organizations in the hope of ultimately gaining control of the Nationalist Party. It is based in Pretoria. The *Sunday Times* gave details about 27

(3) *Star*, 16 May.

"front" organizations of the *Afrikaner Orde* and 20 other organizations within which members operate as pressure groups. Because of this penetration, there has been controversy in Afrikaans church and cultural as well as in political circles.

Dr. Hertzog told the Press that there is no such thing as the "Hertzog group", and accused the *Sunday Times* of telling "libellous lies". He has instituted an action for damages.

The *Sunday Times* stated that a count of heads by leading Nationalist parliamentarians had disclosed that 19 Members of Parliament (out of a total of 126 on the Government side) supported the right-wing—eleven of them from the Transvaal, the rest coming from scattered constituencies in all the other provinces. It was, thus, not entirely a northern movement, as had been suggested.

Reports stated, however,⁽⁴⁾ that the *verkrampte* element at the Transvaal Congress of the Nationalist Party proved much stronger than had generally been expected, and dominated the proceedings. The *verligtes*, however, formed a very large if not overwhelming majority at the other provincial congresses.

The *South African Observer*⁽⁵⁾ in particular, and papers of the *Afrikaanse Pers* group (especially the *Vaderland*) have provided a platform for the views of the *verkrampes*. They are said still to be motivated by the fear that the Afrikaner will not survive unless he continues past isolationist policies. For this reason they have opposed Mr. Vorster's "outward-looking" foreign policy, his relaxation of the apartheid laws in international sport, and his attempts to foster a broader South African nationhood. They have objected to the Government's immigration policy, particularly as it concerns Roman Catholics.

This conflict became localized in an attack on the *Nasionale Pers* group, which has tried to serve party unity by exposing right-wing deviations and highlighting anything interpreted as disloyalty to Mr. Vorster or to the party. Mr. Vorster urged, without success, that this conflict should cease. On one occasion he said,⁽⁶⁾ "I want to appeal to all our friends who want to make war on the liberalists not to look for them among our own people. They will find them where they have always been—in movements like the Black Sash and others."

UNITED PARTY

At its national conference, held in Bloemfontein during October, the United Party had a new slogan—"One land, one nation, one loyalty".

(4) e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 September.

(5) See 1966 *Survey*, page 7.

(6) *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 August.

In his opening speech the leader, Sir de Villiers Graaff, outlined the party's foreign policy. It accepted the United Nations, he said, as an essential and important body; but was critical of its actions and considered that the organization should be reformed. While South Africa was anxious to remain a member of the organized international community, he continued, it was determined to solve its problems in its own way. All its people would resist attempts to influence the country by threats of violence, terrorism, or sanctions. South Africa would assist in the development of African states that did not associate with extremists by placing its scientific knowledge and technical experience at their disposal.

Turning to the home front, Sir de Villiers stated that the United Party wanted one authority over the whole of the country. The African Reserves should be developed and be administered by Africans, but they should remain part of South Africa. He challenged the Prime Minister to say that he was prepared to put his policy of separate development to the test by calling upon the public to make the sacrifices that would be necessary. Income tax and customs and excise duties would have to be doubled, he maintained. Industry would wilt without black labour.

Quoting from papers delivered at the SABRA congress (described later), Sir de Villiers said that the Government had "beguiled and bluffed the South African electorate with a mass of empty words and the imposition of petty apartheid measures which have been used as a dramatic smokescreen to hide the fact that separate development remains a myth".⁽⁷⁾

Sir de Villiers described his party's race federation policy as self-government by each group where possible, and consultative government, with a meeting-place in Parliament, in matters of common concern.

At the congress the United Party decided that Coloured voters in the Cape should be removed from the common roll, thus changing a policy to which it had adhered for many years. Coloured men and women throughout the Republic, it considered, who could meet certain franchise requirements (yet to be determined) should elect six members of the House of Assembly, who could be Coloured or White. Four would be elected in the Cape and the other two in the northern provinces. Qualified Indian voters would elect two White members, and Africans, a maximum of eight Whites. (Sir de Villiers made it clear that only Coloured people would be entitled to representation by members of their own group.) These sixteen non-white representatives would sit with 166 members representing white voters.

(7) *Rand Daily Mail and Star*, 25 October.

In the Senate there would be 56 Whites elected by Whites, 6 Whites representing Africans, 1 White person representing Indians, and 2 persons, who might be White or Coloured, representing the Coloured community.

Councils, with much the same status as that of provincial councils, would be elected by, respectively, Coloured people, Indians, urban Africans, and Africans in various Reserves. They would have some powers of taxation, and would be given a large measure of control over domestic matters affecting their peoples. Each would elect a permanent select committee to maintain liaison with a select committee of parliamentarians.

PROGRESSIVE AND LIBERAL PARTIES

Neither the Progressive Party nor the Liberal Party has made any change in its policy or national leadership. These were described in last year's *Survey*. Attitudes on specific issues are mentioned in the pages that follow.

The theme of the Progressive Party's seventh national congress, held in September, was "Three ways to progress—education, opportunity, and expansion". The main addresses were given by Professor G. H. le May, Dr. W. F. McConkey, Professor H. M. Robertson, and Mr. Douglas Hoffe.

The Liberal Party held congresses in Natal and the Transvaal, the theme of the former meeting being "Practical Liberalism under the National Party Government". The National Chairman, Dr. the Hon. Edgar Brookes, called for greater vigilance against attempts to confuse liberalism with communism. A plea was made to the people of South Africa to demand that human beings, of whatever race, be treated as human beings, with just and understanding comprehension of their human pride.

COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO IMPROPER INTERFERENCE AND THE POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE VARIOUS POPULATION GROUPS

The circumstances leading to the appointment of this Commission were described on pages 12 to 18 of last year's *Survey*. In terms of Government Notice 456 of 29 March, the Commission was authorized to continue its investigation after the end of the Parliamentary session, and was instructed to report to the Minister of the Interior before 30 November. At the time of going to press, its report has not been made public.

COUNCIL FOR COLOURED AFFAIRS

As mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*⁽⁸⁾, a purely advisory Council for Coloured Affairs was established at the end

(8) 1959-60 page 132; 1955-6 page 27.

of 1959, with 15 nominated and 12 elected members. All the then leading Coloured organizations boycotted the elections.

The five-year term of office of members of this Council was due to expire in November 1964, but their period of office was extended for two years. The Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act, No. 66 of 1967, extended this period further, until 30 October 1969 or such earlier date as the State President may determine. The Minister of the Interior said⁽⁹⁾ that this was being done because it would be advisable to await the report of the Commission of Enquiry into Improper Interference before introducing changes.

According to the Minister of Coloured Affairs,⁽¹⁰⁾ there is only one vacancy on the Council, for an elected member, this seat having been vacant since 24 January 1964. During October, the Government reappointed the nominated members for a further twelve months.

In view of these decisions, no further steps have, thus far, been taken to establish a Coloured Persons' Representative Council, as provided for in Act 49 of 1964.⁽¹¹⁾ An official of the Department of Coloured Affairs stated⁽¹²⁾ that the first elections would probably take place during 1969.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL

The establishment of a nominated Indian Council with purely advisory powers was described on page 201 of the 1964 *Survey*. A session of this body which was held in February was addressed by the Prime Minister. Members considered proposals for the creation of a statutory elected body to represent Indians, and made a plea for increased opportunities for their people to contribute to the industrial and scientific development of the country. As in previous years, a matter of great concern to councillors was the hardships being experienced by Indians through the implementation of the Group Areas Act.⁽¹³⁾

COLOURED ATTITUDES AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

It was announced during April that the prominent Coloured leader, Dr. R. E. van der Ross, had resigned from the presidency of the Labour Party and from politics to take up the post of Assistant Education Planner with the Department of Coloured Affairs.

(9) Assembly, 9 May, Hansard 15 cols. 5597-8.

(10) Assembly, 16 May, Hansard 16 col. 6020.

(11) See 1966 *Survey*, page 21, and earlier volumes.

(12) *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 October.

(13) *Natal Mercury*, 14 February.

In a speech made at the annual meeting of the Cape Flats Distress Association during June, Dr. van der Ross discussed leadership among the Coloured people. The community was suffering from a communal neurosis, he maintained. It was only now beginning to throw off the psychological burden of slavery and needed time to develop a new acceptance of responsibility. Generations of subservience had engendered a tendency towards shiftlessness on the one hand, and on the other hand a desire on the part of individuals who overcame this tendency to "escape" from their own group.⁽¹⁴⁾

Commenting on this speech, the *Cape Times* on 29 June added that the Coloured leaders of the past had tended either to compromise by seeking too much White favour on behalf of their people, or had been defiantly extreme. The former had usually lost their own people's devotion; the latter were mostly banned.

Earlier, Dr. van der Ross had said,⁽¹⁵⁾ "We have had separate development forced upon us for nearly twenty years. We did not want it because we wanted, as a community, to be an integral part of the people of South Africa. But you cannot beat your head against a stone wall for ever, nor can you live with bitterness in your heart for ever.

"We accept now that separate development is here to stay. Therefore we shall take it and demand as our right everything the Government tells us separate development has to offer us. You might say we have decided to fight the Government from within their own camp. . . . It is my opinion that the day will come when we have progressed so far that we will have proved our equality with the Whites on merit. When that day comes, maybe then we will all be able to fuse together at the top, and one race will no longer be able to look down on another".

Similar views have been expressed by other leading Coloured personalities, for example the trade unionist, Mr. Edgar Deane, and the company director, Mr. Franklin Joshua.⁽¹⁶⁾

Two Coloured political parties have accepted the policy of separate development as a means of advancement of their communities towards equality with Whites. Firstly, there is the Coloured People's Federal Party, led by Mr. Tom Swartz, chairman of the Council for Coloured Affairs, which has branches in the various provinces. And secondly, there is a Republican (or National) Coloured People's Party (which, since the report given in last year's *Survey*, has decided to reconstitute itself). According to Press reports,⁽¹⁷⁾ it claims to have 40,000 paid-up members and to be growing rapidly in strength.

(14) *Cape Times*, 27 June.

(15) *Sunday Express*, 5 March.

(16) *Ibid.*

(17) *Argus*, 26 May; *Sunday Express*, 15 October.

The Labour Party, however, now led by Mr. M. D. Arendse, is totally opposed to the apartheid concept, and is striving for the effective participation of all citizens in the government of the country. Mr. Arendse said in April⁽¹⁸⁾ that he believed a large majority of the Coloured people opposed the Government's racial policy. If this were not so, he asked, why had an election not been held to fill the vacancy on the Council for Coloured Affairs?

Various smaller groupings apparently exist. Some of these are non-political, concerned with providing an effective mouth-piece for their communities in regard to matters such as education, welfare, and economic problems. Under this heading are the Natal Coloured Co-Ordinating Council and the Durban Coloured Federal Council.⁽¹⁹⁾

ATTITUDES OF INDIANS

The attitudes of Indians appear to continue to be divided. Early in 1967 a Durban businessman, Mr. S. Rajah, planned to form a political body that would accept the positive advantages to be gained from the policy of separate development and proceed from there; but abandoned the idea because he found little support.⁽²⁰⁾

AFRICANS

Many thousands of Africans mourned the death, on 21 July, of ex-Chief Albert John Luthuli, former president-general of the banned African National Congress.

Since the banning of their two political organizations and the imprisonment, banning, or departure overseas of nearly all the former leaders, it has been impossible to know how Africans have reacted to political events and philosophies.

The majority, no doubt, cling to the hope of being given some effective voice in the affairs of their country; but there would appear to be differences of opinion as to how this can be achieved. Some still see their future in a non-racial South Africa; but the Transkei experiment has led others to accept the concept of separate development. *Even here there are divergencies of opinion.* Chief T. Pilane, chairman of the Tswana Territorial Authority, said in December 1966⁽²¹⁾ that he envisaged the Bantustans eventually combining to form one great Black state. At about the same time, however, an Africa Foundation, led by Bishop

(18) *Sunday Times*, 2 April.

(19) It was reported, in error, in last year's *Survey* that this was a branch of the Federal Party.

(20) *Natal Mercury*, 17 January.

(21) *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 December, 1966.

W. G. Dimba and Mr. P. T. Makhene, was established to press for the advancement of each of the African homelands towards self-rule and for their incorporation in a confederation and common market with the rest of Southern Africa. This organization launched a journal called *Africa South*.⁽²²⁾

(22) *Star*, 23 and 29 December, 1966.

VOLUNTARY SERVICE BY STUDENTS

The South African Voluntary Service (S.A.V.S.), started by a group of students at the University of the Witwatersrand during 1966, had about 180 members by mid-1967, with branches at the Universities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, and Stellenbosch. The Institute of Race Relations acts as voluntary secretariat. Mr. Alex Scott has succeeded Mr. Peter Saffery as chairman.

In January, fifteen volunteers from the University of the Witwatersrand and the Johannesburg College of Education joined volunteers from Britain, the United States, and Botswana in building laboratories and a workshop, and levelling the ground for a large water tank, at a high school in Serowe, Botswana. The students contributed part of the costs, the rest of the expenses being met from donations by the University S.R.C. and members of the public.

Another group of 22 students went to Liphiring in Lesotho during July at the invitation of the district chief, whose people had raised money to buy building materials for a school. With the help of the students much of the building work was completed in three weeks: the Sotho volunteers finished it shortly thereafter.

Twenty high school girls from Cape Town helped in the hospital at Morija, Lesotho, for ten days during their July vacation;⁽⁹⁾ while about 25 Young Progressives gave assistance in building an amphitheatre at the University of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland.⁽¹⁰⁾

Mrs. H. A. Henderson, organizer of the Bantu Junior Red Cross in the Southern Transvaal, has been instrumental in arranging for young people in African townships to do voluntary service for their communities.⁽¹¹⁾

Speaking at the graduation ceremony of the University of the Orange Free State in March, the Prime Minister stressed that South Africa was part of Africa in every respect. He expressed the hope that students would be prepared to share their skills and experience with developing African countries.⁽¹²⁾ Shortly thereafter, the president of the Afrikaanse Studentebond announced that the head committee of his organization had decided in principle to help in the development of the Bantu homelands and African territories, mainly by giving technical and administrative assistance in agriculture. Consultations would be necessary with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.⁽¹³⁾

(9) *Star*, 18 July.

(10) *Progress*, July.

(11) *Race Relations News*, April.

(12) *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 March.

(13) *Race Relations News*, April; and *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 April.

THE POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA**SIZE OF THE POPULATION**

According to the Bureau of Statistics⁽¹⁾, the estimated size of the population in mid-1967 was:

	<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Africans	12,750,000	68.1
Whites	3,563,000	19.0
Coloured	1,859,000	9.9
Asians	561,000	3.0
	18,733,000	100.0

PERSONS CLASSIFIED UNDER THE POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT, AND APPEALS LODGED

The Minister of the Interior said in the Assembly during March⁽²⁾ that between 7 July 1950, when the original Population Registration Act came into force, and the end of 1966, 2,698,556 White persons had been classified, 8,890,626 Africans, and 1,107,283 persons belonging to one or other of the Coloured groups. (Proclamation 46 of 1959, as amended in 1961, divided this group into Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Chinese, Indian, other Asiatic, and other Coloured.)

These classifications are made in the first place by officials of the Department of the Interior, being based on census returns and birth or marriage certificates. The Minister said that in some cases investigations had proved necessary because there was a measure of doubt: of those classified, 48,000 Whites were involved, almost 179,000 Coloured, 14,000 Malays, 27 Indians, 14 Chinese, and 26,500 Africans.

People are notified of their classification. If aggrieved, they may appeal within 30 days of receiving such notification, or such longer period not exceeding one year as the Minister may allow, to a race classification appeal board, which consists of not less than three persons appointed by the Minister, presided over by a judge or magistrate, or retired judge or magistrate. There are two of these boards, one in Cape Town and the other serving the northern provinces. Persons who are not satisfied with a decision

(1) News release on 2 October.

