THE COST OF APARTHEID

Editorial Note: We are grateful to Professor Michael Savage for allowing us to quote briefly from his Inaugural Lecture at the University of Cape Town and to publish in full the tables of estimates of various apartheid costs which were an appendix to that lecture. For the first time somebody has really tried to estimate what apartheid **does** cost—and the impact of that estimate, as revealed in the Tables is, in our view, quite dramatic.)

Discussing the problem of costing apartheid Professor Savage had this to say in his Lecture.

"Any examination of the financial cost of apartheid is confronted with many difficulties. Prominent among these is the problem of identifying the full variety of its costs and distinguishing between them. Apartheid structures permeate the total society and an indication of the extent to which this is so can be made by identifying seven areas of its cost.

First, there are the *direct costs* involved in implementing and maintaining apartheid programmes. These costs include those of supporting 10 "homeland" governments, of providing duplicated services in areas such as health and education, of carrying out black population removals from "white" areas, of implementing Group Areas legislation.

Second, there are *indirect costs* involved in implementing apartheid, which again are enormously varied. These include capital expenditures on buildings used in carrying out the policy, on transport systems needed to accord with territorial segregation, and expenditure on the vehicles, machinery and communications used in implementing the system.

Third, there are the *enforcement costs* involved in applying and policing apartheid. Police, courts, magistrates, prisons, officials and the Defence Force are all involved in greater and lesser degrees in enforcing the policy of apartheid. In addition there are the costs paid by those on whom apartheid is enforced in, for example, having to

spend time in courts and prisons because of apartheid legislation.

Fourth, there are *lost opportunity costs* arising from apartheid. These are substantial and involve the cost of lost investment to South Africa and consequent lower rates of economic growth; the cost of artificial limitations on the use of economic and human resources that result in the loss of potential skills and in foregone economic growth.

Fifth, there are the *punitive costs* to South Africa of apartheid flowing from the application of embargoes and sanctions. These directly involve the loss of trade but also involve premiums that South Africa has to pay to obtain key materials, such as oil, and the costs of stockpiling these materials and attempting to become self-sufficient in the production of them.

Sixth, and most importantly, there are the *human costs* of the apartheid system. These are enormous, involving the suffering and brutalization of life experienced by large numbers of South Africans as a direct result of apartheid policies. Some of these costs can be directly seen in the prisons, townships and rural areas of South Africa but most are to be viewed within the daily fabric of South African life.

Seventh, there are the *regional costs* of the apartheid policy, paid by South Africa's neighbours in terms of increased military expenditures due to apartheid policies, direct war damage, lost exports and lost economic growth."

So the Tables which follow represent only part of the costs of the policy. \Box

TABLES

TABLE I: ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES FROM THE STATE REVENUE ACCOUNT 1985/6 ON ITEMS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF APARTHEID PROGRAMME