(2) 22 March, Hansard 9 cols. 3405-6.

of an appeal board may appeal within 30 days of such decision to the Supreme Court.

Questioned in the Assembly,⁽³⁾ the Minister said that the Secretary for the Interior received 268 objections during 1966, some involving more than one person. As at the end of that year, 144 of them had been referred to appeal boards and the remainder were being prepared for submission to boards.

During 1966, the Minister stated, appeal boards considered 119 objections (again some involving several people), upheld 70 of them, and rejected 49. In terms of objections that were upheld, 108 persons had been reclassified from Coloured to White. As at 1 March there were 242 appeals due for hearing in the Cape, 88 in the Transvaal, 21 in Natal, and 2 in the Free State.

Seventeen appeals against a board's decision were noted to the Supreme Court in 1966, the Minister continued. By the end of the year five had been heard, all being allowed.

Long delays occur. The *Star* of 15 March told of a man who waited eighteen months for his objection to be considered by the board, having paid R400 in legal fees. The *Cape Times* of 24 November 1966 stated that the average period of delay was about 14 months. During this period the persons concerned naturally undergo much anxiety, and encounter practical difficulties in becoming married, in the schooling of their children, in the buying and selling of fixed property.

Mrs. C. D. Taylor, M.P., described⁽⁴⁾ the humiliating procedure of appearing before a board—being stared at and having to listen to the evidence of witnesses about the appellant's habits and associates. Barbers are sometimes called to testify as to the texture of a man's hair.

SOME CASES OF EXTREME HARDSHIP CAUSED BY POPULATION REGISTRATION

Mr. and Mrs. Laing in the Eastern Transvaal are both obviously White in appearance, know of no Coloured ancestors, and have entirely White associates. They have three children, two boys who appear obviously White, and eleven-year-old Sandra who happens to have a darker face and crinkled hair.

After Sandra had spent four years at a boarding school for White children in Piet Retief, her father was informed that there had been complaints from the school board. He was asked to take her away from the school, but refused to do so. She was then escorted home by school officials accompanied by a policeman. Mr. Laing appealed against her classification, but it was reluctantly upheld by a judge of the Supreme Court.

(3) 24 and 27 January, 21 March. Hansard 1 cols. 19, 233-4, 244, 249, Hansard 9 col. 3302.
(4) Assembly, 17 March, Hansard 8 col. 3208.

As described later, the Act was amended during 1967 to make descent the determining factor in establishing race, and Mr. Laing was then able to have Sandra reclassified as White. By then she had been eighteen months out of school. The Education Department ruled that she should return to the Piet Retief school, but, in her own interests, should not be readmitted to the hostel. Finally, in December, Sandra was offered a place in a Church boarding school.⁽⁵⁾

Early in 1967 two children of the Dickson family who were officially White were admitted to a small White primary school in Plettenberg Bay. In protest, the parents of 42 of the other 45 pupils kept them away from their classes. It was announced in November that the Race Classification Board had reclassified the whole family as Coloured.

Dottie was born to African parents in Randfontein, but happened to be lighter-skinned than are most Africans and to have long, wavy, copper-coloured hair. Because of this she was rejected by principals of African schools, and cannot attend a Coloured school because she can speak only Sotho.⁽⁶⁾

A well-known boxer from Cape Town, Ronnie van der Walt, competed for years in tournaments for Whites, and had White associates. He married a Coloured woman whose brother was classified as White, and they have two children. Ronnie's mother was issued with a Coloured identity card, his brother with one stating that he is White. His father is White, but asked for a Coloured card to avoid having to break up his marriage. Ronnie went to a school for White pupils.

It appears that a Coloured identity card was sent to him in 1960, but as he was on a prolonged visit overseas he did not receive it until 1966. He then applied, unsuccessfully, for reclassification. When his application was refused he had to cancel well-advertised plans for participating in a boxing tournament for Whites. Soon afterwards, he decided to settle with his family in Britain.⁽⁷⁾

It was reported in December 1966⁽⁸⁾ that a South African Anglican clergyman had befriended a family that had been divided by the Population Registration Act. A mother and one of her sons had been classified Coloured, while the other two sons were officially regarded as White. After a fruitless interview with the Minister, the clergyman decided to take the family to England, where they would all start new lives.

A Coloured woman in Durban married an Indian. They adopted a Coloured girl, who was officially classified as an Indian,

(5) From reports in the *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 and 14 December, 1966, and 31 July, also *Sunday Times*, 30 September and 1 October, and *Star*, 13 November.

(6) *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 and 14 December, 1966.

(7) *Sunday Times*, 29 January and 12 February.

(8) *Cape Times*, 5 December, 1966.

and they lived in a suburb which was proclaimed a White group area. At about the time of this proclamation the woman's husband died. She was officially informed that she would have to move to a Coloured group area, where her daughter could not live with her. In this case, however, an appeal succeeded: the child was reclassified as Coloured.

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION IN REGARD TO RACIAL CLASSIFICATIONS

As mentioned on page 71 of the 1962 *Survey*, the Population Registration Act was amended that year to provide that, in determining a person's racial group, his appearance and his acceptance by the community must be considered in conjunction with one another. On page 72 a description was given of the various factors which the race classification appeal boards take into consideration in deciding whether or not an appellant is generally accepted by the community as being of the racial group claimed by him.

There have been differences of opinion between appeal boards and courts of law over both of the criteria adopted in 1962. Three examples are given relating to appearance. A woman in Cape Town was considered by the board to be obviously non-white in looks, but a judge found her to be obviously white.⁽⁹⁾ There was similar disagreement over the appearance of a man who was sunburned from working in the open.⁽¹⁰⁾ A Durban man won an appeal against his classification as Coloured when a judge decided that he was "a White of the Mediterranean type".⁽¹¹⁾

If, as in cases like these, no clear-cut decision can be reached about a person's appearance, then his associations became the criterion. Appeal boards have frequently insisted that an appellant must satisfy them on every point. A man who looks White, and is readily accepted by the community as being White, for example, could be refused registration as such if many years previously he attended a Coloured school, or if a large proportion of his friends were Coloured, or if he had not rejected and forsaken all family members who were not classified as White.⁽¹²⁾

According to Mr. Brian Bamford, M.P.C. (an advocate who has appeared for numbers of appellants), the Supreme Court refused to apply this last test, stating that it was an unwarranted extension of the Act, and insupportable on humanitarian grounds.⁽¹³⁾ Mr. Acting Justice Tebbutt ruled in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, that "it is quite clear that, by the use of the

(9) *Star*, 18 April.

(10) *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 April.

(11) *Ibid.*, 14 April.

(12) *Cape Times* report, 24 November, 1966.

(13) *Star*, 3 March.

words 'generally accepted', the legislation did not require acceptance without exception".⁽¹⁴⁾ A similar ruling was given by Mr. Justice Diemont, who added, "Even if the appellant . . . had friends in the Coloured group it does not follow that he is not generally accepted as White". Mr. Justice Watermeyer held that five years was a sufficient period for a person to have severed all links with past associations. In general, the courts decided on a balance of probabilities.⁽¹⁵⁾

As described later, legislation was introduced in 1967 to make it imperative for "general acceptance" to be absolute and without exception.

INCREASED NUMBERS OF APPEALS AGAINST RACIAL CLASSIFICATION

As from 1 August 1966 it became compulsory for all citizens of the Republic over the age of 16 years to be able to produce identity cards, on which the racial group of the holder is indicated. Until then, large numbers of people on the racial borderline had apparently not submitted themselves for classification. They were then forced to do so, and in consequence, the number of appeals against decisions made mounted.

It appears, too that people realized that it was going to become increasingly difficult to have classifications altered. Many who objected to decisions made by officials or by boards had left it too late to appeal;⁽¹⁶⁾ or had not realized in time that they could do so. Mrs. C. D. Taylor told the Assembly⁽¹⁷⁾ that when people were sent identity cards no effort was made to let them know either about the period within which they could appeal, or the machinery of appeal. They were not told that a simple letter was unacceptable and that objections had to be in the form of affidavits.

Objections could, however, be lodged by third parties within 30 days (or if especially authorized, one year) of the date on which the third party became aware of the classification. It was difficult for the authorities to establish when this date had been. Advantage was taken of this avenue of appeal. All members of a family of twelve in Cape Town, for example, were originally classified as Coloured. During the absence of one son who was away with a trawling fleet the rest lodged an objection which was upheld. The son who was away assumed that he, too, had been reclassified as White, but considerably later found that this was not the case. He was officially informed that it was too late for

(14) *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 May.

(15) Judgments quoted by Sir de Villiers Graaff, M.P., Assembly 17 March, Hansard 8 cols. 3190-1.

(16) See page 20.

(17) Hansard 8 cols. 3207-8.

him to appeal. His sister did so on his behalf, however, and he won the appeal on the basis of general acceptance.⁽¹⁸⁾

As described later, appeals by third parties to appeal boards or to the Supreme Court have, since, been abolished.

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE COLOURED GROUP

It was mentioned on page 19 that in 1959 and 1961 the "Coloured" group was officially divided by proclamation into seven sub-groups. A woman appeared in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, on 24 January, submitting that she should have been classified as Cape Malay rather than as an Indian.

Mr. Justice Steyn, who presided, ruled that the relevant proclamation was void for vagueness. It made no provision for those who qualified for more than one sub-group.⁽¹⁹⁾

The 1967 Amendment Act, however, restored the position that existed before this judgment was given.

POPULATION REGISTRATION AMENDMENT ACT, No. 64 OF 1967

New tests to be applied in race classification

The Amendment Act of 1967 laid down that:

- (a) a person shall be classified as White if his natural parents have both been so classified;
- (b) he will be classified as Coloured if both his parents have been so classified, or if one of his parents is classified as White and the other as Coloured or Bantu;
- (c) he will be classified as a Bantu if both his parents have been so classified (and, presumably, if one parent is Coloured and the other Bantu).

Descent will, then, in future be the determining factor in determining race.

The Act set out a number of tests which must be applied in connection with "appearance" and "general acceptance" if a person is claiming to be White in the absence of proof that both his parents have been so classified.

- (a) His habits, education, and speech and deportment in general shall be taken into account.
- (b) The person must be generally accepted as White in the place where he is ordinarily resident, is employed, mixes socially with other members of the public, and in his association with the members of his family and other persons with whom he lives.

⁽¹⁸⁾ *Sunday Times*, 25 December, 1966, and 1 January.

⁽¹⁹⁾ *Star*, 24 January.

- (c) He will not be deemed to be White if he has admitted otherwise in any proceedings for the purposes of his classification, or in any application for an identity card, or if he has admitted for the purposes of his classification that either of his parents is or was not generally accepted as being White.
- (d) Nor will he be deemed to be White if evidence to the contrary is contained in any census return or registration of birth. If in such returns his race is described as "mixed", it will be deemed that he is a Coloured person unless he proves that he is not in fact a Coloured person.
- (e) In the absence of proof that any person is generally accepted as a White person or an African, it will be assumed that he is generally accepted as a Coloured person except where such person is in appearance obviously a member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa.

In the case of anyone born after the 1951 census was taken, the particulars furnished for the registration of the birth will be deemed to be those required for inclusion in the Population Register.

Subdivisions of Coloured and African groups

The Act by-passed Mr. Justice Steyn's judgment by making it clear beyond doubt that the State President may by proclamation prescribe the ethnic or other sub-groups into which Coloured persons and Bantu shall be classified, and it empowered him to declare that anything done under the provisions of the proclamations that were ruled void, which could have been done under a new proclamation, will be deemed so to have been done.

(Such a declaration was made by the Acting State President in terms of Proclamation 123 of 1967, dated 26 May. The seven sub-groups into which the Coloured group had been divided were repeated. The Proclamation added that, in the application of the new provisions, a person shall be deemed to be a member of the same class or tribe as that in which his natural father has been classified.)

Appeals

The right of third parties to lodge an objection to a classification to an appeal board or court of law was removed (except that guardians may appeal on behalf of minors).

The Act stated that objectors must state on what date they became aware of their classification. It was made clear that, in proceedings before an appeal board, relevant birth certificates, census returns, applications for identity cards, and other appropriate documents must be produced.

It was stated that if it appears to the Secretary for the Interior that a classification previously made by him is incorrect, he may refer the case to an appeal board. (Apparently, the Secretary may arrive at such an opinion if neighbours or school-mates lodge objections. As mentioned earlier, it was reported in the *Star* of 21 November that parents of pupils of the Woodlands School near Plettenberg Bay, which caters for Whites, objected to the admission of two boys of the Dickson family, and threatened to withdraw their own children. The Secretary then referred the case to the appeal board, which classified the Dicksons as being Coloured.)

Seizure of identity cards

The Act provided that if it comes to the notice of a Bantu Affairs Commissioner that any person has two identity cards, one reflecting his race as Bantu and the other not, he must seize the cards and transmit them to the Secretary for the Interior for investigation.

Retrospective nature of the Act

All of the provisions of the 1967 Act are deemed to have come into operation as from 7 July 1950.

Parliamentary debate on the Bill

When introducing the Bill, the Minister of the Interior said⁽²⁰⁾ that, in spite of previous provisions, there had been a "gradual, but nevertheless, to my mind, dangerous integration of whites and non-whites".

No "witch-hunts" were contemplated, he said. The Act would have retrospective effect only in so far as new classifications were concerned (except that if the Secretary for the Interior is in doubt as to the correctness of a classification made by him earlier, he may submit the case to an appeal board for investigation and decision. The new criteria will then be used).

The Minister made it clear that the new Act would apply to all appeals which had not been brought to finality (see page 20); and that the Supreme Court would no longer institute new enquiries, but would decide on the basis of documents before it, which would include the evidence given before an appeal board.

In the Assembly and in the Senate, at both the first and the third readings, the Opposition moved that the Bill be read that day six months. At committee stage they forced divisions on every clause.

⁽²⁰⁾ Assembly, 17 March, Hansard 8 cols. 3172-9.

Sir de Villiers Graaff⁽²¹⁾ asked where the sudden danger to the White group was that had caused the Minister to decide to close off the human stud-book he had tried to create. He was endeavouring to classify the unclassifiable. The United Party considered that, because of South Africa's history, the lines between the various racial groups must be elastic and impermanent.

Referring to the provision that a person must be classified as Coloured if one of his parents had been so classified, Sir de Villiers pointed out that this parent might have had a very small proportion indeed of Coloured blood, and that the whole family might look White and be accepted as being White. Because descent was being made the overriding factor, there were likely in future to be some dark-skinned Whites and some fair-skinned Coloured people.

Sir de Villiers maintained that census forms and birth certificates did not provide adequate proof of race. Enumerators at the 1951 census often filled in forms for the people concerned, making their own judgments as to race, and these people possibly signed the forms in ignorance of the information given on them. A "mixed" entry on a birth certificate sometimes implied merely a mixture, for example, of French and German parentage. (The Minister admitted⁽²²⁾ that census forms might have contained incorrect information, but submitted that aggrieved persons had full right to make representations to the Secretary.)

A further point made by Sir de Villiers was that it was cruel for outstanding appeals to have to be decided under the new Act as soon as this was promulgated, especially as the appeal board was on annual leave until 20 March. People had spent considerable sums of money on instituting appeals which could not now succeed, he said.

Mrs. C. D. Taylor⁽²³⁾ elaborated on points made by Sir de Villiers, and dwelt on the hurt and humiliation that the Act would cause and the cruelty of dividing families, forcing those wishing to be classified as White to sever all connections with those happening to have darker skins.

Statement by the Institute of Race Relations

In a Press statement the Director of the Institute of Race Relations said that the Bill was an attempt to set up a rigid colour caste society. The principle was repugnant.

"However benign, sympathetic and understanding the race classification board may be, the procedures it has to adopt submit

⁽²¹⁾ Cols. 3180-3196.

⁽²²⁾ Hansard 11 cols. 3915-6.