APARTHEID PROGRAMMI						.00						
		stima Budge		Expenditure in R'000s Medium								
		catio		Low		High						
			heid	Estin	nate			Estin	nate			
	L	M	Н									
VOTE 1: STATE PRESIDENT												
1-1 Activities of the President's Council			100	-	271		271		271			
1-9 SWA Authority Service	100	100	100	1	180	1	180	1	180			
VOTE 2: PARLIAMENT												
2-1 Administration of Parliament	15	20	33	1	363	. 1	817	3	029			
2-1 Salaries and Allowances, Members of Parliament	15	20	33	1	805	2	407	1	012			
2-5 Facilities for Members of Parliament	15	20			561	-	082		469			
VOTE 3: TRANSPORT 3-9 Contribution to the Account for Black,												
Coloured and Indian Transport Services												
(subsidization of fares of commuters	893	1272	7 32527	1210		220		122	1222			
from Black Areas in White areas 14-23)	15	20	33	31	000	42	000	70	000			
VOTE 4: CONSTITUTIONAL												
DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING												
4-1 Administration	30	40	50	1	958	2	610	2	263			
Constitutional Development	100		n 18708744	- 3	999	- 2	999	.,	999			
Planning	10	15	25		826	1.7	238		064			
Statistical Services	10	15	25	1010000	618	2000	428		047			
Provincial Subsidies Industrial Area Development and Control	30	10 40	1000		568 193	90000	136 924		704 655			
Supporting and Associated Services	5	5	10	÷.8	979		79		959			
VOTE 5: FOREIGN AFFAIRS 5-9 Manpower Provision (to Foreign												
Governments)	10	20	25	3	621	7	242	9	052			
Budgetary Aid: TBVC Countries	10	20	25		613	2000	225		032			
Project Aid (Loan Fund)	10	20	25	7	500	15	000	18	750			
Technical Aid Incentive Scheme for Industries	30	40	50	10	800	14	400	18	000			
Action Programme Job Creation	10	20	25		200		400		500			
Technical and Other Assistance	10	20	25	77	800	177	600		000			
Flour subsidy	10	20	25	2	300	4	600	3	750			
VOTE 6: HOME AFFAIRS												
6-6 Population Registration	10	20	40	1	845	3	690	7	381			
Deportations and Removals	5	10	15		96		191		287			
Publication Control	40	50	60		392		490		588			
VOTE 7: COMMISSION FOR												
ADMINISTRATION			20	,	370				7.40			
(Public Servants)	10	15	20	0	370	9	555	12	740			
VOTE 8: IMPROVEMENT OF												
CONDITIONS OF SERVICE	27			5		- 8	View.	100	725			
(Public Servants)	10	15	20	23	500	35	250	47	000			
VOTE 10. BOLICE												
VOTE 10: POLICE Total	5	10	20	47	735	95	471	190	942			
VOTE II: PUBLIC WORKS AND												
LAND AFFAIRS 11-17 Acquisition of land: Area evaluation												
for purposes of removing non-White												
inhabitants from certain areas for			Helite		500	20		25	1075127			
resettlement 11-22 Construction of Buildings and	100	100	100	5	888	5	888	5	888			
11-22 Construction of Buildings and Structures – Defence, Police												
Accommodation, Periodical Courts,												
Prisons, Judicial Buildings	5	10	15	11	467	22	934	34	401			
VOTE 12: HEALTH AND WELFARE	5	10	15	66	821	132	642	200	462			
TOTAL IZ. HEALTH AND WELFARE	J.	10	13	00	021	133	042	200	402			

VOTE 13: ADMINISTRATION	13-1 Transfer to Revenue A/c for White affairs 10 30 50 38 785 116 355 193 924				% all			Low	nditure in R Medium Estimate	High Estimate
VOITE 14: COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT	### VOTE 14: COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT 14-3 Commission of Cooperation and Development Creation and Development Creation and Physical Planning and Administration Grant-in-Aid to SA development Trust Fund Planning and Administration Grant-in-Aid to SA development Trust Fund Least Grant-in Consolidated Areas Toward Settlement of Population of Planning and Administration Planning and Administration Grant-in-Aid to SA development Trust Fund Least Grant-in-Aid to SA development Creation and Housing Grant-in-Aid to SA development Trust Fund Least Grant-in-Aid to SA development Creation and Housing Grant-in-Aid to SA development Trust Fund Least Grant-in-Aid to SA development Trust Fund Settlement of Population 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 10	vot	E 13:							
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Community Regulation 30 40 50 822 1 096 1 370	Community Regulation 30 40 50 822 1 1096 1 370 14-10 Constitutional Development Black Local Authorities Administration Black Communities Development and Revolving Fund 10 20 25 1 500 3 000 3 750 15 000 22 500 16 000 16 000 170 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 1		F	Residential Control				2 430	2 430	
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Determination	Determination				100	100	100	40 000	40 000	40 000
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Grant-in-Aid to SA development Trust Fund	Grant-in-Aid to SA development Trust Fund				10	20	30	850	1 700	2 550
Trust Fund Land Planning and Conservation Settlement of Population Employment Creation and Income Generation Income Gene	Trust Fund Land Planning and Conservation Settlement of Population Employment Creation and Income Generation Income Gene				10	20	30	650	1 700	2 330
Settlement of Population 100 100 100 125 000 125 000 125 000 Employment Creation and Income Generation 5 10 15 1922 3 845 5 768 1 100 1650 15 10 15	Settlement of Population 100 100 100 125 000 125 000 125 000 Employment Creation and Income Generation 5 10 15 922 3 845 5 768 1 100 100 100 100 100 125 000			맞은 문화가 있었다. 그 한다는 그리 얼마를 살아보고 하다 사람들이 하는데						
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14-24 Supporting and Associated Services	14-24 Supporting and Associated Services				20	25	30	207 052	258 915	310 570
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	VOTE 18: TRADE AND INDUSTRY 25 50 75 130 349 260 698 391 048	المناه بيواوان						1040 533	1202 222	2127 001
		VOT	16:	DEFENCE	25	33	50	1008 527	1282 232	2137 054
						53	12.00	122		201 015