⁽²³⁾ Hansard 8 cols. 3205-3213.

applicants for re-classification to a humiliating experience. The affront to human dignity is enormous. This attempt to obtain clearer definition will not obviate the human tragedies that the Act has already brought about," he said.

PROHIBITION OF MIXED MARRIAGES AMENDMENT BILL

A prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Bill was introduced, but not proceeded with. The effect would have been to render a marriage entered into by a South African citizen outside the Republic void and of no effect within the country if one partner was white and the other coloured.

CONVICTIONS UNDER THE IMMORALITY ACT

Questioned in the Assembly⁽²⁴⁾, the Minister of Justice gave the following figures relating to prosecutions and convictions under the Immorality Act during the year ended 30 June 1966:

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
<i>Prosecutions</i>		
White	462	17
Coloured	10	147
Asian	4	6
African	12	248
<i>Convictions</i>		
White	240	4
Coloured	4	80
Asian	1	4
African	7	148

It is clear that, as in previous years, numbers of people were exposed to the extreme humiliation of prosecution under this Act when there was insufficient evidence to warrant a conviction.

(24) 2 May, Hansard 14 col. 5203.

SECURITY MEASURES

DEFENCE AMENDMENT ACT, No. 85 OF 1967

Citizen Force and Commandos

This Act dealt, in the main, with the calling up and periods of training of White youths in the Citizen Force and Commandos. The Minister of Defence will decide how many will be called up each year, and selection boards will designate the persons: the ballot system is to be abolished.

Liability for service in the Citizen Force will extend for ten years after youths turn 17 years of age (the present period is four years), and in the Commandos for twenty years. When introducing the Bill the Minister said⁽¹⁾ that South Africa could no longer rely entirely on voluntary service after the period of training had been concluded. In particular, inadequate numbers of officers and N.C.O.'s had been available under this system.

The period of training (now nine months) is to be about twelve months for privates and not more than fifteen months for officers and N.C.O.'s unless the Minister directs an additional two months in exceptional circumstances.

The Minister said that, as in the past few years, about 17,000 would be called up a year, in two batches but with a third for a leader group. A man entering the Citizen Force could choose to do twelve months' uninterrupted service, or nine months followed by a period of 26 days in each cycle of three years for the succeeding nine years. Prospective university students and teachers would have the option of continuing their studies directly after school or of fulfilling their military obligations first.

Control of transport services

The Act widened the powers of the State President to authorize the Defence Force to assume control of transport services during times of war or operations for the prevention or suppression of internal disorder.

Publication of information relating to defence

The most controversial sections of the Act dealt with the publication of information relating to defence. After its second

(1) Assembly, 9 March, Hansard 7 cols. 2694-2701.

reading the Bill was referred to a Select Committee which, the Minister said⁽²⁾, could not reach agreement. But the clause remained unchanged.

It was previously an offence *in time of war* to publish in any way any information relating to the movements or dispositions of armed forces, ships, or aircraft, or to the defence of the Republic, or (except with the Minister's permission) statements calculated to convey such information directly or indirectly.

The words "in time of war" were deleted in the 1967 Act, and the prohibitions were extended to cover the publishing of information about movements or dispositions of nursing services established under the Act; transport services or requisitioned supplies over which the Defence Force has assumed control; and statements or rumours relating to armed forces which might cause alarm or prejudice foreign relations (unless consent for publication has been obtained).

The Act added that no prosecution in respect of an offence under these provisions shall be instituted except on the written authority of the attorney general.

It widened the Minister's powers to define areas within which photographs, plans, models, or notes may not be taken of areas or objects designated by him.

The Minister said⁽³⁾ he intended providing every possible opportunity for the Press to publish permissible reports. He would make available a list of matters upon which information could be published freely, and create means for reporters to consult him or his Department on other matters. So far as possible, the Press would be posted on defence matters. But he would not allow reports or articles which might jeopardise the security or good order of the Defence Force, or alarm the public, or cloud relations with other countries.

(A proposed Bill dealing with untrue Press reports on any matter is mentioned on page 79.)

PROPOSED ENLARGEMENT OF THE DEFENCE FORCE

On 25 October the Minister stated⁽⁴⁾ that the Government had decided to enlarge the Defence Force drastically as from 1969.

DEFENCE EQUIPMENT

The Israeli-Arab war in June and the closing of the Suez Canal thereafter strengthened the Government's arguments as to the strategic importance of the Cape.

(2) Assembly, 2 June, Hansard 18 col. 7165.

(3) Hansard 18 cols. 7165-6, and Hansard 7 col. 4702.

(4) *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 October.

In February the Minister announced⁽⁵⁾ that a radar network which was among the most modern of its kind had been installed along South Africa's northern frontiers to give early warning of approaching hostile aircraft and to guide South African Air Force fighters to their targets. Seventy-five per cent of the equipment in this network had been manufactured by South African industries. In addition, a start had been made in installing a Decca navigation system costing R6,000,000 and covering the coastline from South-West Africa to Natal. In peacetime it would be a highly-accurate radio-navigational aid available to all who sailed round the shores. At the same time, it would be an invaluable aid to patrols in time of war, able to pinpoint the position of an enemy ship to within a distance of 25 yards.

The seaward defence force at present consists of helicopter-carrying ex-destroyers, fast anti-submarine frigates, mine-sweepers, boom defence vessels, and other craft, with air support from Buccaneer jet strike aircraft and Shackleton long-range aircraft. The Minister announced during April⁽⁶⁾ that he had signed an agreement to buy three submarines of the Daphne class from France (the one major power which has disregarded the Security Council's request to member-states, made in 1963, to impose an arms embargo on South Africa). These submarines are stated to carry 45 men each and 12 torpedoes, and to be capable of 16 knots submerged.⁽⁷⁾

According to a report made in January,⁽⁸⁾ South Africa was arranging to buy, by private deal, a fleet support ship with elaborate electronic equipment, able to refuel warships at sea.

In the 1966-7 edition of *Jane's All the World's Aircraft* it was stated that South Africa acquired 16 Mirage supersonic jet strike aircraft from France in 1963 and two squadrons of Mirage intruder fighters in 1965-6. Orders had been placed for a number of Mirage reconnaissance jets and for 16 Super Frelon helicopters which have a crew of two and can carry 30 troops each. An account was given of the manufacture in South Africa of Impala jet trainers, minicopters, and sailplanes.⁽⁹⁾

On 25 October the Minister stated⁽¹⁰⁾ that anti-personnel mines and other munitions could now be manufactured in South Africa at a price lower than the cost of importing them.

It was announced in September⁽¹¹⁾ that oil had been found in shallow water off the coast of Portugal's West African enclave of Cabinda. Production was expected to begin late in 1968. The search for oil in South Africa continues.

(5) *Star*, 22 February.

(6) *Star*, 19 April.

(7) *Ibid.* and *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 April.

(8) *Sunday Times*, 22 January.

(9) *Star*, 25 January.

(10) *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 October.

(11) *Star*, 20 September.

CIVIL DEFENCE

The Civil Defence Act of 1966 was described on page 50 of last year's *Survey*. According to reports,⁽¹²⁾ good progress is being made, notably in Pretoria, in the appointment and training of wardens, and in training white and non-white members of the public in first aid. Between 250 and 500 young women volunteers are to be given three-month courses in civil defence in 1968.

RADIO

The Radio Amendment Bill, outlined on page 30 of the 1965 *Survey*, was again introduced, with slight amendments, but was once more postponed.

During the past year there have again been frequent attacks in the "Current Affairs" programme of the South African Broadcasting Corporation on English-language newspapers, universities, churches, and other institutions.⁽¹³⁾

The S.A.B.C. organized a "universities quiz" in mid-1967, but students from the English-medium universities declined to participate because the non-white university colleges were not invited.

(12) e.g. *Star*, 5 January.

(13) c.f. 1966 *Survey*, page 62.

THE CONTROL OF PERSONS**SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM AMENDMENT ACT,
No. 24 OF 1967****Membership of or participation in the activities of
specified organizations****1. The background**

An amendment to the Suppression of Communism Act made in 1962 was to the effect that all persons who are listed or banned, or are former office-bearers, officers, members, or active supporters of an organization that has been declared unlawful, may be prohibited, by notice in the *Gazette*, from being or becoming office-bearers, officers, members, or active supporters of any particular organization, or any organization of a specified kind, unless with the written permission of the Minister of Justice or of a magistrate.

It is not necessary for the Minister to issue individual notices to the persons concerned.

Two general notices have been issued under this Section:

- (a) Government Notice 2130 of 1962 prohibited all persons in the classes mentioned from becoming or continuing to be office-bearers, officers, members, or active supporters of 36 specified organizations, or any organization connected with these or furthering their objects, or "any organization which in any manner propagates, defends, attacks, criticizes, or discusses any form of State or any principle or policy of the Government of a State, or which in any manner undermines the authority of the Government of a State."
- (b) Government Notice 296 of 1963 prohibited all persons in the categories mentioned from becoming or continuing to be office-bearers, officers, members, or active supporters of an organization which in any manner compiles, publishes, or disseminates any newspaper, magazine, pamphlet, book, handbill or poster, or which assists in doing so.

2. Warnings to certain people in Port Elizabeth

As described on page 98 of last year's *Survey*, the South African Defence and Aid Fund was declared an unlawful organization on 18 March 1966.

In December 1966, Special Branch officers warned at least seven White persons in Port Elizabeth, none of whom was listed or banned but all of whom were former committee members of

During November, 14 Indians were fined an average of R110 each in the Cape Town Regional Court when found guilty of fraudulently trying to obtain Malay identity cards.

CASE RELATING TO A SPEECH BY A BANNED PERSON

During the year under review Mr. N. S. Middleton was sentenced to six months, all suspended for three years, for quoting the words of a banned person in the course of his presidential address to the South African Soccer Federation.

COMPLAINTS OF ILL-TREATMENT MADE BY EX-DETAINEES

Complaints of ill-treatment made by Mrs. Violet Weinberg were described on page 84 of last year's *Survey*. On 22 May the Minister of Justice said in the Assembly⁽³³⁾ that the Attorney-General had investigated Mrs. Weinberg's evidence and had found it to be completely false.

The trial of Messrs. Kalake and Moalosi is mentioned on page 56. In a leader published on 17 May the *Rand Daily Mail* referred to criticism of the police made by the defence during the trial, and quoted Mr. Justice Marais as having said, "No doubt some of it (is) justified."

The editorial continued: "He (the judge) did not specify which criticisms he felt were justified, but the remark gives cause for concern because most of the allegations made were very serious indeed. In particular there was a claim on the part of the defence that one of the accused men had been compelled by Security Branch interrogators to stand—in two separate sessions—for a total of four days, sometimes with his arms raised above his head and his knees bent, and that at the end of this he had made a statement. The defence challenged the admissibility of the statement on the grounds that it was made under duress and eventually the State withdrew it; consequently the judge was not required to decide the issue."

On page 40, reference is made to the banning order served on Mr. Z. Mthopeng after he had completed a three-year sentence for furthering the aims of the Pan-African Congress. It is reported⁽³⁴⁾ that he has instituted proceedings against the Minister of Justice for R5,000 damages, alleging that he was ill-treated by the police while under 90-day detention in 1963.

An account is given on page 65 of the trial of Africans accused of terrorism in South-West Africa. On 16 October the defence counsel told the judge that some of the accused had complained of assaults at the hands of the security police.

⁽³³⁾ Hansard 17 col. 6442.

⁽³⁴⁾ *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 April.

TERRORISM

PLANS FOR TERRORISM IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

A preliminary report on the infiltration into South-West Africa of armed terrorists, or "freedom fighters," was given on pages 53 *et seq* of last year's *Survey*. Fuller accounts, apparently based on information obtained from arrested terrorists, were given by the Deputy Minister of Police, the Hon. G. L. Muller, in the Assembly on 13 April and 2 June.⁽¹⁾

During 1962, Mr. Muller said, at a meeting of self-exiled leaders of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) held in Dar-es-Salaam, it was decided that Ovambo tribesmen (from the Northern Sector of South-West Africa) should be sent to Tanzania to receive training in guerilla warfare, terrorism, and sabotage, with the aim of undermining and eventually taking over the administration of South-West Africa by means of the methods of Communist countries, and with their assistance.

Recruits would not be told this, but informed instead, that they were leaving to obtain scholarships in Britain and the United States. Of some 900 young men recruited by SWAPO in the Territory, only about 20 actually had qualifications justifying admission for advanced studies. The men were instructed to leave in small groups of from two to five persons, making their way to the SWAPO office in Francistown (Bechuanaland). From there they were sent in groups to the Kongwa camp in Dar-es-Salaam, where there were other recruits enlisted in South Africa by the A.N.C., P.A.C., and the Communist Party.

On arrival at the Kongwa camp recruits were for the first time informed that they were to receive military training, and not advanced general education. A large number of them wanted to return to South-West Africa immediately; but, lacking financial means and travelling documents, were unable to do so. They were threatened with arrest if they left the camp, and numbers were in fact "so arrested and detained until they had cooled down."

From Dar-es-Salaam trainees were despatched in groups to Russia, Red China, Egypt, Ghana, Algeria, and North Korea.

ACTS OF TERRORISM

During September 1965, the Deputy Minister said, the first group of SWAPO terrorists returned and infiltrated into Ovambo-

⁽¹⁾ Hansard 11 cols. 4173-7; Hansard 18 col. 7097.

land, carrying Russian-manufactured sub-machine guns, automatic pistols, and thousands of rounds of ammunition. They established an underground hide-out in an isolated, dense forest. Here, with the assistance of local SWAPO politicians, they trained local Ovambo in terrorism and guerilla warfare.

During February 1966, terrorists attacked two trading stores in Angola, near the South-West African border, murdering the Portuguese and Ovambo shop-owners and robbing them of goods and of about R600 in cash. This loot was used to equip the hide-out.

On 26 August 1966 the South African police discovered this terrorist camp and attacked it to effect arrests. In the ensuing skirmish two terrorists were killed, one wounded, and seven arrested. A few managed to escape. Arms were seized by the police. (In evidence subsequently given in court, the officer of the security police who commanded the attack on the camp said that three terrorists had been killed. Amongst those arrested was a wounded man who later hanged himself in the police cells in Pretoria.)⁽²⁾

Further acts of violence occurred. During the following month terrorists attacked the Bantu Administration offices and residences at Oshikango, burning down three buildings and one vehicle and seriously wounding an Ovambo night-watchman. Two months later they assaulted two headmen, robbing them of their firearms. In December they attacked the tribal offices of a senior headman, murdering one of his messengers and seriously wounding two others.

During the same month seven terrorists who had been trained overseas infiltrated into the southern sector of the Territory and attacked the home of a White farmer near Grootfontein, Mr. P. J. Breedt. The latter was wounded, but his wife and small children escaped injury. After a two-day pursuit through dense forest land the police captured five of the gang of terrorists, one Russian-manufactured sub-machine gun, one automatic pistol and about 800 rounds of ammunition.

According to a Press report,⁽³⁾ in March 1967 the Botswana police came upon a group of ten guerillas on the south bank of the Okavango River. The men fled across into the Caprivi Strip, but left behind eight Chinese carbines, two Bren guns, and 2,500 rounds of ammunition. It may have been these men who subsequently ambushed a South African police patrol in the Western Caprivi, opening fire on the latter. During the skirmish one terrorist was shot dead and the police recovered two semi-automatic rifles.⁽⁴⁾ The Deputy Minister told the House of Assembly that

(2) *Star*, 16 October.

(3) *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 March.

(4) Deputy Minister's statement and report in the *Sunday Express*, 16 April.

very nearly all the remaining members of the group had subsequently been arrested.

A number of locally-trained terrorists had been arrested, too, the Deputy Minister added. Most of them received initial training in the forest hide-out, then, after its discovery by the police, had returned to their homes to await further instructions.

He stated that ten local SWAPO politicians, accused of having actively assisted and conspired with terrorists, had thus far been arrested.

On 18 May, South African police aboard a vessel on routine patrol along the Zambezi River between Zambia and the Eastern Caprivi saw a passenger boat carrying about 30 Africans on the Caprivi side, and decided to investigate. According to Press reports⁽⁵⁾ the police boarded the boat and moved among the passengers. Without warning one of the latter opened fire, wounding a White warrant officer and an African constable. The warrant officer managed to draw his pistol and shot at the attacker, killing him. The other Africans fled, disappearing into the bush. It was subsequently established that the man who was killed was a SWAPO leader who had been in East Africa. His weapon was an automatic pistol of Czechoslovak make.

TERRORISM ACT, No. 83 OF 1967

Object of the Act

Before the persons arrested in connection with most of the events described above had been brought to trial, the Government introduced the Terrorism Act, which applies to the Republic and to South-West Africa.

At the second reading of the Bill,⁽⁶⁾ the Minister of Justice admitted that it was of a very far-reaching nature, but said he was not offering the slightest excuse for this. The police had warded off the first onslaught by terrorists, but had been in contact only with the vanguard. Furthermore, persons within the Territory were in liaison with terrorists.

Existing legislation to some extent met the needs of the situation, the Minister continued, but did not do so fully. Some legal doubt existed as to whether the terms of the amendments to the Suppression of Communism Act made in 1966⁽⁷⁾ covered persons who received training for sabotage in South-West Africa before 4 November 1966. In any case, the Government preferred not to act under the Suppression of Communism Act. The stage of an ideological struggle against communism had passed: the authorities were dealing no longer with Red ideology, but with Red arms.

(5) *Star*, 19 May; *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 May.

(6) Assembly 1 June, Hansard 18 cols. 7023-6.

(7) See 1966 Survey, page 55.

Retrospective nature of the Act

Except as mentioned later, the Act is deemed to have come into operation on 27 June 1962, and thus, applies in respect of acts committed at any time thereafter.

The Minister said⁽⁸⁾ that its provisions must date back to the time when terrorists first commenced their training.

Definition of terroristic activities

The Act created the new offence of participation in terroristic activities. An accused will be deemed to have done so, unless he can prove otherwise beyond a reasonable doubt, if he is found guilty of committing certain acts (described below) with intent to endanger the maintenance of law and order. It will be presumed that he had such intent, unless he proves otherwise, if the act committed was likely to have the effect of encouraging an insurrection or forcible resistance to the Government, causing general dislocation or disturbance, furthering the achievement of any political aim (including the bringing about of any social or economic change) by forcible means or with the assistance of any foreign or international government or body, embarrassing the administration of the affairs of the State, causing feelings of hostility between whites and non-whites, hampering or deterring anyone from assisting in the maintenance of law and order, seriously injuring anyone or causing substantial financial loss to any person or to the State, promoting the achievement of any object by intimidation, or prejudicing any undertaking or industry or the production or distribution of commodities or the supply and distribution of essential services or the free movement of traffic.

The deeds which will be deemed to be terroristic, if committed with the intent described above in the Republic or elsewhere, are acts committed or attempted which endanger law and order, conspiracy or incitement to commit such acts, undergoing training which could be of use in endangering law and order, or taking any steps or encouraging others to undergo such training, or possessing any weapons, ammunition, or explosives and failing to prove that these were not intended for use in the endangering of law and order.

Trials for terroristic activities

The Minister explained⁽⁹⁾ that in any trial, the State would have to prove (a) that the accused in fact committed one or more of the deeds described, and (b) that the deed proved against him

⁽⁸⁾ Col. 7031.
⁽⁹⁾ Cols. 7027-8.

would have one or more of the effects mentioned. Evidence of intent would have to be led, and at this stage only would the onus of proof be placed on the accused.

The minimum sentence for those found guilty of participation in terroristic activities is five years' imprisonment, and the death penalty may be imposed.

It is provided in the Act that anyone who harbours or in any way assists a person whom he has reason to believe is a terrorist shall be guilty of an offence and liable to the penalties mentioned above. (This provision is not retrospective to 1962.)

No trial for an offence under the Act shall be instituted without the written authority of the Attorney-General. The trial will be a summary one, without a preparatory examination, and will be conducted before a judge without a jury. It may take place outside the area in which the offence was committed. An accused may not be released on bail. Acquittal on a charge of having participated in terroristic activities will not preclude the arraignment of the person acquitted on some other charge arising out of the acts he is alleged to have committed.

Detention for interrogation

The Act empowered any officer of the police of or above the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel to order the arrest without warrant and the detention for interrogation of any person whom he has reason to believe is a terrorist, or is withholding from the police information relating to terrorists or to offences under the Act.

A person detained will be held, subject to such conditions as the Commissioner of Police and Minister of Justice may determine, until the Commissioner is satisfied that he has replied adequately to all questions asked at his interrogation or that no useful purpose will be served by his further detention, or until the Minister orders his release.

The Commissioner must advise the Minister as soon as possible of the name of any detainee and the place where he is being detained. Once a month thereafter the Minister must be advised of reasons why the detainee should not be released. No court of law may pronounce upon the validity of any action taken under this Section, or order the release of a detainee.

A detainee may at any time make written representations to the Minister. No-one shall have access to a detained person or be entitled to official information about him except the Minister or an officer of the State acting in his official capacity. If circumstances so permit, however, a detainee will be visited in private by a magistrate at least once a fortnight.

These provisions were essential, according to the Minister of Justice and the Deputy Minister of Police.⁽¹⁰⁾ Only after

⁽¹⁰⁾ Hansard 18 cols. 7029-30, 7100-20.

thorough questioning of suspects and intensive checking of details obtained from various sources could any kind of picture of the general situation be obtained. Documents found in the possession of suspects were often in foreign languages and in code and had to be translated and studied. Information obtained from detainees (usually inadequate) had to be followed up to help trace escaped terrorists, people who had been trained in terrorism abroad or locally, and their contacts among the local population. The terrain in the north of South-West Africa was impossible to patrol adequately.

The 1966 Act (see 1966 *Survey*, page 55) enabled a senior police officer to detain a person suspected of sabotage for 14 days, or for longer if so authorized by a judge. But it was not feasible within 14 days to collect all the information needed to make out a *prima facie* case to put before a judge.

If a definite period of detention was stipulated, the Minister asserted, terrorists would be indoctrinated and prepared in advance to withstand questioning for that period. He added that he would not reply to questions in Parliament about detainees, for any information given would be of value to the terrorist movement.

Parliamentary debate on the Bill

The United Party supported the Bill at its second reading⁽¹⁾ except for the provisions relating to a minimum penalty of five years and to detention for indefinite periods without judicial discretion: these provisions were opposed at committee stage.

Mrs. Suzman (P.P.), however, moved that the Bill be read that day six months. It contained none of the safeguards which normally applied under the rule of law, she said, and its provisions lent themselves to abuse. People who had committed acts of terrorism should be charged in the courts in the normal way. More oppressive measures were continually being introduced, and each led to tougher reaction. Instead of pursuing this course, the Government's first step should be to conduct a really searching inquiry into the real causes of disorder, and to do something to eliminate them.⁽²⁾

BORDER CONTROL ACT

The terms of the Border Control Act, which tightened provisions relating to entry into South Africa, are described on page 45.

(1) *Cols.* 7033-7.

(2) *Cols.* 7040-6.

TRIAL OF AFRICANS ARRESTED IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

It was announced on 22 June that 37 African men were to be charged with participation in terrorist activities in South-West Africa. When the trial commenced, on 11 September, it was stated in court that a private citizen in Britain was paying for the defence of the accused.

The leading counsel for the defence challenged the validity of the proceedings, his arguments, however, being overruled by the judge. Counsel stated that, at the stage then reached, he had no right of appeal against the judge's decision.⁽¹⁾

The main charge, under the Terrorism Act, was that the accused, and particularly four of them alleged to be executive members of the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), together with 81 non-whites listed in the charge sheet and others, had acted in common purpose in terrorist activities during the period 27 June 1962 to 20 May 1967. The activities of which they were accused were set out in detail. Two alternate charges had been formulated under the Suppression of Communism Act.

One of the accused, E. K. Kaporu, died of natural causes in the prison hospital during the proceedings.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, some of the men complained of assaults at the hands of the security police during interrogation.⁽²⁾

When the Crown closed its case, on 15 November, one of the accused was found not guilty and discharged. The hearing was adjourned to 11 December, thus no verdict has been reached at the time of writing.

DECISIONS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

At a summit meeting of the O.A.U. held in Kinshasa during September, African leaders decided to allocate R1,400,000 of the Organization's total budget of R2,170,000 to the support of freedom fighters' movements in Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, South Africa, and South-West Africa. The distribution of funds and arms was to be decided upon, not by politicians, but by a committee of senior military officers drawn from the member-States. This committee would provide staff officer assistance, and eventually might call upon countries with large armies, such as Ethiopia, Morocco, Algeria, and Egypt, to make volunteer combat troops

(1) *Star.* 15 September.

(2) *Star.* 16 October.

available. Divided nationalist movements in individual countries would have to co-operate as a condition of receiving assistance.⁽¹⁵⁾

The special position of Botswana, as recognised by the O.A.U., is mentioned later.

ATTEMPTED INFILTRATION OF ALLEGED TERRORISTS THROUGH RHODESIA

From time to time members of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) or the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) who, it was alleged, had received military training abroad, have attempted to return to Rhodesia. According to reports, most have been captured. Increasingly severe legislative measures enabling the authorities to take action against terrorists have been passed by way of amendments to the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act in that territory.

There was a new development in July and August, however, when, according to numerous Press reports, South Africans attempted to cross Rhodesian soil in the endeavour to return home to promote sabotage. They are said to be members of the African National Congress (A.N.C.), or, in a few cases, the Pan-African Congress (P.A.C.), who made their way to Dar-es-Salaam from about 1960 onwards, and from there were sent to various countries abroad for training in guerilla warfare and sabotage.

For security reasons, no official statements have been made, but Press reports⁽¹⁶⁾ indicate that about eighty trained men travelled from Zambia, crossed the Zambesi River in wild bush country below the Victoria Falls, and entered the Wankie area of Rhodesia, near the Botswana border. They came in batches, using game trails to assist movement through the bush.

It was reported⁽¹⁷⁾ that the Rhodesian security forces had been warned of the men's arrival by secret agents in Zambia, and used spotter aircraft and helicopters to trace them. A series of pitched battles apparently took place in the Zambesi Valley and around Wankie. A few infiltrators were stated to have penetrated further south: one was shot dead near Bulawayo,⁽¹⁸⁾ and two captured in the Hartley-Gatooma area.⁽¹⁹⁾ Road blocks were set up at strategic points, where vehicles were searched in case terrorists were hiding in them.

According to numbers of Press reports,⁽²⁰⁾ by the end of August, 31 terrorists had been shot dead and 32 captured; while 7 members of the security forces, White and African, had been killed or died of wounds, and 15 had been wounded. The body

(15) *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 September; *Star*, 19 September.
 (16) *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 September; *Star*, 11 September and 7 November, and other reports.
 (17) *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 and 28 August.
 (18) *Ibid.*, 19 August.
 (19) *Ibid.*, 29 August.
 (20) *c.g.*, *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 August.

of a terrorist who died of wounds was picked up by a patrol in the bush. It was reported that some of those captured had become lost and were found in an exhausted and half-starved condition.

Those captured were stated⁽²¹⁾ to have carried offensive weapons of Russian, Czech, or Chinese manufacture such as automatic rifles and pistols, bazookas, hand-grenades, and plastic explosives. Leaders possessed Rhodesian currency, and some had walkie-talkie radios. Reports quoted earlier said that the terrorists had apparently been given to understand that they would not meet with strong opposition in Rhodesia and could expect help from local Africans: in fact, some were captured after their presence in the area had been reported by African residents.

As described later, some of those who escaped fled to Botswana, where numbers were captured.

The South African Prime Minister announced on 9 September that units of the South African Police were fighting together with the Rhodesian forces to combat acts of subversion directed against Rhodesia and the Republic. It was purely a police action, undertaken with Rhodesia's concurrence. Press reports state⁽²²⁾ that South African armoured cars and aircraft crossed the border to the north. Britain apparently told the Republic that this action constituted a breach of British sovereignty, for in international law Rhodesia remained British territory.⁽²³⁾

For some time prior to these events, Rhodesian and Zambian aircraft had been patrolling their respective sides of the Zambesi River, and troops from both countries had been stationed near the border. It was reported in October⁽²⁴⁾ that the Zambian Government was strengthening its military forces along the river, including the section of it which divides Zambia from the Caprivi Strip. The South African authorities have built an air base at Mpacha in the Caprivi, ten miles south of the border village of Katima Mulilo which has become an administrative centre.

Nine African men were convicted in Bulawayo during September of contravening the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act by possessing offensive weapons and materials. The leader was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment and the rest were gaoled for periods ranging from ten to fourteen years.⁽²⁵⁾

Early in November, seven alleged terrorists appeared in the Salisbury High Court: two of them were reported to be members of the A.N.C., the rest belonging to the Rhodesian ZAPU. It was stated that they had been part of the group of about 80 infiltrators who crossed the border in August, and then split into various detachments. One of these, consisting of 22 men, including the

(21) *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 August and 28 September.
 (22) *Sunday Times*, 10 September.
 (23) *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 September.
 (24) *Star*, 23 October.
 (25) *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 September.

accused, opened fire on a security patrol which was tracking them. In the ensuing engagement two members of the patrol were shot dead and four wounded, thirteen terrorists were killed, and nine were captured. Two of these, said to be A.N.C. members, gave evidence for the Crown: they had not been present during the fighting. These men admitted to having been trained in Algeria and Moscow respectively.

All seven accused were sentenced to death on being found guilty of murdering two soldiers and being in illegal possession of weapons and explosives.

Later that month, another seven infiltrators were sentenced to death on being found guilty, in the Salisbury High Court, of murder and the possession of arms and explosives. Two of them were stated to be A.N.C. members, and the rest members of ZAPU. They had been captured after two engagements, in August, during which four members of the security forces and eight terrorists were killed.

PRESENCE OF ALLEGED TERRORISTS IN BOTSWANA

The President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, is reported⁽²⁶⁾ to have said in June that changes in Southern Africa must be promoted, not by violence or sanctions, but by example, moral contact, consultations, and persuasion. According to a statement by "a spokesman for the Government"⁽²⁷⁾, "Our President has repeatedly made it clear that his Government will not allow Botswana to be used as a stepping-stone for subversive activities against its neighbouring states, no matter how unacceptable to Botswana the policies of these states might be."

Botswana's attitude to political refugees who are not engaging in subversive or unlawful activities is outlined on page 95. Increasingly firm action is, however, being taken against freedom fighters who attempt to pass through the country.

The Minister of State, Mr. M. P. K. Nwako, is reported⁽²⁸⁾ to have said in August that his country had convinced the O.A.U. of its need to maintain cordial relations with its neighbours. The activities of freedom fighters and their incursions into Botswana was causing great concern to his Government, since any semblance of connivance with them might be construed by neighbouring countries as an unfriendly act. The O.A.U. had been asked to ensure that Botswana's sovereignty and territorial integrity should not be violated.

(26) *Star*, 26 June.

(27) *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 August.

(28) *Star*, 19 August.

As mentioned on page 54 of last year's *Survey*, during September 1966 the Botswana police arrested seven infiltrators who were found in the north of the country, having apparently entered from Zambia at Kasane, where the borders of the two countries meet for a short distance. The arms of Russian and Chinese origin that the men were carrying were confiscated, and the infiltrators were deported to Zambia without any charges having been laid against them.