		F-1000 (7.1)	stim: Budg		Expe	'000s	
		1		n heid H	Low Estimate	Estimate	High Estimate
		L	141	11			
VOTE 19:	JUSTICE	5	10	15	8 854	17 708	26 561
VOTE 20:	PRISONS	20	30	50	71 760	107 639	179 399
VOTE 24:	FINANCE						
24-16 Sou	ith West Africa: Transfer to						
Cer	ntral Revenue Fund	100	100	100	307 000	307 000	307 100
VOTE 27:	ADMINISTRATION: HOUSE OF REPRESENT- ATIVES						
	('Coloured' own affairs)	10	30	50	26 177	78 531	130 885
VOTE 28:	ADMINISTRATION:						
	HOUSE OF DELEGATES					22 400	
	('Indian' own affairs)	10	30	50	10 803		54 014
					2889 410	3915 428	5741 001

TABLE 2: Numbers of Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament Members of Legislative Assemblies, Members of the President's Council in South Africa at August 1986

	Ministers	Members
Central Parliament		
'General Affairs'	21	-
House of Assembly	4	178
House of Delegates	4 4 4	45
House of Representatives	4	85
President's Council	-	60
Subtotal	33	368
"Homelands"		
KwaZulu	7 8	136
QwaQwa		80
Lebowa	10	100
Gazankulu	8	68
KaNgwane	6	45
KwaNdebele	6	72
Subtotal	45	501
"Indepedent Homelands"		
Transkei	14	15
Bophuthatswana	10	99
Venda	9	87
Ciskei	10	65
Subtotal	43	401
TOTAL	121	1 270

TABLE 3: Government Departments Existing in South Africa, August 1986

Departments	
President/Chief Minister/Prime Minister	11
Transport	5
Foreign Affairs	5 5 5
Law and Order/Police	.5
Posts and Telegraphs	5
Works/Housing	12
Defence/National Security	5
Labour/Manpower	5 5 3
Justice	3
Mineral Affairs and Energy	1
Finance/Budget1	14
Environment	1
Interior/Home Affairs	11
Health/Health and Welfare	18
Education/Education and Culture	14
Urban Affairs/Local Government and Home Affairs	13
Agriculture/Agriculture and Forestry	14
Economic Affairs/Trade and Industry	9
TOTAL	151

	TABLI	E 4:	Salari	es an	d A	lminist	ration	Exp	enses	of Cei	ntral	Parlia	ment	1981	-1987						
		198	1		198	2		198	3		198	4		198	5		198	6		198	7
Parliament																					
Administration	3	262	000	3	417	000	6	220	000	6	646	000	9	173	000	19	736	000	21	311	000
Salaries Allowances																					
Senators		966	000		_									2			-			-	
Members House of Assembly	2	871	000	3	612	000	4	362	000	5	424	000	6	566	000		-			-	
Members of Parliament		-			-			-			-		12	036	000	11	910	000			
State President																					
Administration		477	000		497	000	1	368	000	1	283	000	1	385	000	3	405	000	4	524	000
Prime Minister																					
Administration	1	144	660	1	690	600	2	487	800		981	000	2	745	00					-	Ā
President's Council				3	400	000	3	627	300	3	686	200	4	709	000	5	271	000	4	780	000
	8	720	660	12	616	600	18	065	100	17	920	200	24	578	000	40	448	000	42	525	000
(1980 Rands)	7	570	017	9	550	795	12	173	247	10	814	846	12	969	920	18	170	709		3333	

	Salaries	Year
Bophuthatswana	1 845 876	1984/5
Ciskei	650 000	1982/3
Gazankulu	613 204	1984/5
KaNgwane	687 958	1984/5
KwaNdebele	351 350	1983/4*
KwaZulu	1 245 803	1984/5
Lebowa	860 560	1984/5
QwaQwa	530 860	1984/5
Transkei	1 219 578	1982/3
Venda	653 850	1982/3*
	8 659 039	

Source: Auditor. General Reports on Accounts of Relevant Activities for stated financial year.

^{*} Expenditure "on National Assembly".