Stricter action was, however, taken against two men, allegedly from South Africa, who were captured in the Kasane area during February. Each was sentenced to 27 months' imprisonment for illegal entry and unlawful possession of firearms.⁽²⁹⁾

Then, during August, there was a minor wave of infiltration, apparently by men who were escaping from Rhodesian security forces. According to a Press statement by Mr. W. S. Grant, head of the Botswana Special Branch,⁽³⁰⁾ 34 were captured and another was found dead from natural causes. None offered resistance to arrest: they possibly thought that, at worst, they would be deported. It appears that at least two of them were among the group apprehended and deported during 1966. Of the 35 persons, six were members of ZAPU, 26 of the A.N.C., and three of the P.A.C. They were carrying Rhodesian or South African currency.

Thus far, Mr. Grant said, 29 had been convicted of illegal entry and, in most cases, the unlawful possession of arms, while 5 were awaiting trial. The sentences imposed on those found guilty on both charges ranged from two years plus R200 or 6 months to three years plus R750 or 18 months.⁽³¹⁾ The sentences of seven of them were slightly reduced on appeal.

THE QUESTIONING OF PERSONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

It was reported on 24 September⁽³²⁾ that the police in South Africa had conducted a widespread check on people who were suspected of possibly being in liaison with terrorist organizations. Some had been held for questioning, among them Mrs. Thelma Masemola, the South African-born wife of the legal adviser to the Lusaka Municipality, who, while on a visit home, had been detained for eleven days by the security branch and accused of carrying a letter referring to terrorist plans.

REPORTED DEFECTION OF SOME TERRORISTS

According to a Press report,⁽³³⁾ small groups of trained South African freedom fighters fled from their camps in Tanzania during

(29) *Sunday Express*, 26 February.

(30) *Sunday Express*, 10 September.

(31) *Star*, 29 August.

(32) *Sunday Express*.

(33) *Star*, 20 October.

August and September and went into hiding in Kenya, having no heart for a fight against security forces.

REAPPRAISEMENT OF POLICY BY CERTAIN AFRICAN STATES

According to a further report,⁽¹⁾ African states such as Kenya, Uganda, Ghana, and Nigeria were reappraising the policy of providing training, supply, and other facilities for terrorist operations against Rhodesia and South Africa, the reason being a fear that the direct-action movements being promoted might threaten the stability of the states concerned.

OTHER MATTERS RELATING TO JUSTICE

CRIMINAL STATISTICS

Cases sent for trial, 1965-6

On page 4 of the Report of the Commissioner of the South African Police for the period 1 July 1965 to 30 June 1966⁽¹⁾ it is stated that during the year concerned, 2,470,971 cases of alleged offences or law infringements were reported to the police. Calculations by the writer from information given on this page of the report indicate that 2,031,482 cases were sent for trial. Cases of law infringements included the following:

	Cases sent for trial	Percentage of total number of cases
The "pass laws"	479,114	23.6
Contraventions of labour service contracts	22,800	1.1
Bantu tax	195,407	9.6
Illegal possession of African liquor	26,631	1.3
	<hr/> 723,952	<hr/> 35.6

These infringements of the law, or technical offences, were committed almost entirely by Africans under regulations applying mainly to them. The number of infringements of the pass laws may, in fact, have been greater than that stated, for unstipulated offences under certain local authority by-laws and regulations are not included.

There were 6,043 cases of alleged or suspected murder reported during the year, 1,443 of them from the Witwatersrand. The total number of convictions for acts of violence were:⁽²⁾

	White	Non-White
Murder	21	1,435
Attempted murder	40	179
Infanticide	—	28
Culpable homicide	333	2,082
Robbery	139	5,069
Assault	3,797	84,784

(1) R.P. 39/67.

(2) *Op cit*, pages 4-6.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

UNITED NATIONS

South Africa's membership

In December 1966 the United Nations General Assembly's credentials committee recommended acceptance of the credentials of all 122 delegations. Guinea, supported by Russia, Albania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, India, Pakistan, the Congo (Kinshasa), Burundi, Tanzania, Niger, and Mali, expressed reservations about South Africa's credentials in that its delegation represented "a minority of racial oppressors"; but the committee's recommendations were approved by 87 votes to nil with 25 abstentions.⁽¹⁾

In the South African Assembly on 19 April⁽²⁾ the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Muller, said that his Government was deeply concerned about the way in which the United Nations Secretariat, a body of international civil servants, was increasingly being used as a propaganda machine against South Africa, in spite of the provisions of the Charter. A growing flood of hostile propaganda, originating with the Special Committee on Apartheid, was being disseminated in United Nations' official publications as though it had the approval of all the members.

A 1966 resolution had requested the Secretary-General to establish within the Secretariat a special section to deal with apartheid policies, Dr. Muller continued. Such developments were progressively involving the Secretariat in a political struggle against a member-state: this was a flagrant misuse of facilities financed by the organization as a whole.

South Africa had regularly paid its annual contributions. "But the presumption behind this obligation on members is that funds will be voted in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. Obviously the financing of blatant interference in the domestic affairs of a member state cannot be reconciled with these provisions." It could not be expected of any state to continue to bear part of the costs of a hostile campaign against itself.

The matter was taken further by the Prime Minister in June.⁽³⁾ He said that his Government had decided to discontinue payment of her pro rata share of the expenses of activities which

(1) *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 December, 1966.

(2) Hansard 12 cols. 4528-31.

(3) Senate, 1 June, Hansard 13 cols. 3608, 3610; and *Sunday Times* report, 12 June.

fell outside the scope of the United Nations' constitution. He cited an international seminar on racial discrimination which the United Nations was helping to finance (this is described below).

In a speech made in New York during October,⁽⁴⁾ Dr. Muller said that his country recognized the United Nations as "the most effective international meeting place", and denied any South African intention of ending its membership.

International seminar on apartheid and colonialism

An international seminar on racial discrimination, organized at the request of the U.N. Special Political Committee in December 1966 and co-sponsored by the Special Committee on Colonialism and the Special Committee on Apartheid, was to have been held in Dar-es-Salaam during July, but shortly beforehand Tanzania announced that it would not be able to meet the expenses above the R62,857 (88,000 dollars) pledged by the United Nations.⁽⁵⁾ The venue was then changed to Kitwe in Zambia.

The organizers invited 55 nations (not including South Africa, Portugal, Lesotho, or Malawi). Britain, France, and 21 other countries did not accept. The Afro-Asians and Eastern bloc were in a clear majority, but on a number of resolutions their voting was not uniform.⁽⁶⁾

During the debates, which lasted for two weeks, the Afro-Asians submitted a set of 23 resolutions for future action on Southern Africa, including the adoption of mandatory sanctions against South Africa, Portugal, and Rhodesia, the launching of a world-wide information campaign to publicise the racial situation in Southern Africa, and the rendering of more help for "political victims". Ten countries, including the Western powers present, Japan, Turkey, Venezuela, Brazil, and Botswana, decided not to participate in the voting or to abstain.

A final declaration, also drafted by the Afro-Asians, attacked the Western powers, in particular the United States, Britain, and France, for continuing to trade with South Africa, thus encouraging the Republic to defy the United Nations. It warned that past failures of the international community to act effectively had made violence in South Africa inevitable. The realities of the "revolutionary situation" that had been created must be faced. All nations had a duty to support and assist the efforts of liberation movements, it was stated. The "alliance" between South Africa and Portugal was described as an open challenge to the authority of the United Nations which would have to be met by

(4) *Star* report, 5 October.

(5) *Star*, 28 June.

(6) *Star*, 5 August.

effective action if the authority of the world body were not to be greatly damaged, perhaps irreparably.

The United States representative told the seminar that his delegation would not be able to associate itself with the declaration. Canada dissented, too.⁽⁷⁾

The recommendations and declaration were published in a report issued by the United Nations Office of Public Information.

Conference of anti-apartheid organizations

During May, the French Anti-Apartheid Liaison Committee organized a conference in Paris of anti-apartheid organizations from six Western European countries. It was reported⁽⁸⁾ that in a message sent for the opening of the conference the chairman of the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid, Mr. Achkar Marof of Guinea, took a pessimistic tone, stating that further United Nations' "paper resolutions" on South Africa would be "worse than worthless" unless certain Western nations, especially France, were prepared to match their words with deeds.

Report of the International Commission of Jurists

In a report issued towards the end of 1966, the International Commission of Jurists compared South African legislation with the 30 chapters of the Declaration of Human Rights, and reached the conclusion that the Republic was violating 21 of these chapters.

The report concluded, "This list of violations by South African legislation of almost all the articles . . . demonstrates unanswerably that apartheid, both in principle and practice, leads inevitably to the erosion, one after the other, of the elements of law. An unjust and discriminatory social order arouses opposition; sterner and ever sterner measures are taken to deal with the opposition and maintain by force the social order that has aroused it."

1966 Session of the General Assembly

A resolution sponsored by 43 Afro-Asian and Communist countries, which had been adopted by a large majority in the Special Political Committee, came before the General Assembly in December 1966. At the request of Uruguay, various paragraphs of it were voted on separately.

On a paragraph declaring apartheid and racial discrimination to be a crime against humanity the voting is reported to have been 69 in favour and 12 against, with 16 abstentions.

(7) Summary of reports in various papers between 3 and 5 August.
(8) *Star*, 8 May.

A paragraph requesting all states and international bodies to withhold assistance of any kind to the Governments of South Africa and Portugal and "the illegal racist minority regime" in Rhodesia was passed by 71 votes to 6 with 25 abstentions.

Further paragraphs requested the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa as the only peaceful means of putting an end to the apartheid policy; rebuked Britain, the United States, France, and other Western nations for continuing large-scale trade with the Republic; and called upon them to take urgent steps to cease that trade. These were passed by 84 votes to 2 with 13 abstentions.

The resolution as a whole was passed by 76 votes to 7 with 20 abstentions, those against it being Australia, Malta, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Botswana and Lesotho were absent.⁽⁹⁾

(Resolutions dealing with South-West Africa are described in the final chapter of this *Survey*.)

Security Council meeting on Rhodesia, December 1966

A meeting of the Security Council was convened in December 1966 to consider the Rhodesian situation. Britain moved a resolution calling for certain types of sanctions, to which African states moved numerous amendments. In consequence, the voting was conducted paragraph by paragraph.

The Security Council resolved, as proposed by Britain, that no state might permit the supply of armaments, aircraft and motor vehicles, or material for their manufacture, assembly, or maintenance, to Rhodesia. At the insistence of African states, oil and oil products were added to this list. The Africans failed, however, to gain acceptance of a proposal that Britain be asked to prevent by all means the transport to Rhodesia of oil or oil products. The voting on this attempt to have the oil embargo backed by force was seven in favour, with eight abstentions.

The Security Council resolved, too, that all member-states should refuse to purchase Rhodesian tobacco, copper, sugar, asbestos, iron ore, pig iron, chrome, meat and meat products, and hides, skins, and leather. The Africans failed in an attempt to have coal and manufactured goods included; Britain has stated that this would have serious results for Zambia.

Other proposals by African states that were rejected were to the effect that the refusal by Britain to use every means, including force, to bring about the downfall of the Smith Government should be deplored; that Britain should withdraw all offers made to the Smith Government and refuse independence until

(9) Summary compiled from various Press reports between 14 and 17 December, 1966.

there was majority rule; and that the action of states which had been giving support to the "rebel regime", notably South Africa and Portugal, should be deplored.⁽¹⁰⁾

Early in 1967, President Johnson signed an executive order bringing the mandatory sanctions decided upon into effect. Britain extended its Order-in-Council on Rhodesia so as to comply fully, and made it applicable to Britons living abroad. Various other countries notified the Secretary-General of their intention to comply with the terms of the resolutions.

South Africa maintained its attitude, as stated by both Dr. Verwoerd and Mr. Vorster, that under no circumstances would it participate in either boycotts or sanctions.⁽¹¹⁾ During October, Mr. Ian Smith flew down to Pretoria for discussions with the South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster. No details about their talks were released; but Mr. Smith told the Rhodesian Parliament that they had dealt with Rhodesia's constitutional position and relations with Britain.⁽¹²⁾ Mr. Vorster said at a Nationalist Party meeting⁽¹³⁾ he believed that the Rhodesian question was a domestic issue, to be settled by Britain and Rhodesia alone. It was his earnest wish that it would be handled in such a way that it would not lead to a confrontation with South Africa. He believed that an honourable solution was possible if goodwill existed on both sides. The stability and prosperity of Southern Africa demanded that the issue be solved.

Trusteeship Committee Debate on Rhodesia at the end of 1967

The debate on Rhodesia was resumed in the Trusteeship Committee, on 25 October. On behalf of 42 nations a draft resolution was submitted by the Zambian delegate and seconded by India. It declared that the economic sanctions decided upon in December 1966 had failed. The sponsors demanded the use of force to put down the "illegal racist minority regime" in Rhodesia, and called upon the Committee:

- (a) to condemn Britain for not having taken effective measures to bring down this regime and to transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe;
- (b) to condemn any nation which still traded with Rhodesia;
- (c) to condemn the governments of South Africa and Portugal for their support of Mr. Smith's regime;
- (d) to condemn any commercial interests that had dealings with Mr. Smith's regime or with the governments of Portugal or South Africa;

(10) Compiled from Press reports on 17 December, 1966.

(11) See 1966 *Survey*, page 115.

(12) *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 October.

(13) *Ibid.*, 24 October.

- (e) to condemn the presence of South African police forces in Rhodesia.

The British spokesman reiterated that his government was not prepared to use armed force. There was no guarantee, he said, that the use of such force could be confined to Rhodesia; it might well involve innocent African neighbouring states.

The debate was adjourned, and has not been resumed at the time of writing.

Consideration by the Special Political Committee of action against South Africa

At a meeting of the Special Political Committee, on 16 November, Somalia introduced a draft resolution on behalf of 46 nations, mainly Afro-Asian. The key paragraph was to the effect that the General Assembly should declare that universally-applied mandatory economic sanctions were the only means of achieving a peaceful solution in South Africa. The Republic's trading partners were blamed for ignoring previous calls for voluntary sanctions, thus encouraging South Africa to persist in its racial policies.

The debate on this motion, too, has not been concluded at the time of writing.

United Nations' Trust Funds

Mention has been made in previous *Surveys* of the establishment of the United Nations Educational Training Programme for South Africans abroad. According to the issue of *International Conciliation* for September 1967, this Fund received 475 requests for assistance in 1966, but was able to grant only 75 awards because of lack of funds and difficulties over travel documents, residence permits, and availability of school places. By early 1967 only about R216,000 had been contributed to this Fund, despite a target of R1,440,000 by 1969.

A United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa was set up in 1965 to assist victims of apartheid and their dependants by supplementing assistance already being provided by other agencies and individual countries. By June 1967, about R279,000 had been contributed and another R62,640 pledged.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND CERTAIN OTHER COUNTRIES

BRITAIN

Arising partly from Britain's decision to cut defence costs, discussions were held with South Africa early in 1967 on the Simonstown Agreement. The Minister of Defence announced in

EMPLOYMENT

THE GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

In a Press statement issued on 18 January, the Minister of Planning outlined the economic development programme for the five-year period 1966-1971. An average annual growth of 5.5 per cent in the real Gross Domestic Product was still a realistic target, he said.

The Financial Editor of the *Star* pointed out⁽¹⁾ that if this rate of growth were to be achieved, two conditions would have to be met. Inflation would have to be curbed, and non-whites would have to be brought into more productive areas of work.

The question of inflation was discussed by the Minister of Finance in his Budget speech on 22 March,⁽²⁾ the slogan of which was "Work and Save". During the last quarter of 1966, he said, there had been a new upswing in the economy which took the form mainly of an increase in capital and consumption spending, and not of an accelerated growth of physical production or real income. Price indices had risen, and there was an excessive demand for labour, goods, and services.

Fiscal policy must aim at halting inflation, the Minister continued. Already the Government had raised the bank rate, placed restrictions on expenditure by public authorities, tightened restrictions on bank credit, extended price control on a selective basis where necessary, relaxed import control, issued more Treasury bills, combated unsound trade practices which tended to keep prices high, and taken certain other measures. Government expenditure would have to be kept as low as possible, he said, and financed where practicable from current revenue.

In a speech made in August at the annual general meeting of the Reserve Bank⁽³⁾ its Governor, Dr. T. W. de Jongh, said that while the measures described above had reduced the threat of a marked acceleration in the rate of inflation, there still was risk of a serious depression if this threat were not removed. He announced that banks would face severe penalties if they could not show, each month, that their total lendings to the private sector were not at least 7½ per cent below the total in March 1965.

(1) 18 January.

(2) Assembly, Hansard 9 cols. 3373-3380.

(3) *Star*, 22 August.

The Prime Minister appealed to workers for restraint in wage demands, and to commerce and industry to contain within limits the prices of goods and services. Building control was to be tightened for the time being, he said.⁽⁴⁾

During September the Government launched a "R.S.A. Savings Service" embracing four types of savings schemes which offered increased interest rates and tax concessions.

On 1 October the Prime Minister stated⁽⁵⁾ that, in order to set an example, the Government had again scrutinized its planned expenditure to effect economics. In addition, certain projects would be postponed, although planning would continue: the projects concerned were the establishment of a third Iscor, the development of Richards Bay, and the construction of the Van der Kloof dam (part of the Orange River project). The Industrial Development Corporation would examine new ventures on a very selective basis, but would not curtail border area development.

PRODUCTIVITY, AND USE OF NON-WHITE LABOUR

In the speech quoted earlier, the Minister of Planning made it clear that the target growth rate for the economy could be attained only if there was an increase in productivity, since the demand for skilled labour would increase more rapidly than the supply. This could be achieved if the immigration of whites was maintained at the level reached in recent years, and if the training of manpower was vigorously continued. Non-whites were making an increasingly large contribution within the framework of Government policy, the Minister said (i.e., in their own areas or, elsewhere, in the service of their own people).

It was calculated, he added, that the number of unemployed and unclassified workers would decline from 230,900 in 1965 to 134,800 in 1971. The latter figure was, however, made up of 161,600 unemployed non-whites and a shortage of 26,800 whites.

Commenting on these figures, the Director of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at the University of Rhodes, Professor D. Hobart Houghton, said in August⁽⁶⁾ that unless there was more rational employment of the more gifted non-whites, the economy's growth would be slowed down and non-white unemployment forced up. The unskilled worker had no place in a modern factory. "In so far as the white skilled worker is competent in his job, he need have no fear of competition from non-whites. It is not as if whites were being thrown out of jobs and replaced by non-whites—it is that there are no qualified whites to do the job."

(4) *Sunday Times*, 1 October.

(5) *Ibid.* and *Star*, 13 October.

(6) *Star*, 31 August.

- No. 197 Control of matters relating to agriculture in Bantu areas.
- No. 199 Regulations for the protection of works in Bantu areas.
- No. 200 Regulations relating to community services in Bantu areas.
- No. 201 Regulations concerning collective responsibility in Bantu areas.

PLANS FOR THE REDISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION AND INFLUX CONTROL

GOVERNMENT PLANS FOR THE REDISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

Desired ratio of Africans to Whites

Speaking in the Assembly on 6 February,⁽¹⁾ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the average ratio in the entire industrial network of South Africa was 2.2 Africans to one White. The ideal which the Government was striving to attain in these areas, however, was one White to less than one African: this target had almost been reached in the new extensions to the industrial area of Vanderbijlpark.

In border industrial areas, however, the ratio could be unrestricted, the Minister said.

Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act

The Physical Planning and Utilization of Resources Act, No. 88 of 1967, is described on page 107. It is relevant to mention here that, in terms of this measure, land may not be zoned for industrial purposes without the permission of the Minister of Planning. The State President may impose control over the establishment or extension of factories in any area ("extension" meaning any increase in the number of African employecs). If and when this is done, the Minister of Planning will have power to curtail or stop industrial growth in metropolitan areas, thus forcing entrepreneurs to establish new concerns in smaller towns or in border areas.

Possible measures to reduce the number of Africans who qualify for urban residential rights

Influx control measures, designed to limit the number of Africans who are admitted to work or to reside in urban areas, and to confine those admitted to "contract" labourers, are described later.

(1) Hansard 3 cols. 741-4.

There are, however, large numbers of Africans who at present qualify to remain in urban areas in terms of sub-Sections 10 (1) (a) and (b) of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 as amended, i.e. those who have resided in the area concerned continuously since birth, or who have worked there uninterruptedly for one employer for 10 years or for more than one employer for 15 years, and who can meet other conditions relating to continuous residence and good conduct.

It would appear that the Government has become concerned about the natural increase among the Africans who qualify to remain in urban areas. In the Senate on 15 June⁽²⁾ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the provisions of these sub-Sections of the Act can by "no means be construed as citizen rights acquired in the homeland of the Whites by the Bantu. These provisions are merely categories of influx control exemptions. . . ." The protagonists of the view that permanent citizenship rights were, in fact, conferred by the relevant sub-Sections might, by sustained propaganda, "necessitate measures to clarify the legal position beyond doubt," the Minister added.

It is reported⁽³⁾ that, in terms of draft regulations circulated to local authorities for comment in September, it has been proposed by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development that Africans, whether or not they qualify under sub-Sections 10 (1) (a) and (b), should be evicted from their homes in urban townships if they are out of work for more than a month without being able to produce documentary proof of illness, or if they are sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine for a period in excess of six months. Appeal against an eviction order would lie to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner. (Eviction would imply that wives and children would have to leave the area.)

In a speech made at the annual conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs in November, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. Blaar Coetzee, is reported⁽⁴⁾ to have said that all Africans in "White" areas who are surplus to labour needs or who are no longer fit for employment should return to the African territory of their birth or of the ethnic unit to which they belong. In this category should fall the aged, widows, and handicapped persons. Furthermore, African businessmen, industrialists, doctors, lawyers, and other professional men, who were "unproductive" in terms of White South Africa's labour needs, should move to their homelands gradually as development proceeded there.

On another occasion⁽⁵⁾ Mr. Coetzee said that, while it was the Government's policy to provide such things as clinics, sports

(2) Hansard 11 cols. 2834-5.
 (3) *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 October and 2 November.
 (4) *Star*, 7 November.
 (5) *Sunday Times* report, 2 April.

and entertainment facilities in urban African townships, such facilities should not accustom the residents to a foreign taste and to luxuries which their homelands could not afford, thereby alienating them from what was their own.

As described later, draft regulations were published in June extending the labour bureaux system to tribal areas. When explaining the motive for these, in the Senate,⁽⁶⁾ the Minister stated that all the members of each ethnic group, whether resident in the homelands or not, should be linked with a centripetal self-respecting national unit. He went on to say that as the Bantu nations became increasingly subject to their own national authorities, the administration of those in the White homeland could become based on international agreements between the White nation and the different Bantu nations. There could then be a rearrangement of the whole system of documentation. Every African in the White area would carry a passport or identification document issued by his own national authority, stating in what area he might be and for what purpose.

Reduction of the African labour force in the Western Cape

According to the Government, the "Western Cape" is the area to the south of the Orange River and to the west of a line drawn from Colesburg to Humansdorp (the latter is some 65 miles west of Port Elizabeth).

Various reports⁽⁷⁾ indicate that, early in December 1966, the Minister wrote to the Cape Chamber of Industries intimating that extremely strict measures were to be imposed for the reduction of the African labour force in the Western Cape, but that, following an urgently-arranged meeting on 20 December, a slightly modified scheme was decided upon.

On 21 December 1966 Mr. Coetzee announced that, each year, the number of Africans employed in the Western Cape must be reduced by an overall average of five per cent. Challenged, later, in the House of Assembly by Mrs. Helen Suzman (P.P.)⁽⁸⁾ as to the legality of such a decision, he made it clear that the formula could be applied to "contract" labour only,⁽⁹⁾ and not to Africans who were born in the Western Cape or, through long residence, had acquired residential rights.

In the earlier statement Mr. Coetzee said that the African labour complement of employers, except those who used seasonal labour, would be frozen as from 31 August 1966. The term "labour complement" was defined to mean the number of registered employees plus already-notified vacancies. The corresponding dates

(6) 15 June, Hansard 11 cols. 2827, 2837.
 (7) e.g. *Race Relations News*, March.
 (8) 8 February, Hansard 3 col. 890.
 (9) See 1966 *Survey*, page 166, for the official definition of "contract" labour.

for employers of seasonal labour were subsequently fixed at either 28 February or 30 November 1966 (depending upon the type of work involved). The labour complement for an employer who had no African employees at the fixed date, and had not notified the labour bureaux of vacancies, was to be frozen at nil. Labour bureaux would keep records of the frozen complements of individual employers.

An employer whose complement was below the frozen number could still employ additional Africans who qualified to live in the Western Cape, or could apply for contract labour, provided that he could produce a certificate from the Department of Labour to the effect that no Coloured workers were available.

No applications for the introduction of African contract labour would, however, henceforth be entertained for certain categories of work, Mr. Coetzee continued. The categories concerned were vehicle drivers, floor sweepers and cleaners, domestic servants, garden workers, newspaper sellers, ice-cream vendors, stable assistants and grooms, delivery-men, petrol pump attendants, clerks, packers, and time-keepers. An employer who needed workers in any of these capacities must use Coloured labour, or, if he could prove that such labour was not available and if his complement was below the frozen number in his case, could employ Africans who qualified to remain in the Western Cape in terms of sub-Sections 10 (1) (a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act.

No new development or expansions could be based on African labour, Mr. Coetzee said, except in cases of exceptional merit and with Ministerial permission. The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Cape Town subsequently informed the Institute of Race Relations that the procedure would be for an applicant to send a request to him in duplicate, stating his frozen labour complement, the number of Africans required and why, the number of Africans and Coloured employed during each of the past four to five years and the number employed at the time of the application, and what steps the applicant himself was taking to try to secure additional Coloured labour.

Following a meeting with representatives of the Cape Chamber of Industry, Mr. Coetzee announced that the five per cent annual removal plan would not be inflexibly applied. The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner said, later,⁽¹⁰⁾ that the Minister had decided to leave it to local employers and employers' associations to carry out this plan. It was resolved by the Cape Chamber of Industries to establish a liaison committee which would assist employers, draw the attention of the authorities to cases in which economic necessity required the retention or expansion of the African labour force, and suggest to the Government ways by which Coloured labour might become a major and reliable factor in the economy

(10) *Cape Times*, 21 January.

of the Western Cape. Representatives of the Departments of Coloured Affairs and of Bantu Administration and Development serve on this committee.⁽¹¹⁾

In a Press statement made during February⁽¹²⁾ the President of the Cape Chamber of Industries, Mr. Walter Goldberg, said that his organization supported the use of local labour, which in the main was Coloured, provided that such labour was available and adaptable to the actual work to be done. If not, employers must be allowed to use African labour. By its very nature as a dynamic force, industry must not be inhibited by rigid formulae. If the original scheme had been strictly applied, he added, about 3,000 physically fit Coloured people would have been required in less than two years for secondary industry alone—quite apart from the needs of commerce and of farmers. In activities where heavy work predominated it was extremely difficult to find Coloured replacements for Africans.

Sir de Villiers Graaff, M.P., said that there were about 225,000 Africans in the Western Cape. The total number of registered Coloured unemployed throughout the country had been only 2,451 men and 1,095 women in January.⁽¹³⁾ Questioned in the Assembly on 3 February,⁽¹⁴⁾ the Minister of Labour said that the monthly average of unemployed Coloured in the Cape Town inspectorate was 77 skilled men, 464 unskilled men, and 220 unskilled women.

Householders were warned by the municipal Acting Director of Bantu Administration that anyone who engaged an African domestic servant without authority to do so was liable for a fine of up to R50 or, for a second offence, a minimum of R50. It was pointed out that Africans were not permitted to work in the Cape Town municipal area if they lived in Nyanga, which is administered by the Cape Divisional Council.

The Training Centres for Coloured Cadets Act, No. 46 of 1967 (described in the next chapter), was introduced in February. In an interview on 13 February Mr. Coetzee claimed that the compulsory work training camps, if successful, should provide the necessary labour to replace Africans removed from the Western Cape. Soon after a Cabinet meeting, however, the Minister of Coloured Affairs stated that the Bill was not specifically designed for this purpose. "The primary object is to discipline and train these Coloured youths. It is logical that those trained in such a way will become available, among other things, for any work being done by Bantu," he said.⁽¹⁵⁾

(11) *Ibid.*, 15 February; *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 December 1966; and *Sunday Times*, 21 May.

(12) *Cape Times*, 15 February.

(13) *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 February.

(14) *Hansard* 2 col. 594.

(15) *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 February.

It was announced by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration in June that a standing Cabinet committee had been nominated to bring about the reduction of the numbers of Africans in the Western Cape. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development stated⁽¹⁶⁾ that the policy would be carried out in stages. Foreign Africans would first be removed, the number of African families frozen, and only a limited influx of single migrant labourers permitted to fulfil the most urgent needs. Later, the number of African families would be reduced, and migrant African workers would gradually be replaced by Coloured men.

In the Assembly on 5 April⁽¹⁷⁾ the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that, according to a survey by the Chamber of Industries, there would be 800,000 Coloured people in the Western Cape by 1980. If they were to find employment, the Africans must be removed. During the past three months, he continued, his Department had refused applications for 1,500 African contract workers. Already African labour was being used more economically: there had been an "appalling waste" in the past. Later, Mr. Coetzee announced⁽¹⁸⁾ that, by October, 38.36 per cent of industry and commerce in the Western Cape was making use exclusively of Coloured labour.

The Aliwal North—Kat/Fish line

On 19 January the Minister of Planning announced that Coloured people were to have employment preference in the Cape Midlands, from the Western Cape eastwards to a line drawn from Aliwal North on the Orange River to Fort Beaufort, and then along the Kat and Fish Rivers to the sea. East of this, in the Border area, Africans would have employment preference. Coloured people would, however, retain the group areas demarcated for them in some of the towns in the African labour zone; but the situation in East London and King William's Town would have to be re-investigated.⁽¹⁹⁾

The Coloured labour preference zone includes the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage industrial complex.

It was reported in August⁽²⁰⁾ that the Minister of Planning had written to the Town Council of Aliwal North asking the Council gradually to replace its Coloured labour by Africans. As mentioned on page 145, the Coloured people now living in the Transkei, too, will gradually have to move to the west of the Kat/Fish line.

(16) *Star*, 9 June.

(17) *Hansard* 10 cols. 3631-2.

(18) *Cape Argus*, 26 October.

(19) *Rand Daily Mail and Herald*, 20 January.

(20) *Daily Dispatch*, 24 August.

THE APPLICATION OF INFLUX CONTROL

Prosecutions under the "pass laws"

As mentioned on page 71, 479,114 persons were prosecuted under the "pass laws" during the year ended 30 June 1966: an average of 1,313 per day. This number was 23.6 per cent of the total number of prosecutions for all offences.

Numbers of Africans admitted to and endorsed out of prescribed areas

Some figures indicating the number of Africans who were admitted into and endorsed out of prescribed areas⁽²¹⁾ (generally speaking, urban areas) during 1965 were quoted on page 162 of last year's *Survey*. Asked by Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., for similar figures in respect of 1966, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development replied⁽²²⁾ that he regretted these could not be furnished, for compiling them would involve too large a volume of work.

During the past year, as previously, there have been numbers of large-scale police raids on African townships, as well as day-to-day questioning on the streets, the Africans being required to produce documentary proof of their right to be in the area.

Contract workers in the Western Cape

No women work-seekers are being admitted into the Western Cape. Men from the Transkei or Ciskei who want employment there may complete contracts of service, before they leave, provided that vacancies exist. It is illegal for them to break such contracts or to change jobs, and at the end of the specified period they must return home.

As mentioned earlier, employers whose frozen labour complement is below the set number, and who are not contemplating expansions of their concerns, may apply for contract labour (except in the categories of work listed on page 170), provided that they can prove the non-availability of Coloured labour or the labour of Africans who have residential rights in the area. If permission to import contract labour is granted, the employer is required to pay R15 a head to cover the expenses.

The Minister said in the Assembly on 21 February⁽²³⁾ that there were then about 131,414 contract labourers in the Western Cape.

(21) See 1964 *Survey*, page 174, for the definition of this term.

(22) Assembly, 27 January, *Hansard* 1 col. 242.

(23) *Hansard* 5 col. 1630.

Certain changes in the system have been announced by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Cape Town. Contracts entered into after 1 August, he said, would be limited to an absolute maximum of twelve months. Contracts completed before that date were also for a year, but magistrates possessed power to extend them for a further period of twelve months. In future, such power would be exercised with "realistic discretion and consideration of the circumstances."

Labourers returning home, the Commissioner continued, would have to remain there for at least a month before returning to the Western Cape on new contracts: they would, thus, retain ties with their homelands, and the necessity for visits by wives would be reduced.

If an employer who was authorized to import a labourer wanted a man he had employed previously he could apply for him (subject to the labour bureau's approval); but no employer could apply for the services of a particular man who had not worked for him before. (This would put a stop to the practice whereby sympathetic employers occasionally requested the services of sons of parents who qualified to be in Cape Town.)

Some difficulties being experienced by employers in the Western Cape

As indicated earlier, an involved procedure must be embarked upon by employers who need labour. Some industrialists' and farmers' associations have been to great trouble in trying to recruit suitable Coloured workers from neighbouring towns or from outside the Western Cape.

The head of the Cape Employers' Association, Mr. Frank Lighton, is reported⁽²⁴⁾ to have said in September that, thus far, industrialists had not been unduly inconvenienced, since most of them had found it possible to reorganize and rationalize the use of labour. But considerable difficulties were being experienced by employers needing people in the categories of work for which contract labourers could not be imported, among others brick manufacturers, householders needing domestic servants, and the hotel industry (as mentioned in an earlier chapter, training courses for Coloured waiters and wine stewards have been instituted). The dairy trade was in particular difficulties because of its inability to find sufficient delivery-men: it had been decided that all householders would have to accept milk from the dairy nearest to their homes.

In December 1966 the Department of Bantu Administration and Development blocked an application by the Cape Town City

⁽²⁴⁾ *Cape Argus*, 2 September.

Council to establish a new industrial township, on the grounds that industrialists would state that Coloured labour was not available and would apply for Africans.⁽²⁵⁾

Decision to allow the erection of temporary housing

In the statement quoted earlier, Mr. Lighton is reported to have said that, during the past year, the number of contract workers in Cape Town had been reduced by about 1,000. But municipal statistics showed that, in spite of endorsements out, the overall African population of Cape Town had increased from 77,517 at the end of June 1966 to 79,394 a year later.

Larger figures were quoted in the *Cape Argus* of 10 April, where it was stated that, at the end of February, there were 87,881 Africans in the Cape Town municipal area. The article went on to say that 5,600 of them were awaiting accommodation.

Because of the shortage of accommodation in "bachelor" quarters, the Department, for a time, ceased granting permits for the importation of further contract workers. But, in December 1966, it was decided that in approved cases employers would be permitted to construct temporary prefabricated dwellings for labourers in African residential areas. The Minister of Railways said on 15 February⁽²⁶⁾ that his Department was to spend R30,000 during 1967-8 on temporary accommodation for African dock-workers.

Prohibition of the establishment of certain new townships for Africans

Grabouw is about fifty miles east of Cape Town, on the way to Somerset West. The area where its African residents live has been proclaimed a White group area, and the municipality was informed in December 1966 that it would not be granted authority to establish another African township. It was also decided by the Government authorities that no further African women would be permitted to enter into service contracts, even if they had residential rights, and that men could not be employed unless accommodation was available. Men could be accommodated in the compounds of some industrial concerns, e.g. a canning factory, but this would mean that their wives and families would have to leave the area. It is stated that the manager of this factory had to dismiss his African women employees, many of whom were experienced workers, and send daily, about 22 miles each way, to fetch inexperienced Coloured women from the Genadendal area.

⁽²⁵⁾ *Cape Times*, 8 December 1966.

⁽²⁶⁾ *Star* of that date.

The allocation of housing to Africans in Cape Town

Dwellings in the municipal area of Cape Town are being allocated only to male heads of families. Deserted wives and divorcees cannot be registered tenants even if they qualify in their own right to remain in the area. Nor can widows: but if a widow has a son over the age of 18 years who qualifies for residential rights, is profitably employed, and appears to the authorities to be a responsible person, she may apply for the tenancy to be registered in his name.

Tenants in the municipal African townships may be evicted, and forced to leave the Western Cape, if their rent is not paid in advance by the seventh of each month.

In its annual report for the year ended 30 September the Athlone Advice Office (run by the Black Sash and the Institute of Race Relations) pointed out that the proportions of contract to permanent workers, and of men to women, were increasing steadily. The township of Guguletu had a fairly balanced population, it was stated, but this was not the case at Langa. Of about 33,300 Africans living there, some 24,550 were so-called bachelor migrant workers (in fact, 68 per cent of them were married). Attention was drawn to the dangerous social implications.

The prosecution of African women in the Western Cape

As mentioned on page 166 of last year's *Survey*, a judge of the Supreme Court, Cape Town, ruled on 4 August 1965 that no African who had not registered within 72 hours of 24 June, 1952 would be deemed to have resided there prior to that date.

It was pointed out by Mrs. Helen Suzman, M.P., in the Assembly on 8 February⁽²⁷⁾ that in June 1952 there was no machinery for the registration of women in Cape Town. The only publicity that was given to the need for women to register came two or three years later. The Athlone Advice Office found that very few women registered before 1953 or 1954, even if they had for many years before this been legally in the area. Many women in this category have been endorsed out for not having registered in time.

The Black Sash has engaged attorneys to defend numbers of women arrested for being in the area unlawfully for more than 72 hours. Appeals against rulings by Bantu Affairs Commissioners have been taken to the Supreme Court and, in some cases, to the Appellate Division.

Two of the cases that succeeded, on appeal to the Supreme Court, were those of Mrs. Enid Mjakula and Mrs. Christine Nqwandi. In the latter case, Mr. Justice Banks ruled that the

(27) Hansard 3 cols. 896-7.

appellant was entitled to remain in the area because she was the wife of a man living there legally, ordinarily resided with him, and had originally entered the area lawfully. He said that the Bantu Affairs Commissioner had apparently misconceived the position. The subject of enquiry was not whether Mrs. Nqwandi had permission to remain in the area, but whether she was entitled to remain by virtue of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act.⁽²⁸⁾

In the second case, Mr. Acting Justice Tebbutt came to a similar conclusion; ruling that, as Mrs. Mjakula had fulfilled the requirements of the Act, she needed no express permission to remain in the area.⁽²⁹⁾

The Black Sash reported that, following these judgements, about nine other charges against women were withdrawn by the Public Prosecutor. It would, however, appear that the authorities are by-passing the judgements by denying the occupancy of houses.

The circumstances of Africans who are removed from the Western Cape to Ciskei

Africans who are forced to leave the Western Cape are, when possible, sent to their previous homes in the Reserves or to stay with relatives there. (In some cases they have lost touch with these relatives and are regarded as a burden.)

But often this is not possible. As mentioned later, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development has established townships in various African Reserves to house families or individuals who, for one reason or another, are unable to obtain a livelihood in White areas and have no tribal home. One of these townships (called Sada) is at Shiloh, near Whittlesea, in the Ciskei. It apparently accommodates Africans who have been sent away from the Western Cape as well as old folk who have been turned off farms, and other homeless people.

According to a report in the *Cape Argus* of 8 July, there were then about 3,000 Africans at Sada, living in one-roomed dwellings. The first dwellings were of corrugated iron, timber, and asbestos, but these are being replaced by concrete structures. No work is available in Whittlesea, and the people are not permitted to take up employment in Queenstown. A few only have been engaged by the Department to plant trees or do weeding. Unemployed persons are provided with rations (and a voluntary feeding scheme is in operation), and clothing and blankets are supplied to those in need. Schools are being provided. But Mrs. Noel Robb wrote in the May issue of the *South African Outlook* that there are no trees or fuel, no clinic or resident doctor. Thirty-three people died there during the first six months of 1966, two

(28) *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 May.

(29) *Natal Mercury*, 2 June.

of old age and the rest of various diseases. Life is unutterably dreary. (A fuller description of Sada by Mrs. Robb, illustrated with photographs, appeared in the November issue of *The Black Sash*.)

Large numbers of displaced Africans have settled for the time being in the Stutterheim area, some fifty miles as the crow flies to the south-east of Whittlesea. Questioned in the Assembly on 17 February,⁽³⁰⁾ the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said that there were then 28,181 Africans in the area, 81 of them in employment. Men were recruited from there for work as contract labourers, he added. According to the *Daily Dispatch* of 28 September, the Government has refused to grant a loan to the Stutterheim municipality for the extension of its African township in order to accommodate some of the homeless "squatters," and is, instead, investigating the possibility of establishing a homeland township somewhere in the vicinity.

Still other homeless Africans are "squatting" in the Herschel district, in the far north of the Eastern Cape. It is possible that some of them may find employment in helping to build a dam that will be part of the Orange River development scheme.⁽³¹⁾

During September,⁽³²⁾ the Government decided that five per cent of all further dwellings built at the township of Mdantsane, outside East London, must be reserved for Africans removed from the Western Cape. The *Daily Dispatch* stated on 18 March that hundreds of displaced Africans were "squatting" in the area between King William's Town and East London. But there is already a critical housing shortage in East London, exacerbated by the slowing down of the housing programme because of the curtailment of capital. The old municipal township of Duncan Village is gradually being deproclaimed and the people moved to Mdantsane: yet it was stated in the *Financial Mail* of 12 May that the population of this village is, nevertheless, growing. The Mayor of East London, Mr. David Lazarus, is reported⁽³³⁾ to have said early in September that officially there were about 40,000 Africans in Mdantsane (approximately six per dwelling); but it was estimated that the *de facto* population was anything from 80,000 to 100,000.

Besides the lack of adequate housing, there is stated to be widespread and increasing African unemployment in East London.

A staff reporter of the *Cape Argus* who toured the Ciskei stated afterwards that, whilst the authorities were doing their utmost to improve the economy of the region (at present, through agricultural development schemes), the greatest obstacle was un-

(30) Hansard 4 col. 1449.

(31) *Daily Dispatch*, 24 August.

(32) *Star*, 9 September.

(33) *Ibid.*

employment. The policy of moving Africans there from the Western Cape was creating serious social and human problems, he said.⁽³⁴⁾

Apart from the questions of housing and employment difficulties, these problems arise, of course, from the breaking up of families. One example is given.⁽³⁵⁾ Mrs. M. Bukana had lived a normal married life with her husband and five children in the Western Cape for 21 years, but the family forfeited its residential right there because they moved from Paarl to Cape Town when the husband's firm transferred him. Being still in employment, he was allowed to remain, but Mrs. Bukana was arrested for being in the area illegally. She was given a sentence of R5 or 15 days, suspended for two months on condition that she left the Western Cape within this period.

The children of women like Mrs. Bukana have to go with their mothers. As pointed out in the annual report of the Athlone Advice Office, the children forfeit their residential rights in the Western Cape if they are away for more than a year, they have to leave their schools abruptly, and their mothers (often the family breadwinners) have but remote chances of finding work.

Repercussions in the Transkei

The efforts being made to clear Africans from the Western Cape will, undoubtedly, create serious problems in the Transkei, too, where there are relatively few employment opportunities. According to the *Annual of the Transkeian Government* for 1967 (page 45), if professional persons and teachers are excluded, only 32,700 Africans were gainfully employed within the territory, 46 per cent of them by Government departments, 28 per cent in domestic service, and 17 per cent in commerce. Their total cash earnings a year were estimated at about R4,000,000.

As against this, in 1965 there were 257,586 Transkeians employed in the Republic, from whose earnings the territory gained some R9,000,000 a year through deferred pay schemes and sums remitted or brought home personally by the workers. Just under half of these were long-term migratory labourers in continuous employment outside the Transkei. Another 104,575 had been recruited by labour agents during 1965, mainly for work up-country on the mines, but also on sugar plantations and in the manufacturing industry. That year, 20,142 were recruited by labour bureaux.

In the course of his policy statement in the Legislative Assembly in May⁽³⁶⁾ the Minister of the Interior, Chief J. D. Moshesh, said that there had been a large increase since 1965 in

(34) *Race Relations News*, October.

(35) *Star*, 10 February.

(36) *Transkei Liberal News*, July.

the number of absent migratory workers. In 1966 there were about 278,000 of them, constituting 85 per cent of the wage-earners. That year, Government labour bureaux had recruited 23,601, of whom 77 per cent went to work in the Western Cape.

It is reported⁽³⁷⁾ that the Chief Minister, Paramount Chief Kaizer Matanzima, has been in touch with the Republican Government in regard to the questions of employment opportunities for his people and the removal to the Transkei of Africans from the Western Cape.

Some notes on influx control in other regions

It was shown in a joint report by the Johannesburg City Engineer and the Manager of the Non-European Affairs Department⁽³⁸⁾ that, of the new African entrants to the city's labour market during the year ended 30 June 1966, 14,204, or 82.13 per cent, came from places outside the proclaimed area. The natural increase in the male working population was insufficient to meet the rising demand for labour. The position is probably the same in most urban areas outside the Eastern Cape. But only "single" men are allowed in, on a contract to work for a stated employer in a specified type of employment. (It is only in the Western Cape that these contracts are limited to one year, however.) The entry of women from rural areas has been stopped.

Influx control has been applied to professional people, too. Before employing a teacher from outside Johannesburg, for example, school boards must convince the authorities that no qualified local teacher is available. Nurses from other areas who qualify at the Baragwanath Hospital must obtain official permission before they can accept appointment to the staff of this hospital.⁽³⁹⁾ Ministers of religion may forfeit their residential rights in the city if they undertake temporary duties outside.

As rural women are not permitted entry to towns, men who qualify to remain there and who wish to marry and have their wives with them must limit their choice to women already living legally in the town concerned or in another urban area.

Only those African men who have acquired residential rights in a town by virtue of birth or long, uninterrupted, residence are entitled to rent family houses. Except for widows who can afford to pay the rents, women who have themselves acquired residential rights may not be registered as tenants.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Widows who qualify to remain with their children, but who cannot afford the rental of a house, may become sub-tenants of registered occupiers

(37) e.g. *Daily Dispatch*, 30 May.

(38) Quoted in more detail in RR 69/67.

(39) *Road Daily Mail*, 31 January.

(40) Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Assembly, 2 June, Hansard 18 col. 7070.

if they can find such accommodation. Women who become divorced or judicially separated from their husbands, or who are deserted, must leave the proclaimed area.

Increasing numbers of women are being arrested in police raids. On 14 October the *World* stated that four women carrying babies had been arrested in Port Elizabeth. (After a weekend spent in gaol they were cautioned and discharged.)

If the names of the children of registered occupiers of dwellings are not included in the tenants' permits, these children may be endorsed out of the area when they turn 16 years of age and have to apply for reference books, or when a son reaches the age of 18 years and is no longer regarded as a minor. Many lack documentary proof of their birth in the area.

CENTRES FOR DISPLACED PERSONS

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said in the Assembly on 3 February⁽⁴¹⁾ that townships were being established in the homelands to house families or individuals who were unable to obtain a livelihood in White areas, including pensioners and the families of men who were working in towns. (Most of the people in these villages have been endorsed out of urban areas and have no tribal home to which to return. Some have been evicted from farms.)

According to an article by Mr. Harry Mashabela in the *Star* of 20 September, there are 24 resettlement villages. Some of them also house people employed in border industries. They are:

Boekenhoutfontein, Pretoria district.
 Temba, Hammanskraal district.
 Ncotshane, Piet Retief district.
 Thulamahashe, Pilgrims Rest district.
 London, Pilgrims Rest district.
 Arthur's Seat, Pilgrims Rest district.
 Elandsdoorn, Groblersdal district.
 Sebayeng, Pietersburg district.
 Shayadima, Sibasa district.
 Senwamakgope, Soekmekaar district.
 Morathong, Tzaneen district.
 Lorraine, Tzaneen district.
 Moetladimo, Tzaneen district.
 De Hoop, Lichtenburg district.
 Shiloh (Sada), Whittlesea district (described on page 177).
 Ilinge, Glen Grey district.
 Papierstad, Taung district.
 Magogong, Taung district.
 Mpungamhlope, near Vryheid.

(41) Hansard 2 col. 589.

Mountainview, Newcastle district.
Mondlo, near Nqutu.
Ntuzuma, Inanda district.
Seloshesha, Thaba 'Nchu.
Witzieshoek, Harrismith district.

In these villages, Mr. Mashabela said, Africans can buy plots, which are about 40 feet by 70 feet and cost R100. The purchase price can be paid off at R14.45 a year (the latter sum including R3.38 for services). The dwellings, which may be built by the owners or by the Department, vary from corrugated iron huts to substantial brick houses. The rentals for the Government-built dwellings vary from 60 cents to R4.60 a month.

The inhabitants, Mr. Mashabela continued, become deeply involved in what they regard as a fresh set of disabilities and difficulties. "One is that, on arrival, some find they have to pay a levy of R10 to the chief in whose area they are to live. Yet unlike their established tribal neighbours who pay no rent, they have no land on which to grow crops or rear livestock. They are thrust back to the edge of tribalism but not into it, and they feel for the moment, anyway, that they are getting the worst of both worlds.

"Another problem for many of them is finding work of the kind they are accustomed to. Some of the villages are near border industries. Most are adjacent only to White farms. And even if they can find work that they can usefully do, they almost invariably have to settle for a good deal less money than they had grown accustomed to in the towns." Temba was an exception in this regard, Mr. Mashabela said.

Most of the schools, he stated, had not as yet been furnished, the pupils having to bring their own benches each day. Very many of the children were reported to suffer from deficiency diseases. "Even if their parents have money, food shops are scarce, and the fuel their mothers are accustomed to using—coal and chopped wood—cannot be got."

FOREIGN AFRICANS

Numbers and earnings

It was reported by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development on 16 May⁽⁴²⁾ that the latest figure indicating the number of foreign Africans in the Republic was as at 30 June 1965. There were then 415,206 employed on the mines and 79,747 elsewhere in the Republic. During 1966, he said, 2,899 had been repatriated, including those who returned home on the completion of their contracts of service.

⁽⁴²⁾ Assembly, Hansard 16, cols. 6016-7.

A somewhat different picture of the occupational distribution of foreign Africans was given by Dr. G. M. E. Leistner in an article published in the *South African Journal of Economics* in March.⁽⁴³⁾ His figures relate to mid-1964. There were then 497,000 in South Africa, he said, of whom 59.1 per cent were engaged in mining, 29.0 per cent in agriculture, and 11.9 per cent in other activities. They constituted about 53 per cent of all those employed in mining and about 14 per cent of all agricultural workers. Their countries of origin were:

	<i>Approximate percentage</i>
The former High Commission Territories	45%
Mocambique	30%
Rhodesia, Zambia, Malawi	18%
South-West Africa, Angola, Tanzania, and other countries	7%

The estimated annual earnings of these workers in 1964-5, countries of origin were:

	<i>Cash R</i>	<i>Kind R</i>
Agriculture	11,232,000	5,703,000
Mining	48,475,000	43,895,000
Other	22,591,000	1,531,000
	R82,298,000	R51,129,000

It was estimated that in 1964-5 these people sent or took home about R17,700,000 in cash and goods worth R6,174,000.

In the Assembly on 28 February⁽⁴⁴⁾ the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that as at 30 June 1966 there were 68,671 Africans from Mocambique in South Africa. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, there are estimated to be about 80,000 from Malawi, about half of them employed on the mines.

Foreign Africans entering the Republic⁽⁴⁵⁾

During the past two or three years agreements have been reached between South Africa and neighbouring States about the entry of foreign Africans and their rights. There are slight differences between these agreements but, so far as possible, the general position is described here.

⁽⁴³⁾ "Foreign Bantu Workers in South Africa: Their Present Position in the Economy."

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Hansard 6 col. 2069.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ The information about the rights of foreign Africans has been compiled from statements in the Assembly by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (Hansard 1 cols. 247-8, Hansard 6 cols. 2069-70), and by Mr. G. F. van L. Froneman, M.P. (Hansard 16 cols. 6216-7, 6229-30); also from a letter contributed to the *Star* on 4 July by the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development.

(a) Visitors

Africans wanting to visit the Republic without taking up work therein must have passports and must apply in advance to the Department of the Interior for a certificate to the effect that there is no official objection to their entry. This certificate will specify at which border control post they must enter. The Africans must be able to prove that suitable accommodation will be available for them. They may be required by the passport control officer to pay a deposit to cover the costs of their repatriation. Their passports are endorsed at the control post indicating the period and purpose of their stay.

Legislative authority for this last provision was contained in the Border Control Act, No. 61 of 1967 (described on page 45), which stated that conditions imposed in respect of temporary permits granted to African aliens may differ from those imposed for members of other racial groups. The Minister of the Interior said that a condition imposed might be that the African visitor was permitted to be in a particular area for a stipulated purpose and period of time only.

(b) Africans wishing to work in the Republic

An employer in South Africa who wants to employ a foreign African must apply to a Bantu Affairs Commissioner and obtain from him a "no objection" certificate. Preference is given to mining and agriculture: no recruitment is allowed for domestic service. (The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, which recruits for most of the gold mines and certain coal mines, has its own machinery: the remarks made here apply, in the main, to private employers.) The certificate mentioned is granted only if there is a vacancy for which the services of a suitable local African are not available, and a condition of issue is that the African who is admitted must leave on the termination of his service contract. As in the case of visitors, this certificate will specify at which border control post the African must enter.

At this control post the African's passport is endorsed indicating how long and for what purpose he may stay. Those from countries other than Mocambique and the former High Commission Territories must pay a deposit of R20 against the cost of their repatriation.

Africans wishing to take up temporary work in the Republic require passports, and must register with officials of their own territory. They are not permitted to enter in search of employment: anyone who is found to have done so clandestinely is liable to arrest and punishment followed by repatriation.

Foreign Africans who were in the Republic before the agreements were signed

Foreign Africans who were in the Republic before the inter-State agreements were concluded were required to obtain passports from their countries of origin before the end of 1965, and to register their employment with a labour bureau.

All those in the Western Cape were some time ago given six months' notice to leave. (Very occasional exemptions were granted on compassionate grounds.) The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development is reported to have said on 18 May that those of them who had the right to be in South Africa would be permitted to find work elsewhere, subject to conditions described below.

Africans from the former High Commission Territories who were in lawful employment as at 1 July 1963 may remain (in parts of the country other than the Western Cape) provided that they stay with the employer in whose service they were before the agreements with their respective countries were signed. If they change their employment they are expected to return, unless special permission is granted for them to take up other work for a maximum of two years, in cases where no local African is available.

The arrangements were different for those from the former High Commission Territories who entered the country after 1 July 1963 and for all those from Malawi, Mocambique, and other countries. If they had complied with requirements as to passports and labour bureau endorsements and were in lawful employment when the respective agreements were concluded they were permitted to retain this employment for 18 months from the date of the agreement (or two years in the case of Malawians). After this period, or if they lost their jobs meanwhile, they were required to return home.

The agreement with Portugal, for example, was reached on 1 July 1966. Large numbers of workers from Mocambique are employed on farms and citrus estates in the Eastern Transvaal. During July all agricultural unions were officially advised that these employees must be returned home by January 1968. Provided that South African workers were not available, the farmers concerned could apply for other men from Mocambique through official channels and officially-approved recruiting agencies.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Administrative relaxation from the provisions described may be granted to foreign Africans who have been in South Africa for a very long time, who are considered to be of good conduct, and who have associated themselves with the local African community. (Many have married and have children in the Republic.)

⁽⁴⁶⁾ *Star*, 14 July.

Exceptions may be made, too, on compassionate grounds, in cases where the Africans concerned are elderly or infirm and have lost all ties with their country of origin. Except for Africans originally from one of the former High Commission Territories (for whom slightly more favourable conditions may be made) the repatriation may be suspended for stated periods, at the end of which the position is reviewed. The persons concerned must be in possession of passports and must pay R20 to cover the possible cost of future repatriation. During the period of suspension they may take up such employment as is approved by the labour bureau.

The Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development made it clear on 4 July that no foreign-born African could acquire South African citizenship.

Foreign Africans cannot be registered tenants in a municipal township. They can be sub-tenants; but as the municipal houses are small this often means that a whole family has to sleep and live in one room. It was announced on 20 November⁽⁴⁷⁾ that those who owned businesses should prepare to wind them up, for no further trading rights would be granted to Africans of foreign birth.

It was reported in August that old-age pensions had been suspended in cases where it was found that the persons receiving them had been born outside South Africa and had not legalized their presence.

Among those who have been deported are South African-born widows of foreign nationals, and their children.⁽⁴⁸⁾

CONDEMNATION OF THE PASS LAWS AND INFLUX CONTROL

At a Regional Conference on African Family Life, described below, Dr. Ellen Hellmann pointed out that, although the migrant labour system and influx control were not the sole causes of the widespread maladjustment in African family life (she described other causes, flowing from industrialization and urbanization) no basic improvements in the quality of family life, particularly in the sense of the emotional security it gave, could be brought about while the system prevailed.

At Christmas-time in 1966 the Witwatersrand Christian Council urged all churches to offer special prayers for South Africans who were separated from their families, and especially for African families divided by the migratory labour system. Posters were distributed drawing attention to the plight of these families.

The Institute of Race Relations issued a statement⁽⁴⁹⁾ prior to Family Day, on 10 July, calling on all South Africans to

⁽⁴⁷⁾ *Star* of that date.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ The *Star* of 17 March described two such cases.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ RR 87/67.

remember on that day those who were being denied the joys of family living, and to work for a society in which laws which militated against stable family life for any of the people would no longer be tolerated.

During May, the Black Sash distributed a circular letter to Churches suggesting that it was they who should be most deeply concerned about the situation, since they preached the sanctity of marriage and the value of family life. In numbers of reports and statements made during the year, the Sash has described cases of suffering and tragedy which it has encountered in its Advice Offices.

The Committee on Social Responsibility of the Anglican Diocese of Cape Town has published a booklet on the effects of migratory labour. The Johannesburg Synod of this Church sent to Cabinet Ministers and heads of other Churches a resolution stating that laws or administrative actions which prevented or militated against the continuing relationships of marriage and stable family life were abhorrent and departed from Christian norms.⁽⁵⁰⁾ At its annual conference in November the Methodist Church appointed a deputation to seek an interview with senior Government representatives to discuss the disruption of African family life.⁽⁵¹⁾

This question was discussed, at about the same time, at a conference of the African "Daughter-Church" of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk. The mission secretary for the Southern Transvaal, Dr. C. H. Badenhorst, is reported⁽⁵²⁾ to have said, thereafter, "If ever there was a matter for which the Government should appoint a commission of enquiry, then it is the family life of the Africans." On the same day the S.A. National Council for Marriage Guidance and Family Life passed a resolution expressing its deep concern about the pressure on African family life, and calling upon the Cabinet Minister concerned to give the matter his full attention.⁽⁵³⁾

In his presidential address at the annual conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs, Mr. T. W. A. Koller pointed out that the Government's basic policy of separate development was a long-term one which had to be evolved gradually. He urged that if adjustments had to be made to meet a developing situation, these should not be translated into legislation. The inflexibility of such laws, he said, often resulted in hardship and bitterness, making the task of administrators much more difficult. He urged that the latter be consulted before laws affecting urban Africans were drafted, and that urban administra-

⁽⁵⁰⁾ *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 October.

⁽⁵¹⁾ *Ibid.*, 18 November.

⁽⁵²⁾ *Star*, 17 November.

⁽⁵³⁾ *Ibid.*

tors be given discretion to deal with problems that arose. At present local authorities had no function in the framing of policy.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Another paper at this conference was given by Mr. P. Riekert, manager of Potchefstroom's Non-European Affairs Department. He is reported⁽⁵⁵⁾ to have said that authorities who did not take the human factor into account, and who considered urban African administration as the stringent application of laws and regulations, did not only do injustice to the African, but to all the people of South Africa—injustice which would have to be accounted for by posterity.

CONFERENCES ON AFRICAN FAMILY LIFE

During August, the Witwatersrand Christian Council held a symposium on African family life.

This was followed, on 8 and 25 November, by a regional conference in Johannesburg, organized jointly by this Council and the Institute of Race Relations. The papers delivered (obtainable from the Institute) were:

- Mr. M. Savage: The changing family in the modern world.
- Dr. Ellen Hellmann: The African family to-day.
- Mr. H. Helman: Legal aspects of marriage.
- Mr. B. N. Mokgoatle: Personal relationships.
- The Rev. J. Tau: Parent-child relationships.
- Mr. C. N. Phatudi: Education and family life.
- Mrs. D. Mabiletsa: Working mothers.
- Mrs. J. Philips: Bringing up children in the home.

THE EXTENSION OF THE LABOUR BUREAUX SYSTEM TO TRIBAL AREAS

In terms of Government Notice 851 of 16 June, draft regulations were published for labour bureaux at the seats of Bantu Authorities, other than in the Transkei.

So far, African work-seekers in the Reserves have registered for employment at the office of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the district concerned.

It was proposed in the draft regulations that there should be a territorial labour bureau for each African territory. This bureau would designate places within the territory where regional labour bureaux should be established (if it did not do so the Director of Bantu Labour might act in its stead). Below this level there would be tribal labour bureaux in the offices of each tribal or community authority, each with a labour officer in charge.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, 7 November.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 November.

The functions of these bureaux would be to co-operate with bureaux in other areas, to correlate information about work-seekers and vacancies and to endeavour to place those wanting work in suitable employment, and to ensure that no African left the area for employment elsewhere except in accordance with the regulations.

All recruitment of workers would have to be done through the tribal offices. Africans who were not employed but were dependent upon employment for their livelihood would have to register at these offices within fourteen days of becoming unemployed or attaining the age of 15 years or ceasing to be a full-time student. Women would be exempt from this provision unless they wanted to take up employment; so would the infirm, and Africans more than 64 years of age.

Those registering would be classified according to their wishes and suitability for employment in specified classes of work, and the availability of labour in these classes, which were defined as agriculture and forestry, mining and quarrying, construction and transport, commerce, domestic service, and "other". Those wishing to do seasonal farm work would, as far as practicable, be grouped into teams under a leader. It was specified that, if so authorized by the Departmental Secretary, the Director of Bantu Labour would zone the areas and types of employment for which work-seekers might be made available. If possible, they would be placed within the area of the territorial authority.

The actual contracts of service would be completed at regional bureaux, where the Africans would be medically examined and could make arrangements for the deferment of part of their wages or for the remittance of money to their dependants. Depots for their temporary accommodation might be provided. The prospective employers would bear the costs of medical examinations, and would be required to pay fees of R1 per contract which would be paid into a special account for the benefit of labour bureaux. No contract for a youth under 18 years of age might exceed nine months.

The Transkeian Government has a separate recruiting machinery. In terms of the Transkei Labour Laws Amendment Act of 1967, the Cabinet of the territory may authorize tribal authorities to impose attestation fees for labour they recruit.

AID CENTRES AND YOUTH CENTRES

As mentioned on page 182 of the 1964 *Survey*, the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964 made provision for aid centres in urban areas, with the object of keeping petty offenders against the